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*The Indian Mutiny*

1857-58



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1857-58

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EDITED BY

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EX-DIRECTOR OF RECORDS, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA



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## CHAPTER VIII.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JAMES OUTRAM'S DEFENCE OF ALUMBAGH.

*Memorandum by the Chief of the Staff for the guidance of Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM,—dated Head-Quarters Camp, Cawnpore, 8th December 1857.*

The Commander-in-Chief is of opinion that you should take immediate steps in pursuance of the advantage gained the day before yesterday at Cawnpore to put your communications with this place in a thoroughly effective condition. You will, therefore, on the receipt of this memorandum, detach to the rear 400 European soldiers, 200 Madras Infantry, Captain Olphert's Light Field Battery, and half your cavalry with all your camels.

This force, which should be placed under your best officer, must clear the vicinity of the road from Alumbagh to Cawnpore of all refractory characters, including Munsih Aly,\* who disturbs the neighbourhood of Unao.

This force will collect as it marches as much carriage as possible, bringing it to the north bank of the Ganges, to be laden with grain and supplies for your field force.

The difficulties of procuring carriage at Cawnpore are very great, but every effort is being made in your behalf.

*Memorandum by the Chief of the Staff for the guidance of Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM,—dated Camp Head-Quarters, Cawnpore, 12th December 1857.*

The Commander-in-Chief has had under his consideration a letter addressed to the Chief of the Staff by Colonel Berkeley, Deputy

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\* Mansoob Allie.—See page 425.



Adjutant-General, by order of Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., in which the reasons of the latter are alleged for not giving execution to His Excellency's orders, conveyed in the memorandum by Major-General Mansfield, Chief of the Staff, on the 7th of December.

It is a subject of the deepest regret to His Excellency that he cannot coincide in the reasoning of Sir James Outram, the order above alluded to having been considered with the greatest care before it was given with reference to the country in which Sir James Outram's camp is pitched, and the knowledge of what it is in the power of the enemy to attempt.

His Excellency entreats Sir James Outram to believe that he is fully alive to the circumstances of his position, and he does not think it possible for him to be threatened by real danger.

Including the posts of Alumbagh and Bunnee Sir James Outram has at his disposal 4,400 fighting men, of which the bulk is composed of European infantry, besides a very powerful artillery.

The effect of the late success on the right bank of the Ganges cannot but be felt throughout the Provinces of Oudh as elsewhere.

If the left be threatened by a battery, His Excellency would suggest the advisability of attacking and destroying it before it can become a cause of annoyance.

If, on the occasion of a detachment going out, Sir James has fears for his position, His Excellency would further venture to suggest that the front of the camp should be contracted or that it should be converted into a bivouac in case of really imminent danger.

The strength of detachments is always calculated by the Commander-in-Chief with the greatest care with reference to general circumstances, with which it is hardly possible that any one but His Excellency should be acquainted.

In conclusion, His Excellency observes that nothing advanced in this memorandum is said by way of reproach, but merely of advice and friendly caution.

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*Memorandum by the Chief of the Staff for the guidance of Sir JAMES OUTRAM, — dated Head-Quarters Camp, Cawnpore, 15th December 1857.*

Two hundred gun-bullocks have been despatched to Sir James Outram, yoked to carts. He will have the goodness to apply them to the guns.



A fortnight's provisions have been despatched for all Sir James Outram's force, including Bunnee, together with what stores of clothing, tentage, and boots it is in the power of Brigadier Inglis, Commanding at Cawnpore, to give.

Sir James Outram will arrange in future, by order of His Excellency, to send a sufficient escort, with carriage, once a fortnight, to take out what supplies he may want from Cawnpore to his camp.

This escort must never consist of less than 350 European Infantry, 150 Native Infantry, 70 cavalry soldiers, together with two field guns. Colonel Fisher, Commanding at Bunnee, being under the command of Sir James Outram, will be supplied by the commissariat of the Major-General's division, and not from that of Cawnpore which belongs to another. It will be easy for Captain Macbean and Captain Christopher so to arrange together under the orders of the Deputy Commissary-General that the supplies meant for Bunnee shall not travel onwards to Alumbagh.

Sir James Outram is informed that owing to the neglect of his Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General or other staff officer, a quantity of flannel shirts and sergo jackets, besides other articles which had been provided by the Commander-in-Chief for the use of his division, were positively allowed to return to Cawnpore instead of being made use of as intended.

The Chief of the Staff is aware that an order was issued on the occasion of the Commander-in-Chief quitting Alumbagh that the quilts, &c., brought for Sir James Outram's division should be taken charge of at once. It appears never to have occurred to his staff officer to have examined the other bales besides those containing quilts, although it was perfectly well known to every one in the force that what stores were in Alumbagh had been brought solely for the use of the Lucknow garrison under Sir James Outram.

Sir James Outram is requested to inform the officers subordinate to Colonel Berkeley, now on the staff of his division, of the Commander-in-Chief's marked displeasure on this account, and to enforce their personal attention and superintendence of every duty committed to their charge. Any staff officer failing in this respect in future will be immediately deprived of his appointment according to a G. O. lately published on the subject.

Details of Infantry, European and Native, and Artillery, return to join their respective corps in Sir James Outram's division.

A corrected statement is required of the strength of that division which will include the new arrivals, and the posts of Bunnee and Alumbagh.

Brigadier Inglis has received orders to meet all indents for supplies and stores as far as lies in his power, which may be sent from Sir James Outram's divisions; but it is necessary that all such requisitions should be signed by the Major-General himself.

It will be impossible for Brigadier Inglis to meet the demands of requisitions signed merely by commanding officers of regiments or Brigadiers.

All accounts must be carefully kept by the respective corps and departments, and regiments charged according to rule for all necessaries and clothing furnished by the State.

If at any time the Major-General should be of opinion that remission of charge for such necessaries would be equitable, it will be for him to make the necessary application for the demand to the Adjutant-General for sanction by the Commander-in-Chief.

On the occasion of the last convoy coming in from Alumbagh, all the available camels, and the hundred carts described to be in the camp, must be sent in to carry out supplies; the hundred carts now sent with the gun-bullocks, and which will be without cattle, will be attached to the empty carts, and so returned to the commissariat at this place.

If the commissariat officers personally superintend this, and see that the carts are all really empty, the bullocks employed will drag through the carts with perfect ease.

It is to be hoped that Sir James Outram will be able to provide gram and other grain in his own neighbourhood, in order to economize carriage and save the District of Cawnpore, which has been almost drained of supplies.

Grain is now at Cawnpore, about 11 to 12 seers to the rupee.

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*From Colonel BERKELEY, to the Chief of the Staff,—dated Camp Alumbagh, 11th December 1857.*

I am directed by Major-General Sir James Outram to acknowledge the receipt of the message despatched by you by cossid on the 8th instant, with the account of the Commander-in-Chief's victory over the Gwalior Force, which arrived yesterday; he did not, however, bring the "Memorandum by the Chief of the Staff for the guidance of Sir James Outram, G. C. B." Sir James only received the copy of that this morning.



He is desirous of being informed if the memorandum was sent by the cossid that he may deal with him according to his deserts, if he has been playing false. His examination is herewith attached, and he will remain a prisoner until information is received from you.

Sir James Outram is much concerned to find by that "Memorandum" that the Commander-in-Chief expects him to detach so large a force to the rear as 400 Europeans and 200 Madras Infantry, as well as half the Cavalry, and Captain Olphert's Light Field Battery.

In his letter to the Governor-General in Council of the 9th instant, which was forwarded under a flying seal for the Commander-in-Chief's information, he states: "We have barely carriage for a weak brigade which, however, would not be detached with prudence to a distance involving an absence of more than a day, without exposing the camp to considerable risk, menaced as it is by many thousands of the enemy, supported by several guns posted in the gardens and enclosures on this side of the canal on our front and flanks, which daily send round shot into our advance posts, though from so great a distance as to do no injury."

The enemy are now busily employed in erecting a battery on our left flank, which very likely is intended for defensive purposes, but at the same time might become offensive at any moment; they are also daily strengthened by the fugitives of the army defeated by the Commander-in-Chief.

They have lately brought out two horse artillery guns. These guns could do much harm by moving on our flanks, if we had no guns of a similar description to oppose to them; and it must be recollected that they have a strong reserve of guns in the city, which might at any time be brought out against this camp or the Alumbagh.

We are also entirely without gram; and we shall be obliged to make more distant expeditions in search of it, and these parties must of course be increased in strength in proportion.

The cavalry force is most inefficient: the horses of the Volunteer Cavalry and the Irregulars, who have all been in the presidency, are so reduced in condition that they can render little or no service, and our present want of gram and the cold at night prevent their regaining it.

The military train can only mount 140 men, their saddle-trees being so bad that no amount of stuffing suffices to prevent sore backs, and these therefore comprise the only efficient cavalry we have.

Detaching 200 Madras Infantry from Bunnee would weaken Colonel Fisher too much, as strong parties of the enemy accompanied by

guns have been reported as moving along the old road to our rear and in the direction of that post, and Sir James thought it expedient, on Colonel Fisher's application, to reinforce him with 50 Europeans; they will, however, accompany the convoy and remain at Bunnee on their return.

The Major-General also wishes to point out the extensive nature of his position, the right of which is Jellalabad, and the left resting on a village to the left of the main road, a front altogether of nearly four miles. This extent is rendered necessary by being obliged to occupy Jellalabad in which direction all the grazing and forage for the cattle is obtained, and the villages on the left front and flank have to be occupied in order to prevent the enemy commanding the main road and our flank with their guns from a very strong defensive position.

Sir James Outram trusts that the Commander-in-Chief will view these points in the same light that he does, and agree with him in the inexpediency under these circumstances of detaching the force proposed to the rear.

To-night the convoy consisting of 350 camels will leave this camp, escorted by 150 European Infantry, 50 Sikhs, 25 cavalry, and be joined at Bunnee by 50 of the 90th Regiment now stationed there. This is the utmost extent of the force Sir James feels himself justified in sending.

He retains 150 camels for the purpose of bringing in grain which, from information received, he hopes to lay his hands on. Your letter only specifies camels, and Sir James has not sent any carts, as it delays the march of the convoy and involves a larger escort accompanying it.

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*Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to the Governor-General of India in Council, dated Camp Chawnee, Ypooree, 25th December 1857.*

Copy of the message from Sir James Outram to the Commander-in-Chief, dated Alumbagh, 22nd December. Attacked a party of the enemy this morning, dispersed them, capturing four guns, three 9-pounders, horse artillery complete, with limbers, ammunition, &c., and one 6-pounder, and several wagons of ammunition, and an elephant. Our loss very trifling.

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*GENERAL ORDERS by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, Fort William, 5th January 1858.*

No. 16 of 1858.—The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council has much satisfaction in publishing the following report of a successful attack made by a portion of the troops under command of Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., on a body of the enemy in the



neighbourhood of his camp, on the 22nd December last. His Lordship in Council concurs in the commendation given by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to Sir James Outram and the officers and men under his command on the occasion.

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*From the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department—Dated Head-Quarters, Camp Poora, December 1857.*

I have the honour, by desire of the Commander-in-Chief, to enclose, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, copy of a despatch of the 23rd instant, from Major-General Sir James Outram, G. C. B., reporting the circumstances of a successful attack made upon a portion of the enemy in the neighbourhood of his camp by a detachment of the troops under the Major-General's command, in which four guns were captured; and I am to state that His Excellency considers the whole affair to have been extremely well conducted and to reflect much credit on the troops engaged.

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*From Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, G.C.B., Commanding troops in Oudh, to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—Dated Camp before Lucknow, 23rd December 1857.*

I have the honour to report, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that I had yesterday an affair with the enemy at a village called Guilee, three miles from hence, situated a little to the right of the road to Dilkoosha.

I had been informed two days previously, by my spies, that the enemy contemplated surrounding my position, in order to cut off supplies, stop all foraging expeditions, and to intercept my communication with Bunnec. With this object they despatched a force to Guilee, which took up a position between that village and Budroop, which places are about a mile distant from each other.

On the evening of the 21st instant, I learnt that the rebels had been reinforced, and that their strength amounted to about 4,000 infantry, 400 cavalry, and eight field guns.\*

Having ascertained that a space of about half a mile intervened between their position and the gardens skirting the canal and the Dilkoosha, I moved out at 5 A.M. in the hope of surprising them at daybreak, and intercepting their retreat to the city, with a force detailed in the accompanying divisional order, which I have this day issued, and

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\* Since ascertained to have been only four; all of which were captured.

to which I beg to refer His Excellency for all details, and for the terms in which I express my appreciation of the conduct of the troops on the occasion.

The main body of the enemy being on the march considerably in advance, retreated to the city by a detour to the left, out of our reach, and concealed by intervening tops of trees, on hearing the attack on their rear; but the loss of four horse artillery guns, much ammunition, besides elephants and baggage, and some 50 or 60 men slain, will, I think, deter the enemy from again venturing beyond their defensive works, or at any rate from attempting, for sometime to come, to carry out their plan of surrounding this camp within a too limited circumference; and I have great hopes that the success of this expedition will be productive of good effect in restoring confidence to the neighbouring inhabitants.

*Division Orders issued by Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, G.C.B., dated Camp Alumbagh, 23rd December 1857.*

1. Major-General Sir James Outram has much pleasure in record-

Two 9-pounder guns, Royal Artillery,  
Captain Maude.

Four 9-pounder guns, 2nd Company,  
3rd Battalion, Bengal Artillery,  
Captain Olpherts.

112 Military train, Major Robertson.  
50 Volunteer Cavalry, Captain Barrow.  
36 Irregular Cavalry, Lieutenants Hay  
and Graham.

400 Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers, Colo-  
nel Guy.

103 Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, Cap-  
tain Brooks.

156 Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders,  
Captain Lockhart.

108 Her Majesty's 84th Regiment, Cap-  
tain O'Brien.

270 Her Majesty's 90th Light Infantry,  
Captain Guise.

150 Regiment of Ferozepore, Captain  
Brassey.

40 Madras Sappers, Lieutenant Ogilvie.

TOTAL.

Six 9-pounder guns, under Captain  
Olpherts.

190 Cavalry, under Major Robertson.

1,227 Infantry, under Brigadier Stisted.

Right column, under Lieutenant-Colonel  
Purnell, Her Majesty's 90th  
Light Infantry.

Left column, under Colonel Guy, 5th  
Fusiliers.

Reserve, under Lieutenant-Colonel  
Hamilton, Her Majesty's 78th  
Highlanders.

suddenness of the attack, and the spirited way in which it was executed,

ing in division orders his satisfaction with the conduct of the officers and men (quoted in the margin), under the command of Brigadier Stisted, engaged yesterday in the skirmish at Guilee, in which four guns and twelve wagons filled with ammunition were captured.

2. The right column, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell, Her Majesty's 90th Regiment, consisting of detachments of the 78th and 90th regiments, and of the Ferozepore Regiment of Sikhs, excited his admiration by the gallant way in which, with a cheer, they dashed at a strong position held by the enemy, and from which they were met by a heavy fire. Regardless of the overwhelming numbers and six guns reported to be posted there, the



resulted in the immediate flight of the enemy, with hardly a casualty on our side.

3. Colonel Guy in command of the left column consisting of 400 men of Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers, under the guidance of Lieutenant Moorsom, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, was equally successful in his simultaneous attack on the adjacent village of Guilee, in which and the adjoining tope two guns were captured.

4. The enemy were now rapidly followed up across the plain by the Volunteer Cavalry, under Captain Barrow, until they found refuge in a village, from which they opened a fire of grape and musketry. They were, however, speedily dislodged, by the assistance of two of Captain Olpherts' guns under the command of Lieutenant Smithett, and changing their line of retreat, they endeavoured to reach the city by the way of the Dilkoosha.

5. The military train, under Major Robertson, having been, however, despatched to make a flank movement, followed them up so rapidly that they dispersed their Cavalry, and drove their guns into a ravine, where they were captured, the leading horses of which the traces were cut, only escaping.

6. The Major-General was particularly pleased with the very cool and soldierlike behaviour of the military train. Far ahead of the Infantry, and unable to remove the guns which were captured, they were menaced in their front by a large body of fresh troops from the city, and attacked on their right flank by the main body of the enemy, consisting of about 2,000 Infantry, who had commenced their march previous to our attack, and who on hearing their rear assailed, also changed their route to one in the direction of the city, and seeing their guns in possession of so small a force as that under Major Robertson, made demonstrations of an attempt to regain them; but by the bold front shown by the military train, and the gallant advance of their skirmishers, were held at bay, until the arrival of a party of the 5th Fusiliers and two 9-pounder guns, under Captain Olpherts, completely secured their capture, and enabled a working party of the Madras sappers under the command of Lieutenant Ogilvie, to extricate them from the ravine into which they had been driven. Captain Hutchinson, Chief Engineer, on this, as on several other occasions, during the day afforded much valuable assistance.

7. The Major-General has to thank Lieutenant-Colonel H. Hamilton, commanding the reserve, for the good position taken up by

him, which, with the fire of the two guns under Lieutenant Simpson which were most judiciously posted, were of great assistance in checking the advance of the enemy during the protracted operations of removing the captured guns.

8. Sir James Outram has also to express his acknowledgments to Brigadiers Hamilton and Eyre, who were left in charge of the camp, and with the small force at their disposal, checked the dispositions for an attack which the enemy was commencing with their skirmishers on the left flank, until the return of the force to camp caused them to abandon their intentions.

9. It will be the pleasing duty of the Major-General to make His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief acquainted with the successful result of yesterday's operations, and his approbation of the conduct of all those concerned in them.

*Supplement to Division Orders.*

In publishing to the troops under his command the return of casualties which occurred in the skirmish at Guilee on the 22nd instant, as well as the return of ordnance captured by them, the Major-General is happy to have to record his approval of the conduct of Staff-Sergeant Roddy, who was in command of the two guns attached to Colonel Guy's column, and whom his commanding officer, Captain Olpherts, has mentioned for the able way in which he brought his guns into action, and the good service he rendered in covering the rapid advance of the column.

Major Robertson has also brought to his notice the great assistance he received on every occasion from Captain Lane, 5th Bengal Light Cavalry, and Lieutenant Rich, Her Majesty's 9th Lancers, attached to the military train.

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*GENERAL ORDERS by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, dated Fort William, 29th January 1858.*

No. 182 of 1858.—The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council is pleased to direct the publication of the following despatch from Major-General Sir James Outram, G. C. B., reporting the repulse of a large body of the enemy, who made an unsuccessful attack on his position on the 12th instant.

His Lordship in Council expresses his entire satisfaction with the manner in which Major-General Sir James Outram, G. C. B., has



conducted this affair, and with the behaviour of the troops engaged on the occasion.

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*From the Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—No. 30-A, dated Head-Quarters Camp, Fatehgarh, 19th January 1858.*

I have the honour, by desire of the Commander-in-Chief, to enclose,  
for the information of the Right  
Hon'ble the Governor-General in

Council, copy of a despatch\* from Major-General Sir James Outram, G. C. B., reporting the repulse of a large body of the enemy, who made an unsuccessful attack on his position on the 12th instant.

2. Sir James Outram's dispositions appear to have been made with such forethought as enabled him to inflict considerable loss on the rebels without unnecessarily exposing his own troops.

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*From Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, Commanding in Oudh, to General W. R. MANSFIELD, Chief of the Staff of the Army in the East Indies, dated Camp, Alumbagh, 12th January 1858.*

I have the honour to inform His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief that the rebels of Lucknow attacked my position this morning, and were repulsed with considerable loss.

In consequence of reports that Mansoob Allie was collecting men and receiving reinforcements from Lucknow to intercept my communications, I sent a stronger escort than usual with my convoy, now on its way from Cawnpore, consisting of 450 infantry, 4 guns and 80 cavalry.

The rebels were encouraged by this reduction of my force to meditate an attack, of which I received information for several days, and yesterday evening more definite accounts led me to expect them at sunrise this morning. I therefore made such dispositions of my force and outposts as were necessary, and the troops breakfasted at daybreak, and were all in readiness.

About sunrise this morning, large masses of the enemy were seen on my left front, and they gradually spread round the whole front and flanks of the position, extending from opposite to our left rear outpost to near Jellalabad on our right—a distance of at least six miles, and amounting at the lowest estimation to 30,000 men.

As soon as their movements were decidedly in advance, the brigades,—the right mustering 713 and the left 733 Europeans and 100 men of the regiment of Ferozepore,—were formed in front of their lines.

The enemy first advanced upon my left front and flank, covered by a large body of skirmishers, on which I detached two regiments of the left brigade to support the outposts, and extended in skirmishing order on their flanks, whilst the third regiment was held in reserve; at the same time Major Olpherts, with four horse battery guns, supported by a detachment of the military train, was directed to check the enemy on my left rear, where their cavalry showed in the greatest strength. The Volunteer and Native Cavalry were drawn up to protect the rear of the camp, which at this time appeared to be threatened.

The right brigade remained on its ground.

As soon as the enemy were fairly within range they were exposed to a severe fire of artillery from Alumbagh, and from the advanced batteries of my outposts on the left front and centre, and fled with the utmost precipitation, without having come within musket range, except at the left centre outpost, commanded by Captain Down, 1st Madras Fusiliers, where a considerable number entered a grove of trees usually occupied by our outlying picquets, from which they were driven in a few minutes by the skirmishers of the outpost.

On the left rear Major Olpherts moved out his guns at a gallop, and advancing well to his front completely drove off and dispersed a very large body of infantry and cavalry which was endeavouring to penetrate to our rear, turning them back towards the city, and doing much execution by the fire of his guns on their masses at 500 yards.

At this time I received a report that Alumbagh and my right advanced outpost of Jellalabad were threatened, and on proceeding to the right I found that the enemy had brought three horse artillery guns, supported by an immense mass of infantry, against the picquet which connects my right with Jellalabad, and which had been strengthened to 100 men with two guns. I moved the regiment of Ferozepore and the 5th Fusiliers with two guns of Moir's Bullock Battery from the right brigade to the front, taking the enemy in flank and driving them back. They were then exposed to the fire of Maude's guns from Alumbagh, which played upon them with great effect.

About this time the enemy again advanced on the left front and flank, their cavalry on this occasion being more to the front than before.



A party of the latter galloped up to the rifle-pits in front of the left advanced outpost; but Alexander's and Clarke's guns opened on them and drove them back in confusion.

About the same time the enemy on the right, again advancing from the heavy cover of groves and villages into which they had retreated, reopened their guns on the Jellalabad picquet; but were finally silenced and driven off by the fire of Moir's two guns which had been sent to the picquet to reinforce it, and replace the two guns originally there, which had been withdrawn to Jellalabad.

Simultaneously with the attack above described the enemy advanced upon Alumbagh and established themselves in the nearest cover, notwithstanding that they were seen to suffer severely from the artillery and rifle fire. About noon they also advanced into the open ground, and were immediately dispersed and driven back by the fire of Maude's guns and the riflemen from Alumbagh.

By 4 o'clock P. M. the whole of the enemy had disappeared and retired to the city or to their original positions in the gardens and villages in our front.

Nothing could exceed the eagerness of the troops to come in contact with the rebels, nor their disappointment at their precipitate flight to the cover of their works the moment the guns opened and our line of skirmishers advanced.

The artillery made excellent practice on the masses of the enemy, and in reply to the fire from their batteries, which was maintained on our outposts and Alumbagh with little intermission.

The casualties amount to one officer slightly, three privates slightly, and two severely wounded.

I take this opportunity of sending a return of casualties during the last fortnight, including to-day's.

The steadiness of the troops and the promptitude with which my orders were carried out by my officers gives me every assurance that the enemy's attack, if it had been as formidable as their forces were numerous, would have been as signally defeated.

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*Numerical return of casualties in the Field Force under the command of Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, G. C. B., from 29th December up to present date.*

CAMP ALUMBAGH,  
The 12th January 1858.

Detail.	KILLED.				WOUNDED.				Remarks.
	Officers.	Non-commissioned officers.	Privates.	Total.	Officers.	Non-commissioned officers.	Privates.	Total.	
Artillery ...	*1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	* Lieutenant Gordon, 1st Company, 5th Battalion, 9th January 1858.
Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers ...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	† 29th December 1857.
Ditto 76th Foot ...	...	...	...	...	†1	...	...	...	† 12th January 1858, Lieutenant Hennessy, 34th Native Infantry.
1st Madras Fusiliers ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	12th January 1858.
Regiment of Peshawars ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	Ditto.
Total ...	1	...	1	2	1	...	6	7	{ 1 Wounded, 30th December 1857. 1 Ditto 12th January 1858.

Remained.

(Sd.) D. S. DODGSON, Capt.,  
Deputy Asst. Adj.-Genl.

(Sd.) J. OUTRAM, Maj. Genl.,  
Comdg. 1st Division.

(Sd.) R. J. H. BURCH, Col.,  
Secy. to the Govt. of India, Mil. Dept.

*From Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, G. C. B., Commanding in Oudh, to General MAXSFIELD, Chief of the Staff of the Army in the East Indies,—No. 63, dated Camp, Alumbagh, 17th January 1858.*

I have the honour to report, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that the enemy made an attack on my position yesterday, similar to that reported in letter of the 12th instant, except that, though they did not show in such general strength, their attack was more bold than before. In the morning they made a sudden attack on the Jellalabad picquet, and were received with a heavy fire, which drove them back immediately, leaving on the ground their leader, a Hindu devotee representing Hunnoman, who was advancing bravely at their head, and several killed and wounded, whom they were unable to carry off. As they were seen removing many bodies, their loss must have been severe. Two 9-pounders, under Captain Moir, were sent



down to support the picquet, and completed the expulsion of the enemy from the cover in its front.

On the left front and left, the enemy advanced skirmishers, and threatened during the greater part of the day, suffering severely whenever they ventured within range. After dark they assembled in great strength in front of my left advanced village outpost, commanded by Major Gordon, 75th Regiment, and attacked it with a large body of infantry, who were allowed to approach within 80 yards of the post, when they were received with discharges of grape from three guns and a heavy fire from the rifles of the post, which inflicted very severe loss, and drove them off immediately. Some shells from an 8-inch mortar expedited their retreat. The Enfield rifles and Captain Maude's guns in Alumbagh had several opportunities of inflicting severe loss on the enemy, which were promptly taken advantage of. A large body of cavalry showed on my left rear, and were safely left to the vigilance of Captain Olpherts, who watched and kept them in check with his four horse battery guns, supported by a detachment of the military train under Captain Clarke.

The casualties of my force during the day amounted to—

1 Bombardier, killed.

7 European infantry, wounded.

1 Gunner, wounded by a fall from his gun.

The judgment and coolness with which Major Gordon defended his post deserve much praise; he was ably supported by Lieutenant Clarke, commanding the battery.

Much credit is also due to Lieutenant Wynne, of Her Majesty's 90th, who commanded the Jellalabad picquet.

Also to Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, commanding the post, and Captain Maude, commanding the Artillery at Alumbagh.

To Captain Ratray, commanding the Infantry, Lieutenant Gully, commanding the Battery of No. I advanced outpost on the left, and to the officers and men of their posts for their vigilance and alertness in checking and punishing the enemy at every opportunity.

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*GENERAL ORDERS by the Hon'ble the President of the Council of India in Council, dated Fort William, 15th February 1858.*

No. 264 of 1858.—The Hon'ble the President of the Council of India in Council is pleased to direct the publication of the following

despatch from Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., Commanding, No. 62, dated 16th January 1858, transmitting reports relative to the occupation and defence of the post of Alumbagh, under Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel McIntyre, 78th Highlanders, and of the operations of the artillery of his force, commanded by Major V. Eyre, Bengal Artillery.

2. His Honour in Council tenders his warm acknowledgments to the several officers named in these reports, as well as to the officers and men engaged, for the good services rendered by them.

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*From Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, G.C.B., Commanding in Oudh, to Major H. W. NORMAN, Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—No. 62, dated Camp, Alumbagh, 16th January 1858.*

In consequence of my having received no report from the Officer Commanding at Alumbagh, the services of the garrison and of particular officers have not been brought to the notice of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

I therefore beg leave to submit, for the information of His Excellency, a report recently received from Major McIntyre, Her Majesty's 78th Regiment, of the occupation and defence of Alumbagh, from the 25th September, when he was placed in command of that post by the late Major-General Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B., until the arrival of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's force.

During the earlier portion of Major McIntyre's occupation of Alumbagh, whilst cut off from communication with Cawnpore, uncertain of the fate of the rest of the force from the moment when he lost sight of it in the suburbs of Lucknow, and surrounded by a numerous enemy, his command was one of grave and anxious responsibility, and the firm and able manner in which he used his small resources to repulse the attacks of the enemy, to strengthen his defences, and overcome the difficulties of his situation, and the cheerful conduct of the troops under laborious duties, merit my cordial acknowledgments, and will, I feel sure, meet with His Excellency's approbation.

I beg to second most strongly the recommendation which Major McIntyre makes in favour of his second-in-command, Major Sibley, who commanded at Alumbagh, during three weeks, whilst Major McIntyre was on the sick list, also of the several officers of the staff or commanding detachments favourably mentioned by Major McIntyre.

I also beg permission to submit Brigadier Eyre's report of the artillery operations of the Oudh Field Force, from the 21st September



to the 24th November, which I have recently received. I beg now to recommend the several officers mentioned by Brigadier Eyre, whose names have not already been submitted for the favourable notice of Government, for their service under their distinguished commander, particularly Lieutenant A. Fraser, Brigade-Major of Artillery, whose name, I regret to find, was omitted; but whose gallantry and very zealous services deserved favourable notice.

Captain Evans, of the Bombay Native Infantry, doing duty with the artillery, was of much service in the artillery park, at the evacuation of the Residency of Lucknow.

Lieutenant T. H. Harward, of the Artillery, performed good service as Commissary of Ordnance at Cawnpore and during the march to Alumbagh.

Lieutenant J. Anderson, of the Engineers, Commanding Engineers of the Lucknow Garrison, though confined to his couch by illness, never ceased to exert himself to supply the Engineer Department with materials, and Lieutenant J. M. Innes gave very valuable aid in the mining operations until he was also disabled by ill-health and fatigue.

The services of Captain Maycock, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, were highly appreciated by the late Sir Henry Havelock, and his personal attendance on myself during the march to Alumbagh in the actions of the 21st and 23rd September, deserved my thanks and commendation.

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*From Major and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel MCINTYRE, 78th Highlanders, to Colonel R. NAPIER, Chief of the Staff with the Force under Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, G.C.B.,—dated Camp, near Alum Bagh, 3rd January 1858.*

Having been directed to report upon the circumstances attending the occupation and defence of the Alumbagh, I have the honour to state, for the information of the Major-General Commanding, that on the advance of the force on Lucknow, on the 25th of September last, under the late Major-General Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B., I was appointed by that officer to the command of the place, with detachments of regiments, consisting of about 280 Europeans, some Sikhs, and four guns. In it were placed the sick of the force, amounting to 128 men, of whom 64 were wounded, the baggage, commissariat, treasure chest, reserve ordnance park, and a large quantity of small-arm ammunition.

The Native followers, Government and otherwise, could not have amounted to fewer than between four and five thousand persons, with an enormous number of cattle of various descriptions. The supply of food for the Native followers did not exceed the consumption of a few days, and we had little or nothing for the cattle but what could be procured by foraging parties. Fortunately, some crops of rice and other grain, nearly ripe, were on the ground sufficiently near to enable us to gather them under the protection of our guns. As these became consumed, the sufferings of the Native followers from want became, I regret to say, very great. Anything that could be thought of was done to alleviate them. Driven by starvation to seek for food too far in advance of our foraging parties, numbers were cut up by the enemy, who surrounded us. The efforts made to relieve their wants from Cawnpore were for a considerable time unsuccessful, as even quill communications by cossids failed to reach their destination; however, on the 7th of October, a convoy of provisions, escorted by a party of 250 men and two guns, and commanded by Major Bingham, Her Majesty's 64th Regiment, reached us from Cawnpore, and on the 25th of the same month a large convoy, intended for Lucknow, escorted by 500 men and four guns, under the command of Major Barnston, Her Majesty's 90th Regiment, reached the Alumbagh. Those enabled me to relieve, to a certain extent, the wants of the Native followers. One hundred and fifty men of Major Bingham's party were ordered to remain to reinforce the garrison and one hundred to return to Cawnpore by a forced night march to escort return cattle.

Major Barnston's detachment was ordered, after having rested for a day or two, to return to Cawnpore. As the enemy had, however, appeared in very great numbers, and had become more daring than usual, I took upon myself the responsibility of detaining them, which turned out fortunately, for in a day or two I received an order to do so permanently. This gave me a force of 900 Europeans and ten guns, which enabled me to increase my foraging parties, and then range.

To take steps for the immediate defence of my post was my first care, and I made use of every available means to accomplish it. Subsequently, more permanent works were ably constructed by Lieutenant Judge, of the Engineers, assisted by Mr. Tait, Civil Engineer, attached to that department. These were partially completed, only the bastions however at the angles and a banquette beside were so, and the mango topes cut down in all directions round the post.



The enemy constructed batteries, at different periods, at five different points around us, and their fire was at times exceedingly annoying and destructive to the Native followers and cattle from their necessarily crowded state; but I am happy to say that during the period of our holding the position—forty-nine days—one European soldier only was killed and two wounded.

Jellalabad—occupied in force by the enemy with cavalry, infantry and four guns—formed a sixth and dangerous neighbour; but on two occasions only did they bring out their guns and open fire, and they were then soon silenced.

A two-gun battery at the Yellow House, (knocked down)\* about the enemy's ears and silenced by our artillery fire, under the able direction of Captain Moir, of the Bengal Artillery, was repaired during the night; but on a repetition of our fire was again silenced, and eventually they withdrew their guns from it.

The duty was at first very severe on both officers and men; but was performed most cheerfully by both. Much praise is due to the artillery and men attached, on whom it was even more severe than on the others.

From about the 3rd to the 22nd of October in consequence of my illness, the command of the post devolved on Major Sibley, of Her Majesty's 64th Regiment, in charge of the treasure chest, the next senior officer, from whom I on all occasions received every assistance.

I trust the Major-General will not think it presumptuous on my part to bring to his notice the names of those officers (in addition to those already mentioned) who were most conspicuous in the performance of their duties, and deserve much credit. They are—Captain Maycock, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General; Lieutenant Gordon, Bengal Artillery, who commanded the detachments of artillery until the arrival of Captain Moir; Lieutenant Sandwith, Her Majesty's 84th Regiment, Acting Field Engineer (Lieutenant Sandwith was subsequently killed in Lucknow); Lieutenant Haldane, Her Majesty's 64th Regiment, Acting Field Engineer; Lieutenant Morland, Acting Staff Officer (1st Bengal Fusiliers.)

The unwearied attention of Surgeon Innes, of Her Majesty's 84th Regiment, and Surgeon Dominichette, of Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, to the sick and wounded, and their exertions on entering the Alumbagh with 64 wounded men, deserve the greatest praise.

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\* Copy illegible.

May I be permitted to add that I on every occasion received the greatest assistance from Captain Moir, of the Artillery, who was ever at his post.

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*From Major V. EYDE, Commanding Artillery Brigade, to Colonel R. NAPIER, Chief of the Staff with the force under Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, G.C.B.,—dated Camp, Alumbagh, near Lucknow, 8th January 1858.*

The publication of Major-General Sir James Outram's despatches having brought to light the accidental omission of any detailed report from the artillery brigade under my orders, I gladly avail myself of his kind permission to fill up the blank, which I do the more readily since it affords me a fitting opportunity of placing on record publicly my own professional testimony of the signal services rendered by those whom it was my good fortune to command during the recent operations at Lucknow.

2. On the lamented death of Brigadier Cooper on the 26th September I succeeded to the command of the brigade, and during my subsequent severe illness my place was temporarily filled by Captain Olpherts.

3. Owing partly to these changes, and partly to the constant occupation which the daily exigencies of the service demanded from officers and men in the artillery, written reports were not expected, and hence it may have heretofore escaped mention that, for two special acts of gallantry on the 25th September, both Captain Maude, R.A., and Captain Olpherts, B.A.,\* commanding field batteries, were rewarded by the late Major-General Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B., with the much coveted distinction of the Victoria Cross.

4. I hope I shall be pardoned for this passing allusion to a fact so gratifying to the pride of the combined artillery arms of England and India, which, in this campaign, have for the first time encountered the enemies of their common country side by side in friendly emulation.

5. Never, I firmly believe, were field batteries exposed to a severer trial than that which attended the penetration of Lucknow on that memorable day! On Captain Maude, who was in advance, devolved the difficult task of silencing the enemy's guns which defended the bridge leading to the city. This he accomplished under a murderous cross-fire of grape and musketry, with a loss of one-third of his men; and it was for his nerve and coolness on this occasion (but for which the army could not have advanced), that Major-General Sir James

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\* Bengal Artillery.



Outram, who was an eye-witness of his conduct, recommended him for the high distinction above recorded.

6. Captain Olpherts was almost simultaneously earning similar laurels by the conspicuous gallantry with which he assisted Her Majesty's 90th Light Infantry, led by the lamented Colonel Campbell, in the capture of two guns on our right, under a heavy fire of grape; carrying them off in triumph, attached to his spare limbers, through a most galling cross-fire of musketry from the loopholes of neighbouring houses and walled gardens.

7. To narrate our whole proceedings on that day would involve too lengthy details, suffice it therefore to say that after crossing the bridge we met no serious obstacle until coming under the fire of grape and musketry from the King's Palace and the adjacent buildings on our left, and of round shot and shell from the guns across the river on our right.

8. As our force pushed on towards where the beleaguered garrison of Lucknow were anxiously expecting deliverance, each battery in turn unlimbered on the road to silence, if possible, the enemy's guns, and thus protect the advance of the main column. While thus engaged, the gunners stood firm and undaunted like so many targets for the enemy's concealed sharpshooters and grape shot, which latter ploughed up the ground on all sides, committing fearful havoc, as our list of casualties sufficiently testifies.

9. It was late at night ere the entire main body got out of fire; but two heavy guns, under Lieutenant J. M. Fraser, together with some thirty ammunition and store carts, having remained at the Motce Munzil, with a party of Her Majesty's 90th, under Colonel Campbell, to protect the rear-guard and wounded, were unable to accomplish a junction with the main body until the morning of the 27th. The position of the 24-pounder gun was one of great peril, from which it was with difficulty extricated, chiefly through the able and energetic measures of Captain Olpherts, who had been sent back to render assistance, as very fully described and acknowledged by Colonel Napier in that officer's report, already published.

10. It was here that those brave and lamented officers, Brigadier Cooper, B.A., and Captain Crump, M.A., his Brigade-Major, fell victims to their noble zeal. Here also it was that Private Duffy, of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, a volunteer with the artillery, earned the Victoria Cross by his cool intrepidity and daring skill in assisting to



extricate one of the guns from its desperate position. Colonel Napier also speaks in high terms of Lieutenant Fraser's exertions on this occasion.

11. On succeeding to the command of the brigade, I appointed Lieutenant Fraser my Brigade-Major, and found him most efficient, in fact I cannot speak too warmly of his soldierly zeal and devotion which, thenceforward down to the present time, I have had constant opportunities of witnessing, and I regard him as a young officer of the highest promise.

12. Being myself prostrated by fever for several weeks after our relief of the Lucknow Garrison, the temporary command of the artillery was most effectively exercised by Captain Olpherts, whose well-tryed abilities always prove equal to every emergency. During the interval of seven weeks that elapsed until the happy arrival of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's force, the artillery was chiefly occupied in defensive warfare against foes whose numerical strength and advantages of position enabled them to surround and worry us at every point.

13. Owing to the paucity of our numbers from casualties and the great extent of our position, this involved a very great amount of labour for the artillery, who were on continuous duty at their guns without any relief, besides working hard in the construction of fresh batteries whenever required. Under all their fatigues, privations, and dangers the best spirit prevailed from first to last among the men, who considered no sacrifices too great for the accomplishment of the noble end in view, viz., the deliverance of their countrywomen and wounded comrades from the worst of fates.

14. It is satisfactory too to be able to state that the Native establishments attached to field batteries, consisting of gun-lascars, horse and bullock-drivers, syces and grass-cutters, behaved most loyally, though suffering as severely as any of the troops in killed and wounded, yet none deserted! Sirdar Driver Gungoo, and Naik Darsun, of the syce drivers (killed by a round shot), both of No. 12 Light Field Battery, were particularly noted for their loyal devotion.

15. On the 16th November the near approach of the Commander-in-Chief's force was the signal for renewed offensive operations on our side. These have been already alluded to in the late Sir Henry Have-lock's despatch of that date. Our object was to drive the enemy from certain strong positions which he occupied between us and the advance-

ing columns, and in this we entirely succeeded, thereby greatly facilitating the junction of the two forces, and saving the valuable lives of our soldiers.

16. The batteries, which had been for some time previously constructed for this purpose, were concealed behind a lofty wall forming the boundary of our position in that quarter. On them were mounted four 18-pounder iron guns, one 8-inch iron howitzer, four 9-pounder field guns, and two 24-pounder field howitzers under the skilful direction of Captain Olpherts, Lieutenants Fraser and Smithett (the latter twice wounded and distinguished on several occasions), and Staff-Sergeant Melville, of the 1st Company, 5th Battalion. In position behind were six 8-inch mortars under Captain Mande, R. A., most ably assisted by Lieutenants Maitland, R. A., and Simpson and Ward, of the Bengal Native Infantry, the two latter being volunteers well instructed in artillery science.

17. At the appointed time large openings were effected by the united force of mines and breaches in the screen wall in our front, and the batteries opened an excessively hot fire for three hours on the buildings beyond, which were occupied in considerable force by the enemy. Sufficient impression having been thus made, and mines having been exploded by the engineers in several contiguous quarters, storming parties rushed out at 3 p. M., and quickly carried all before them with trifling loss.

18. During the night the artillery pushed forward their heavy guns to the advanced positions thus gained, when some batteries were rapidly constructed from which to open on the King's Palace, now within easy breaching distance. On the 17th our 8-inch howitzer shelled the Tara Kotee and mess-house with great effect, setting fire to the former and materially assisting the attack of the advancing force on the opposite side, although perhaps unknown to them, as it must have been difficult for them to distinguish our distant fire from that of the enemy.

19. On the 18th a junction having been effected between the two forces on the previous night, a joint bombardment took place of the King's Palace, in the outer wall of which several large breaches were rapidly effected, and great havoc made in the principal buildings behind it. This was continued at intervals, on the two following days, with great loss of life to the enemy crowding within, as was subsequently ascertained, and there can be little doubt that had it suited our plan of operations, we might have at once walked into the place and occupied



the palace with comparatively little loss. But the great object we had in view having been triumphantly accomplished in the safe rescue of the sick, wounded and women from their recent perils, any longer delay at Lucknow was considered inexpedient until they should be safely conducted beyond the reach of their merciless foes; and on the night of the 22nd we effected our final evacuation of the entrenchment.

20. Measures had been previously adopted for the removal or destruction of all our spare ordnance, ammunition and military stores. This entailed no ordinary amount of labour and physical endurance on the part of those to whose lot it fell to convey so many ponderous carriages by manual force through the narrow and intricate mazes of the Chuttur Munzil and Furhut Bux Palaces—a duty in which the artillery were cheerfully aided by their infantry comrades, who on all occasions have volunteered their services, both for ordinary labour and also for the higher obligations of manning the guns when circumstances required.

21. Our hearty acknowledgments are also due to our scientific brethren of the Engineers, for their cordial and effective co-operation, to which we are no doubt indebted greatly for whatever success has attended our efforts.

22. Lieutenant Thomas, Madras Artillery, Commissary of Ordnance, I always found indefatigable in his duties, which were latterly very severe, as on him devolved the laborious preparation for removing our magazine, and destroying such guns and military stores as we were unable to carry away. With a very small establishment he effected all this as satisfactorily as could be expected. Lieutenant J. Alexander, Artillery, of the Lucknow Garrison, also worked zealously with the guns in position, and deserves creditable mention.

23. Before concluding this report I wish to record the excellent services rendered to the artillery by Captain Evans, of the Bombay Infantry, who commanded with great credit several guns in position in the entrenchment, and whose zeal and devotion were conspicuous. Also those of Lieutenant Ouseley, of the Bengal Native Infantry, who likewise attached himself to the guns and rendered himself extremely useful.

24. Surgeon Irvine and Assistant Surgeon J. J. Clarke are also particularly deserving of mention for praiseworthy zeal in the discharge of their professional duties.

25. Lieutenant Delafosse, Artillery, one of the few survivors of the Cawnpore massacre, was attached as a volunteer to Captain Olpherts' Battery, and behaved with great gallantry on the 25th September as



well as in the previous engagements at Mungulwar and Alumbagh. I regret to add that the privations and trials he thus for a second time endured in a beleaguered garrison at length broke down his enfeebled frame, and obliged him to proceed with the sick to Cawnpore.

26. Among the non-commissioned officers whose conduct most commended itself to notice were Sergeant-Major Bird and Staff-Sergeant Roddy, of the 2nd Company, 3rd Battalion, and Staff-Sergeant Melville, of the 1st Company, 5th Battalion. The latter had twice distinguished himself before in Arrah. I beg most earnestly to recommend them to the consideration of superior authority.

27. Sergeant-Major Lamont, of the Royal Artillery, fell gloriously at his gun on the 25th of September, deeply lamented by the whole artillery brigade. He was a first-rate and most gallant soldier, and must have attained honour and distinction had he survived.

28. Lieutenant D. Gordon, who had assisted me most zealously in working the heavy guns in the actions of Mungulwar and Alumbagh, was left behind at the latter place in command of a portion of the heavy battery, as also Lieutenant G. M. Clerk,\* with two 9-pounder field guns of Captain Olpherts' battery, and I understand they were able to render material assistance in the defence of that important position.

P. S.—The last sentence had scarcely been penned when I was startled by the announcement that poor Lieutenant D. Gordon has been just killed in the Alumbagh by a round shot. I deeply regret the loss of this most amiable and excellent young officer.

*Telegram from the Chief of the Staff, to Brigadier-General MacGREGOR,—dated Cawnpore, 16th February 1858.*

The Commander-in-Chief has put off his movement in advance for a week, in order to give time for the movement of the Maharajah on Lucknow, and so as to have a combined operation against that city. He hopes you will be on the banks of the Goomtee or within one march of it by the 26th instant. He will be encamped beyond Bunnee on the 23rd instant, or within one march of the Goomtee.

*From Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, G.C.B., Commanding 1st Division, to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Camp, Alumbagh, 17th February 1858.*

The events that have occurred since my last report dated the 17th ultimo have been of no great importance. The enemy have received

\* Lieutenant M. G. Clerk,—see Bengal Army List, February 1858.

information of the continual passage of troops and stores along the Cawnpore road and evince a nervous restlessness, which betrays itself in constant assemblies of large bodies of men, both cavalry and infantry, and demonstrations of attacks, which a few rounds from our nearest guns have in general put an immediate end to. Although these threatened attacks have cost us but very few casualties, still they are excessively harassing to the troops, whom I am obliged constantly to turn out and keep under arms.

On the 15th instant a strong body of horsemen supported by infantry were observed moving towards our left rear. As a convoy was on the road, and a most violent dust-storm, favourable for them to approach it unobserved was blowing, I ordered out two of Captain Olpherts' horsed guns and a troop of the military train to observe their movements; and, on a further report of the enemy's increasing strength being made, supported them with the rest of the battery, the remainder of the military train, a detachment of Wales' Horse, and Her Majesty's 90th Light Infantry.

In the meanwhile a portion of the enemy's cavalry escorting a person in a palankeen having advanced well into the open, Captain Olpherts' two guns and the troop of the military train galloped to the front and opened on them with grape, killing and wounding several and dispersing the remainder. I have since been informed that it was the Moulvie himself who headed this party, and that he was severely wounded. We lost our havildar of gun-lascars.

On the 16th instant the enemy filled their trenches with as many men as they could hold, and assembled in vast numbers under the trees in their rear; at the same time a body of cavalry and infantry was detached to threaten our left flank. During the morning they made repeated demonstrations of advancing to attack, but their courage apparently as often failed them, and they almost immediately retired to their position. About 5-30 P.M. they suddenly issued in clouds of skirmishers from the trenches, advancing for some distance towards our batteries posted on the left and centre of our line, and opened a smart fire of musketry on the outpost of the left front village and advanced towards it in large bodies. They were repulsed by the picquet consisting of 200 men of the 90th Light Infantry, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith of that regiment, losing a good many men, the 90th having three wounded. As soon as it was dark they concentrated a very heavy musketry fire on the north and east faces



of the Alumbagh ; which they continued for about two hours, but fortunately did no harm ; they did not all finally retire until 8-30 P.M. Their loss must have been severe, as their flashes gave an excellent line for our guns, which opened on them with shrapnel shell and grape. Our loss during the last two days has been one killed and three wounded.

To-day they moved about two thousand infantry towards our right rear, apparently with the intention of interrupting the engineer working parties. I sent three troops, military train, two guns, and a squadron of Wales' Horse in that direction, and the enemy withdrew towards the city. During their absence they made a partial advance against our right and left picquet, but were driven back by the artillery fire.

The reports from the city state that it is their intention to harass us by continually annoying us in this way, and that attacks are every day to be made from all quarters. This obliges me to keep all my picquets very strong, and added to the constantly turning out and latterly the almost daily calls for escorts for convoys returning to, or coming from, Bunnee, renders the duty excessively harassing to the troops.

I beg to enclose a return of casualties from the 17th January to the 17th February 1858.

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*Numerical return of casualties in the Field Force under command of Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, G. C. B., from 17th January 1858 up to the 17th February 1858, inclusive.*

Regiments.	KILLED.				WOUNDED.				Remarks.
	Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Rank and file.	Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Rank and file.	
Artillery ...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	Gunner James Marks, 4th Company, 5th Battalion, Artillery, killed on 19th February 1858.
2nd Battalion, Military Train...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Volunteer Cavalry ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Private Gavin Pimcock, 78th, slightly wounded, 17th January 1858.
Her Majesty's 6th Fusiliers ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Private Peter Docherty, 78th, slightly wounded, 18th January 1858.
Ditto 78th Highlanders ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	
Ditto 84th Foot ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Private Andrew McGer, 60th, severely wounded 1st February 1858.
Ditto 60th Light Infy. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	Corporal Donald McKenzie, severely wounded, 2nd February 1858.
1st Madras Fusiliers ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	Private William Bullard, severely wounded, 15th February 1858.
Regiment of Poonawara ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Private Robert Randa, slightly wounded, 16th February 1858.
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Private William Barnes, slightly wounded, 16th February 1858.
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Private Colvin Warthen, 1st Madras Fusiliers, 28th January 1858.
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Private Stephen Frioie, 1st Madras Fusiliers, 28th January 1858.
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Nalk Mundhee, killed, 15th February 1858.
Total ...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	9	

Examined,  
(Sd.) D. S. DODGSON, Capt.,  
Asst. Adjt.-Genl.

(Sd.) J. OUTRAM, Maj.-Genl.,  
Comdg. 1st Divn.

*GENERAL ORDERS by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Camp, Allahabad, 1st March 1858.*

No. 22 of 1858.—The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India has much satisfaction in publishing the following report by Major-General Sir James Outram, G. C. B., of the repulse of an attack on his position at Alumbagh on the morning of the 21st February 1858, in which the arrangements made by Sir James Outram were most judicious and effectual, and the conduct of the troops engaged was highly creditable to them.



*From Major-General SIR JAMES OUTRAM, G.C.B., Commanding 1st Division, to Major H. W. NORMAN, Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Camp, Alumbagh, 21st February 1858.*

I have the honour to report that this morning the enemy attacked my position, and with the usual result.

Having filled all their trenches with as many men as they would hold, and placed large masses of infantry in the topos all along our front in support of them, they commenced a simultaneous movement round both our flanks, at the same time threatening the whole length of our position and attacking the north-east corner of the Alumbagh, and also the picquet and fort of Jellalabad, against which they brought four guns.

I immediately on perceiving their intention reinforced the posts of Alumbagh and Jellalabad, which easily repulsed the attacks made on them, and inflicted much loss on the assailants, who had advanced under cover of long grass and underwood within grape shot range of both these posts.

I detached about 250 cavalry and two field guns to the rear of the fort of Jellalabad, under command of Captain Barrow, Volunteer Cavalry, where they suddenly came on about 2,000 of the enemy's cavalry. Our guns immediately opened on them, killing several, which caused them to withdraw to the immediate vicinity of the infantry attacking the fort in number about 5,000; they remained there until the attack was abandoned, when they all withdrew towards the city.

The attack on our left flank was made by about from 8 to 10,000 infantry and 500 cavalry, to oppose whom I sent out the remaining four field guns available, supported by the Military Train (120 in number), under command of Major Robertson, of the Military Train, keeping the 2nd Infantry Brigade in reserve. The cavalry and guns soon drove back the enemy's cavalry, and their infantry then halted, and, on the guns being turned on them, soon commenced to retreat also, and were followed up by us until within range of their batteries.

A large convoy was on the road at the time, the escort required for which materially crippled our small cavalry force, and prevented anything more being effected than frustrating their attempts to gain our rear and molest the convoy.

The reports from the city state the enemy to have lost 60 killed and 200 wounded in their attack on Alumbagh, and about 80 or 90 killed and wounded in front of Jellalabad. This was exclusive of their

loss on the left flank and along our front, where our heavy artillery had constant opportunities of firing shell and shrapnel into the midst of their moving masses. I consider their loss to have been heavier than on any of their previous attacks.

I have the pleasure to state that, as on all former occasions, the conduct of the troops engaged, both officers and men, was admirable.

Majors Tinling, 90th Light Infantry, and Nicholson, Royal Engineers, commanded, respectively, at Alumbagh and Jellalabad, and defended their posts with much spirit. Major Nicholson particularly praises the energy with which Lieutenant Ford, of the Royal Artillery, opposed the fire of the enemy's four guns with the only gun that could be brought to bear on them.

Our loss amounted to nine wounded. A nominal roll is transmitted herewith.

*Return of casualties in the Field Force under the command of Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, G. C. B., on the 21st February 1858.*

Regiment.	KILLED.						WOUNDED.						Killed.	Remarks.				
	Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Total.	Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.			Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Total.
1st Company, 5th Battalion, Artillery.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3 3	Gunner William Lockhart, slightly.
Military Train	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	Gunner William Shaw, slightly.
Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 1	Do. Owen McGary, do.
Her Majesty's 90th Light Infantry.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 1	Sergeant Banks, Military Train slightly.
Muzee Pioneers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2 2	Private John Scanlon, Her Majesty's 5th, slightly.
Delhi Do	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 1	Private James Sullivan, Her Majesty's 90th, severely.
																	4	1 Artillery horse killed, 3 Ordnance-hullocks.
																		Lieutenant Ward, 48th Native Infantry, doing duty with Artillery. Charger killed under him.
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	8 0	

Examined.

(84.) D. S. DODGSON, Capt.,

Asst. Adjt.-Genl.

(85.) J. OUTRAM, Maj.-Genl.,

Comdg. 1st Divn.



Forwarded, by order of the Commander-in-Chief, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General.

CAMP, CAWNPORE,	}	(Signed)	H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,
The 24th February 1858.			Depy. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

*GENERAL ORDERS by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, dated Camp, Allahabad, 8th March 1858.*

No. 31 of 1858.—The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General has great pleasure in publishing the accompanying despatch from Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., reporting the particulars of an unusually resolute attack on his position on the 25th February 1858, and of its gallant repulse by the troops under his command, to whom, as well as to their distinguished leader, His Lordship offers his thanks for good service rendered on this occasion.

*From Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, G.C.B., Commanding 1st Division, to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Camp, Alumbagh, 26th February 1858.*

I have the honour to report the particulars of a repulse of a determined demonstration which the enemy made on our position yesterday, the 25th instant.

The principal attack was on our right, against which twenty-four regiments of regular infantry, six Nujeeb corps, 1,000 cavalry, and eight guns, moved out from the trenches. Of this number about one-half, with two guns, advanced towards our right rear, and, having occupied the "topes" immediately to the east of Jellalabad, commenced shelling that post heavily, evidently in the hope of igniting the large quantity of combustible stores at present collected there; while the remainder held in support the villages and "topes" directly in front of the enemy's outworks.

Large bodies of infantry and cavalry, with three guns, simultaneously menaced our left, and the trenches in front of our position were occupied in force.

Soon after 10 A.M. I moved out with detachments of artillery, cavalry, and infantry, as per accompanying return, to intercept the column which had opened its guns on Jellalabad, having previously sent Barrow's Volunteers and Wales' Horse round *via* Nowrangabad to co-operate in the rear.

As we advanced, a portion of the enemy's reserve made a demonstration against our left, but were speedily driven back, and afterwards held

in check by the four guns of Remington's troops, supported by a squadron of the 7th Hussars, under Colonel Hagart, and by Brasyer's Sikhs.

The column then moved forward, flanked on the left by Brigadier Campbell, with the Native cavalry, which pushed on in advance to intercept the enemy's retreat, which, owing to their having heard the fire of Remington's guns, proved more sudden than we had anticipated. The manœuvre was completely successful, and speedily converted their retreat into a rout, Brigadier Campbell's detachment assailing them on one side, while Barrow's and Wales' Horse appeared on the opposite quarter, and the military train, under Captain Robertson, dashed into the middle of the flying enemy and captured their two guns. The rapidity of their flight prevented the infantry from taking a prominent part in the action. At 1 P. M., when we finally left the field, the foe had vanished.

In the meantime the hostile forces on the left of my position retired before the very effective fire of Moir's guns, not liking the looks of the arrangements which had been prepared by Brigadier Franklyn, who had been left in command of the camp, for their reception.

Judging from the corpses which strewed the field where the cavalry had charged, and from the douse masses upon which our guns repeatedly opened, the enemy's casualties must have been heavy. Our loss consisted of four men killed, five officers and twenty men wounded.

My cordial acknowledgments are due to all the officers and men who conducted and took part in these operations, but especially to the military train, whose brilliant charge excited the enthusiasm of all who witnessed it.

Colonel Berkeley, my able and zealous Military Secretary, whose knowledge of the ground was of great service to Brigadier Campbell in cutting off the enemy's retreat, was wounded while gallantly charging at the head of Hodson's Horse, as was Lieutenant Moorsom while rendering to Barrow and Wales assistance similar to that which Colonel Berkeley afforded the Brigadier.

About 4 P.M. the enemy again moved out against us. On this occasion they directed their principal efforts against our left, and evinced more spirit and determination than they had hitherto done. Repeatedly they advanced within grape and musket range, and as they ever met with a warm reception from our guns and Enfields, especially from those of the left front picquet, commanded by Major Master, of the 5th Fusiliers, they must have suffered severely.\*

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\* Information has since been received, which states the enemy's loss throughout the day have been between 400 and 500.



They renewed their fire from time to time during the night; but solely, I believe, with the object of covering the parties engaged in moving their dead. Our loss in this subsequent operation amounted to one man killed and fourteen wounded. In all five men killed, and thirty-five officers and men wounded.

The conduct of the troops throughout the entire day and night was excellent at every point, and merits the highest commendation.

The usual returns of ordnance captured and of casualties are hereby forwarded.

*Return showing the number of troops in the field on the 25th instant at the attack on the right.*

Corps.	By whom commanded.	Number of sabres.	Number of bayonets.	Guns.	Remarks.
<i>Cavalry.</i>	Brigadier Campbell	...	...	...	...
Her Majesty's 7th Hussars ...	Colonel Hagart	...	92	...	...
Military Train ...	Major Robertson	...	111	...	...
Volunteer Cavalry ...	Captain Barrow	...	42	...	...
Wales' Horse ...	“ Wale ...	...	112	...	...
Hodson's Horse ...	“ Hodson	...	374	...	...
Oudh Irregular Cavalry ...	Lieutenant Graham	...	34	...	...
12th “ “ ...	“ Hay	...	10	...	...
<i>Artillery.</i>	Captain Olpherts	...	...	...	...
1st Troop, 1st Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery.	Captain Remington	...	...	...	6
No. 12 Light Field Battery ...	“ Olpherts	...	...	...	6
<i>Infantry.</i>					
1st Brigade ...	Brigadier Russel	...	...	...	...
Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers ...	Colonel Guy ...	...	...	288	...
“ “ 8th Regiment	Captain Lightfoot	...	...	320	...
Madras Fusiliers ...	Major Galwey ...	...	...	132	...
Regiment of Poonepore ...	Captain Drayser	...	...	124	...
	Total ...	...	771	974	12

Examined.

(Sd.) D. S. DODGSON, *Capt.,  
Asst. Adjt.-Genl.*

(Sd.) J. OUTRAM, *Maj.-Genl.,  
Comdg. 1st Divn.*

*Numerical return of casualties in the Field Force, under the command of Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, G.C.B., on the 25th February 1858.*

Regiments.	KILLED.								WOUNDED.								Remarks.	
	Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Sergents.	Trumpeters, drummers.	Rank and file.	Total.	Horses.	Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Sergents.	Drummers.	Rank and file.		Total.
Staff	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	...
No. 12 Light Field Battery	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...
7th Hussars	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Military Train	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	...	...	...	6	10	15
Volunteer Cavalry	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Captain Hedson's Horse	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	5	...	1	...	...	...	...	5	7	23
"    Wales' Horse	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12th Irregular Cavalry	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Orkney	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	...
Ditto 78th Highlanders	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	2
Ditto 84th Foot	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	5	6	...
Ditto 90th Light Infantry	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	3	...
1st Madras Fusiliers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	6	1	4	...	4	1	25	35	35	...

Examined.

(Sd.) D. S. DODGSON, Capt.,  
Asst. Adj.-Genl.

(Sd.) J. OUTRAM, Maj.-Genl.,  
Comdy 1st Divn. of the Army.



*Corresponding list of casualties (Europeans), Alumbagh, 25th February 1858.*

No.	Rank and names.	Regiment.	Remarks.
1	Colonel C. A. P. Berkeley	Her Majesty's 12nd Foot, Chief of the Staff.	Severe.
2	Lieutenant W. R. Moorsom	Deputy Assistant Quarter-master-General.	Slight.
3	„ and Adjutant Hugh Gough	Hodson's Horse	Severe.
4	Lieutenant Pierce Chute	Her Majesty's 54th	Slight.
5	Captain R. A. Inglefield	Military Train	Do.
6	Quartermaster-Sergeant John Connolly	Ditto	Do.
7	Sergeant Edward P. Barnes	Ditto	Do.
8	Do. John Halman	Ditto	Do.
9	Private James Clark	Ditto	Do.
10	Do. John Keiley	Ditto	Dangerous.
11	Do. Patrick Lynch	Ditto	Slight.
12	Do. George Quin	Ditto	Do.
13	Do. John Steer	Ditto	Do.
14	Do. William Tappin	Ditto	Do.
15	Do. Robert Smith	Artillery	Do.
16	Do. R. Messinger	Her Majesty's 54th	Killed.
17	Do. J. Eaton	Ditto ditto	Dangerous.
18	Do. William Beck	Ditto ditto	Slight.
19	Do. Patrick Kelly	Ditto ditto	Do.
20	Do. Daniel Henry	Ditto ditto	Severe.
21	Do. R. Smith	Ditto 78th	Do.
22	Drummer J. Webb	Ditto ditto	Slight.
23	Private James Cassidy	Ditto 84th	Do.
24	Do. John Smith	Ditto ditto	Do.
25	Do. Patrick Carley	Ditto ditto	Do.
26	Do. John Young	Ditto ditto	Do.
27	Lance-Corporal A. McHenry	Ditto ditto	Do.
28	Sergeant R. Hitcham	Ditto 90th	Do.
29	Private J. Brunaden	Ditto ditto	Do.
30	Do. J. Watson	Ditto ditto	Do.

Examined.

(Sd.) D. S. DOUGSON, *Capt.*  
*Asst. Adjt.-Genl.*

(Sd.) J. OUTRAM, *Maj.-Genl.*  
*Comdg. 1st Divn.*

*Return of ordnance, ammunition, &c., captured from the insurgents  
on the 25th February 1858.*

CAMP ALUMBAGH,  
*The 27th February 1858.*

No.	Names and stores.
1	Ordnance brass gun, 9-pounder, with carriage and limber, serviceable.
1	Ordnance howitzer, 24-pounder, with carriage and limber, serviceable.
11	Sets of harness and saddlery, incomplete, unserviceable.
2	Cartridges, filled, priming, with Curwah cases, unserviceable.
39	Ditto Native powder of sorts, unserviceable.
14	Port-fires, unserviceable.
8	Shells, spherical, filled and fixed, 24-pounder, serviceable.
7	Shot case fixed to wooden bottoms, gun 9-pounder, repairable.
1	Ditto ditto ditto 6-pounder, ditto.
9	Ditto ditto howitzer, 24-pounder, ditto.

(Sd.) S. DODGSON, *Capt.,*

*Asst. Adjt.-Genl.*

(Sd.) L. F. C. THOMAS, *1st Lieut.,*

*Depty. Comdy. of Ordee,*

By order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General.

(Sd.) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.,*

*Secy. to the Govt. of India, Milty. Dept.,*

*with the Govt.-Genl.*

*Despatch from the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors of the East India Company,—Dated Allahabad, 30th April 1858.*

I have the honour to transmit the accompanying copy of a letter from the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, No. 135-A, dated 12th March 1858, forwarding a report from Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., noticing the behaviour of the troops under his command during the few months previous to the capture of Lucknow.

It will be observed that Sir James Outram specially commends Colonel C. A. F. Berkeley, of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, his Military Secretary.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has expressed his entire satisfaction at the manner in which Sir James Outram fulfilled the expectations which led to his being selected to maintain the position in



Alumbagh, and recommends to favourable notice as well the Major-General who commanded there and the officers who executed his orders.

I very cordially join in the Commander-in-Chief's well-merited commendation of Sir James Outram, and of the officers and troops under his command.

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*From Major H. W. NORMAN, Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, with the Governor-General.—(Dated Head-Quarters, Camp before Delhi, Lucknow, 19th March 1858.)*

I have the honour, by direction of the Commander-in-Chief, to forward, for the favourable consideration of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, a copy of a despatch dated the 28th ultimo, from Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., in which he brings to prominent notice the behaviour of the troops under his immediate command during the last few months.

It is matter of great satisfaction to His Excellency that his expectations with regard to the security of the position selected for Sir James Outram have been so amply justified. The Commander-in-Chief was always convinced that under the able command of the Major-General, the troops left in the vicinity of Lucknow according to the policy of Government, were exposed to no military risk.

His Excellency is exceedingly gratified by the report of the discipline of the 1st Division, and he recommends to the favourable notice of his Lordship the Major-General who commanded and the officers who executed his orders.

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*From Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, G.C.B., Commanding 1st Division, to Major H. W. NORMAN, Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Camp, Alumbagh, 28th February 1858.*

My separate despatches have from time to time apprised His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of the several affairs we have had with the enemy and of my sense of the services which have been rendered on these occasions by the officers and men under my command.

2. But I am desirous of expressing to His Excellency in a more connected form the very deep obligations under which they have placed me throughout the whole period we have been associated together—obligations which I am certain His Excellency and the Government of India will feel to be their's also. And I trust it will not be deemed

presumptuous, or superfluous, if, on the eve of more active operations, which may probably involve a severance of the ties that unite us, I venture to submit to His Excellency's favourable notice, the admirable conduct of a force which, though it has been strictly enjoined by His Excellency, to limit itself to defensive operations, and though its casualties have been few, has held an important position ; and by its steadiness and bravery rendered what I venture to hope will be regarded as a very valuable service to the State.

3. Circumstances demanded that on the relief of Lucknow His Excellency should withdraw his army to other districts ; certainly for months, possibly for the better part of a year. But it was deemed of paramount importance that a military footing should be retained in Oudh during His Excellency's absence, however protracted that might prove. And to the division which it has been my honour and good fortune to command was allotted the task of maintaining for an indefinite period the honour of the British arms, and of representing the authority of the British Government in this province.

4. It was considered advisable, both on political and strategic grounds, that we should remain in close proximity to the capital. The position assigned us was within a mile-and-a-half of the suburbs of Lucknow. Our advanced posts were within gunshot range of the outworks of a vast city swarming with hosts of mutinous sepoys ; with Nujeebs—the undisciplined but well-armed soldiers of the rebel Government ; with many thousand city " budmashes " the armed and turbulent scum of a population of 700,000 souls ; and with numerous bands of those feudal retainers of the chieftains and great zemindars of Oudh, whose normal state for the last fifty years has been one of warfare.

The enemy thus ranged against us, and certain to receive large accessions from the sepoys dispersed in other parts by the victorious forces of His Excellency, had the resources of the entire province at their disposal ; while our supplies had to be derived periodically from Cawnpore, a distance of forty-five miles. They were known to be well furnished in artillery and to be strong in cavalry, an arm in which we were ourselves lamentably deficient. And they were animated by every motive of hostility and vengeance that could be supplied to men conscious of having irretrievably committed themselves, by the inflammatory exhortations of Hindu and Mahomedan fanatics of reputed sanctity, and by the scornful taunts to which they were subjected by the spirited mother of the boy king.



6. Such was the position assigned to the 1st Division on the 27th

DETAILS.			
Corps.		Europeans.	Natives.
Artillery ... ..	...	532	108
<i>Cavalry.</i>			
Military Train ... ..	...	221	...
Volunteer Cavalry ... ..	...	67	...
15th Irregular Cavalry ... ..	...	3	49
Oudh Ditto ... ..	...	1	37
<i>Infantry.</i>			
5th Fusiliers ... ..	...	520	...
84th Foot ... ..	...	471	...
54th Foot ... ..	...	333	...
78th Highlanders ... ..	...	499	...
90th Light Infantry ... ..	...	601	...
1st Madras Fusiliers ... ..	...	411	...
Verapole Regiment ... ..	...	4	285
Madras Sappers ... ..	...	4	110
27th Madras Native Infantry ... ..	...	9	437
Total ... ..	...	3,393	1,047
Grand Total Europeans & Native		4,442	

November last. And to enable it to perform the duties that must devolve on it, His Excellency increased its strength to 4,442 men of all arms, Europeans and Natives. But His Excellency is aware that of this nominal force a detachment 540 strong (subsequently reinforced by 100 Europeans) was ordered to be kept at Bunnec (twelve miles off), where, though of service in keeping open our rear and in preserving the bridge over which the army had to return when advancing, to the reduction of Lucknow, they were obviously of little use to this division in the

special duty assigned to it of holding the plain of Alumbagh.

7. Our original force was therefore in reality considerably less than 4,000 of all ranks. Of these the forts of Alumbagh and Jellalabad absorbed about 600 men; brigade and camp duties 450 more. And thus, after deducting sick and wounded, there remained of all arms and ranks (European and Native) little more than 2,000 available for action during the absence of the convoys (averaging 450 men), which we had fortnightly to send to Cawnpore. These were on the road for about two-thirds of each month; and of their departure and return the enemy were of course as well informed as ourselves.

8. The military topography of the locality and our grazing

*Memorandum.*

Length of lines from picquet to picquet enclosing the position defended by 1st Division.

	Yards.
Jellalabad to Alumbagh ... ..	4,400
Alumbagh to left front village... ..	2,600
Left front village to left rear village ... ..	3,900
Left rear village to rear picquet ... ..	2,400
Rear picquet to Jellalabad ... ..	5,500
Total ... ..	18,800

Or a total of ten miles and twelve hundred yards.

(Sd.) W. R. MOORSOM, Lieut.,  
Deputy Quartermaster-General.

exigencies rendered it impossible to reduce the circumference of our camp (and its outworks) to less than ten miles and twelve hundred yards. And on our small force there devolved the duty, not only of defending this large and incompact position against a foe who could have brought large bodies of troops to bear against us simultaneously at several distant points, but of supplying foraging parties, and of being prepared to move out beyond our limits to meet

parties, and of being prepared to move out beyond our limits to meet

the enemy, wherever by his attempts to cut off our communications, to menace Bunnec or Cawnpore, or by other hostile demonstrations, he might render such an operation necessary.

9. Between the 27th November and the 12th February, His Excellency had, at great inconvenience to himself, sent us reinforcements, European and Native, to the extent of 1,216 men, together with several pieces of ordnance; and on the 12th and 13th February he furnished us with a body of Sappers and Miners amounting to about 1,200 men. Of these 700, although armed, were undrilled. Yet they were most acceptable; and may be considered an equivalent for the 75th Regiment, of which we were deprived on the following day. On the 22nd our strength was further increased by the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, numbering 587 of all ranks. And on the 24th we were additionally reinforced by two squadrons of Dragoons, a troop of Horse Artillery, and Hodson's Horse.

10. But in bringing the claims of this division to His Excellency's consideration, I think it but fair to remind him that when on the 22nd December we moved out to surprise a strong force of the enemy threatening to cut off our communications, our reinforcements amounted to only 340 details and recruits; that when on the 12th of January, we repulsed 30,000 of the enemy, our reinforcements aggregated less than 600; and that the Sikh cavalry, with the accompanying European details which reached us with the return convoy on the 16th January, only arrived in time to see us again inflict on the foe a still heavier repulse.

11. And although the successes which the division has achieved whenever it has come into contact with the enemy were purchased at the very trifling loss of a few casualties on our side on each occasion, the troops are, I consider, not the less deserving of credit for the unflinching front with which they have withstood and held in check an enemy numbering such odds.\*

\* *Memorandum.*

Strength of the enemy on the 26th of January 1858, as ascertained by Captain Alexander Orr, of the Intelligence Department.

37 Regiments of sepoy, including Oudh force	...	...	27,550
14 Regiments of new levies	...	...	5,400
196 do. Nujeebs	...	...	55,150
26 do. regular and irregular cavalry	...	...	7,100
Camel corps	...	...	300
Total			<u>95,500</u>



12. That their gallant demeanour was the cause of our remaining comparatively unmolested I have no doubt, for though we have only had five engagements of sufficient importance to be reported to His Excellency, the enemy has frequently, and of late with increasing frequency, appeared in force with the evident intention of simultaneously assaulting us at different points; but, on finding us prepared to receive him, he has deemed it prudent to relinquish his designs, and remained satisfied with replying from a distance to the accurate fire of our artillery, from which it could easily be seen he sustained considerable loss.

13. These manifestations have not only become more numerous, but have been characterised by a greater boldness within the last fortnight, a fact susceptible of easy explanation. The vast and daily augmenting accumulation of stores of all kinds lately forwarded to this, in view of the impending operations, have greatly excited the alarm of the enemy. And it has become obvious to him that by the dispersion of this division, and the destruction of our materials, he can alone hope to avert, or even delay, the terrible retribution that awaits him at the hands of the Commander-in-Chief.

14. It is almost superfluous to say that where men have behaved so well in the field as the troops of the 1st Division, they must have been in a high state of discipline. Such has indeed been the case, and their admirable conduct must be held all the more praiseworthy when we consider the extreme exposure and discomfort the whole of them have had to endure from the loss of their warm clothing and our deficiency of tentage; and that most of them had already sustained much privation during the seven weeks they were besieged in Lucknow.

15. This gratifying state of matters, as His Excellency will readily imagine, has been in no small degree due to the kindness, care, and attention which the officers, of all arms and ranks, have bestowed on their men, and to the earnest anxiety with which they

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*Artillery.*

Guns of all sorts and calibre, not including wall pieces, and the guns brought from Futtehpore 131 (number of artillerymen not known).

The above is exclusive of the armed followers of the talukdars and zemindars still at Lucknow on the 26th of January, amounting at the lowest calculations to 20,000 men, exclusive of the armed budmashes of the city, and exclusive also of four or five regiments that fled to Lucknow from Futtehpore, with three to five guns, amounting to certainly not less than 3,000.

The total aggregate of hostile forces at Lucknow on the 26th January not less than 120,000 of all arms. Since that date several of the zemindars' troops have left Lucknow, but their places have been much more than supplied by the regiments ordered in from the districts,

(Sd.) A. ORR, Capt.,  
*Intelligence Dept.*

have endeavoured at all times to promote their comfort and provide for their amusement.

16. From first to last all alike, officers and men, have acquitted themselves most admirably, and I cannot, therefore, refrain from this recapitulation of the services of my comrades; and that before the commencement of the approaching operations lest it may be out of my power to testify hereafter to their devotion, discipline, and bravery.

17. I am certain that neither His Excellency nor their country will forget the heroic troops whom it has been my proud privilege to command; and to His Excellency's kind consideration I now commend them. In doing so I must crave permission to depart from the usual formality of making special recommendations, for I feel that to do so would involve injustice to all those officers whose names might be omitted. As a matter of course, I am under the very deepest obligations to the commandants of brigades, regiments, detachments and outposts, and to the members of the divisional brigade and personal staff for the zealous, earnest, and most valuable aid they have rendered me on all occasions. But I feel that my obligations are equally great to every officer in the force; for every officer has exerted himself as if the safety and reputation of the force depended exclusively on his individual exertions.

18. There is, however, one officer in whose favour I am bound to depart from the rule of silence which I have prescribed for myself. I refer to Colonel Berkeley, of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, who has since the 25th November been continuously on my staff either in the capacity of Military Secretary and head of the Adjutant-General's Department, or in that of Acting Deputy Quartermaster-General, and whose invaluable services I have not hitherto had an opportunity of adequately bringing to His Excellency's notice. Colonel Berkeley has discharged with signal ability and zeal the duties of both the offices in which he has acted.

Both in the camp and in the field he has rendered me the most hearty aid and co-operation, and in action with the enemy his personal gallantry has been most conspicuous. He possesses, to an extent I have rarely seen equalled, the power of securing the confidence, acquiring the respect, and winning the personal regards of those with whom he is thrown into contact; and to the combined firmness and tact with which Colonel Berkeley has discharged his duties do I attribute in no small degree the satisfactory state of matters to which I have had the honour of soliciting His Excellency's attention.



## CHAPTER IX.

### SIR COLIN CAMPBELL'S CAPTURE OF LUCKNOW.

*Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to the Governor-General of India,—dated  
Camp Dilkoocha, 3rd March 1858.*

In answer to your Lordship's telegraphic communication, I beg to assure you that my desire was to forward the recommendations of the Generals who commanded and to give them my heartiest support. I have made two or three very trifling alterations, without interfering, except in the instances alluded to, with the expressed wishes of the officers commanding at Delhi and at Lucknow: I trust that this will be sufficient. I arrived here yesterday, and took up my ground in rear of the Dilkoocha, after a skirmish with the advance guard, in which a gun was taken from the enemy. The enemy has made a very complete line of works in my front, and keeps up a heavy cannonade. The siege-train closes up to-morrow, half of it having arrived to-day. General Franks is one march in the rear and will close on me to-morrow. I am in communication with him.

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*Telegram from the Judge of Cawnpore, to Mr. MUNN,—dated Cawnpore, 3rd March  
1858.*

Mr. Martin, from Colonel Maxwell's camp at Jelalpoore, on the Calpee road, reports yesterday that firing was heard across the Jumna, and that the Ghats are strictly guarded by the rebels. Some reinforcements, called Wilaitees, have joined the Calpee force, but are not in favour with the sepoys. The body of rebels in Ghatumpore have made no advance. All clear on left bank of Ganges. Fighting suspended at Alumbagh.

*Telegram from the Judge of Cawnpore, to MR. MUIR,—dated Cawnpore, 4th March 1858.*

The rebels have evacuated Ghatumpore and re-crossed the Jumna. No fresh news from that quarter. A body of rebels, considerable in number, but not known to have guns, arrived this morning on the left bank of the Ganges, opposite Radhan, five miles above Sheorajpore, supposed to have come from the west.

*Telegram from the Judge of Cawnpore, to MR. MUIR,—dated Cawnpore, 5th March 1858.*

Report from Maxwell's movable column in this district that Chirkaree Rajah has been taken prisoner by the rebels after a hard fight requires confirmation. The rebels, now known to have been Nurput Sing's party who threatened Radhan, have retired inland.

*Telegram from the Judge of Cawnpore, to MR. MUIR,—dated Cawnpore, 6th March 1858.*

Ghats on the Ganges still clear; but a collection of budmashes reported at Boocafort, near Miadhoogurgees, headed by rebel chiefs, Raja of Futwa and others; Nana in close communication with this party. Nothing new from the Jumna side. Maxwell at Jelalpoore on Calpee Road.

*Telegram from the Judge of Cawnpore, to MR. MUIR,—dated Cawnpore, 7th March 1858.*

The gathering on the left bank of the Ganges is assuming a more serious aspect; it is currently reported that the Nana himself has about 3,000 men with him, and will attempt to cross at Sen Ghat to Mydeempore, or thereabouts. No further authentic news from Calpee.

*Telegram from the Judge of Cawnpore, to MR. MUIR,—dated Cawnpore, 7th March 1858.*

The Futteghur authorities reported that Kampil, on their side of the Ganges, has been attacked yesterday by rebels from Budaon—some 300 sowars and some Infantry. The rebels have re-crossed with considerable plunder. Nana and his party have gone *via* Menka Misril towards the Gogra. They were yesterday near the Ganges, as reported.



*From Brigadier-General F. H. FRANKS, C.B., Commanding 4th Division, to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Head-Quarters, Camp Dilkoocha, 7th March 1858, 2-30 P. M.*

I have the honour to report that at 9 A.M. this day an attack on our posts on the extreme left having been reported by a party of Hodson's Horse stationed there, I moved out with three battalions of Gurkhas and two of their guns, three guns of Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson's troop of Horse Artillery, the outlying picquet 7th Hussars, and Hodson's Horse, when the enemy (who were only seen at a distance) after a few rounds from the Horse Artillery and Gurkha guns retired into the city.

2. Those of the enemy seen were a few horse and several hundred infantry. They appeared to have no guns with them.

3. The troops returned to camp at 1 P. M.; no casualties took place, the rebels having only discharged a fire of matchlocks at too great a distance to do any harm.

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*Telegram from the Judge of Cawnpore, to Mr. Muir,—dated Cawnpore, 8th March 1858.*

No news from the left bank of the Ganges, but all believed to be clear and favourable. On the Jumna side the gathering at Humeerpore continues, and preparations by rebels for defence of that place made. The Rajah of Chirkaree is still said to be holding out notwithstanding previous reports. Natives report great alarm at Calpee. Maxwell's column with treasure crosses into Oudh to-morrow morning from this, Mr. C. Jackson, still very unwell, awaits reply.

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*Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to the Governor-General of India,—dated Dilkoocha Station, 8th March 1858.*

Sir James Outram's advance took place, as ordered, the day before yesterday, the 6th instant, across the Goomti, and his force after driving the enemy occupied a position across the Fyzabad road, leaving the Chukkur Walla Kotee rather more than a mile in his front. I regret to say Major Percy Smith, Her Majesty's 2nd Dragoon Guards, lost his life in the skirmish. Yesterday, the 7th instant, the enemy came out to make a desultory attack against Sir James's front. As usual he was driven off with the greatest ease. Brigadier Sir Hope Grant then, according to instructions previously given in a private note to Sir James Outram from the Chief of the Staff, made a wide sweeping movement

with the cavalry and horse artillery to the north-east through the cantonments, afterwards returning to his camp. He was not opposed. The preparations are in forward progress for making the attack from both sides of the Goomti, discretionary instructions having been given to Sir James Outram last night, which were confirmed this morning, after I had reconnoitred the ground.

There are numerous reports, apparently much exaggerated, respecting the gathering of rebels in the neighbourhood of the road between Bunnce and Cawnpore. Colonel Maxwell, with Her Majesty's 32nd and 88th Foot, has been ordered to leave Akbarpore, cross the Ganges, and advance on Lucknow. I trust that this will have a happy effect on the rebels alluded to.

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*Telegram from the Chief of the Staff, to the Governor-General of India,—dated Dilkoosha, 9th March 1858.*

Sir James Outram having very ably carried out the instructions of the Commander-in-Chief, and effectually turned and enfiladed the enemy's first great line of works, the Martinière was stormed by the 2nd Division, under General Sir E. Lugard, after it had been very heavily cannonaded. The action was principally one of artillery; the loss being trifling in consequence. The lower end of the line of works on the canal alluded to, abutting on the Goomti, has been seized by the troops. This closes operations of this evening. Sir James Outram has been ordered to shell the Kaiser Bagh. He will commence to-morrow morning.

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*Telegram from the Chief of the Staff, to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor-General,—dated Dilkoosha, 9th March 1858.*

Sir James Outram's attack of this morning has been perfectly successful. After taking the Chukkur Walla Kotee, he pressed on and occupied the Badsha Bagh, opposite the Chutter Munzil. Loss very trifling.

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*Telegram from the Chief of the Staff, to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor-General,—dated Dilkoosha, 9th March 1858.*

Brigadier-General MacGregor, on the 8th instant, reported himself to be three marches from Dilkoosha with the head-quarters of the Maharajah Jung Bahadoor.



*Telegram from the Judge of Cawnpore, to MR. MUIR,—dated Cawnpore, 6th March 1858.*

About 500 rebels and budmashes have crossed the Jumna at Shergurh, and assembled at Ooryah in Etawah. It is said they intend breaking up the establishment in Derapore and Russoolabad. Maxwell's brigade has crossed the Ganges.

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*Telegram from Brigadier-General MACGREGOR, to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor-General,—dated Camp near Gunga-Gunge, 9th March 1858.*

The army under Maharajah Jung Bahadoor arrived this day within two marches of Lucknow. All the British officers quite well. Kindly send the paragraph to the newspaper, as all dâks have been stopped for some time.

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*From Lieutenant-Colonel R. D. KELLY, 34th Regiment, Brigadier of the day, to the Chief of the Staff, Head-Quarters, Camp Bilsupore,—dated Camp Dilkoosha, 11th March 1858.*

I have the honour to report that yesterday as Acting Brigadier of the day, I had charge of the picquets in the Mahammad Bagh, consisting of Her Majesty's 97th Regiment, reinforced subsequently by a wing of Her Majesty's 20th Regiment, Her Majesty's 38th Regiment having been, with the exception of a Subaltern's guard, moved from the Dilkoosha to the Martinière. By directions from and under the superintendence of Brigadier-General Franks, C.B., the picquets were advanced about three-fourths of a mile in front of the Mahammad Bagh to within a short distance of the line of canal, clearing the gardens and ruined houses in their front of the enemy's picquets that occupied them. The new line then extended from near the canal bridge at Banks's house on the right for about a mile-and-a-half to the left, and was taken up in the direction of General Franks's camp by the Gurkhas and Irregular Cavalry. The left was obliged subsequently to be thrown back a little, as the line was found too extended for the force we had to occupy it with. The enemy during the night and this morning kept up a continued fire from garden walls and houses, but we had only two men wounded.

*From the Secretary to the Government with the Governor-General, to Major-General PENNY,—dated Allahabad, 19th March 1858.*

I am directed to inform you that a telegram to the following effect has been this day despatched to you:—

“ You are authorized to use your discretion as to crossing the Ganges in pursuit of the enemy, or under any other circumstances which may make it advisable to do so.”

*Telegram from the Chief of the Staff, to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor-General,—dated 12th March 1858.*

On the 11th Sir James Outram pushed his advances as far as the iron bridge on the left bank of the Goomti, and established his batteries so as to enfilade some of the enemy's works and to command the stone bridge. After very heavy cannonading, the Begum's house was stormed in the afternoon of the 11th by a brigade consisting of 93rd Highlanders, 4th Punjab Infantry, and 1,000 Gurkhas, all of whom behaved with great gallantry. They were supported by the rest of Sir Edward Lugard's division. Maharajah Jung Bahadoor was to move close to the canal on the afternoon of the 11th and to take an active part in the operations of the 12th.

*Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to the Governor-General of India,—dated Camp Kaiser Bagh, 14th March 1858, 3 p. m.*

A breach having been effected with much difficulty in the Imambarah, that building was stormed at 9 A. M. this morning. The troops following close on the retreating enemy, entered the Kaiser Bagh with him; they were quickly supported, and we are now in solid occupation of it. Sir James Outram has been ordered to cross the iron bridge, and to press the enemy from the opposite side of the river.

I congratulate your Lordship very heartily on this success.

*Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to the Governor-General of India,—dated Head-Quarters, Camp La Martinière, 15th March 1858.*

It was reported in the afternoon of yesterday, after the fall of the Kaiser Bagh, that the enemy were streaming out of the city in vast numbers in the direction of Sundeela. Up to the present moment there are still rebels in the city, but I have no reliable information. Brigadier Campbell, who was well placed in the left of the Alumbagh position, started in pursuit at 2 A. M. this morning, with a very strong



brigade of cavalry and two troops of Horse Artillery. Brigadier-General Sir Hope Grant advanced towards Seetapore this day, with the view of intercepting fugitives who may be turned off by Brigadier Campbell's movement; he has with him 1,000 sabres, and two troops of Horse Artillery. He will be followed to-morrow by an Infantry brigade and heavy artillery. He is directed to halt at Seetapore for instructions. This is the direct road to Rohilcund. Her Majesty's 75th regiment, a very weak corps, has been ordered to leave Cawnpore to-morrow *en route* for Meerut.

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*Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to the Governor-General of India,—dated Lucknow, 17th March 1858.*

Yesterday the bridges were secured and the troops were advanced and occupied the Muchee Bowun and Great Imaunbarah. Large bodies of the enemy were seen to cross the stone bridge an hour before the attack was commenced by Sir James Outram. He was ordered to press it. Resistance was very slight as compared with that of the previous days. A Gurkha division seized the enemy's position in front of the Alumbagh last night. Vast numbers, both of armed and unarmed men, are evacuating the city by the outlet they possess to the northward. Our advances are to-day being gradually pushed on all sides of the line occupied by the troops, particularly towards Gow Ghat and Moosa Bagh, in which direction the enemy are retiring. The point they intend to make for is not yet known.

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*Telegram from Brigadier-General MacGREGOR, to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor-General,—dated Camp Char Bagh, Lucknow, 18th March 1858.*

The Gurkha force, under Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, occupied the Char Bagh and Cawnpore road in the city yesterday morning. In the afternoon the enemy in great force attacked our position in the city. Their flank was, however, turned by the direction of the Maharajah in person, and they were completely defeated, with the loss of ten guns and all the wagons of a light field battery. One gun was one of our own 9-pounders. This morning our advance was renewed on the right, and we captured seven more guns, several of which belonged to the battery above mentioned. We now hold this quarter of the city, one mile-and-a-half to the westward of the Cawnpore Road. The Gurkhas have passed the front of Alumbagh and taken the rebel batteries opposed to it in reverse.

*Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to the Governor-General of India,—dated Lucknow, 18th March 1858.*

We are in possession of the greater part of the city. Jung Bahadoor has done good service in taking the line of works from which the position of Alumbagh was so long threatened, seventeen guns falling into his hands. In our advance on the right yesterday, we were not opposed. The first attempts at the restoration of authority in the city are being made, but until all resistance is put down but little progress can be expected. The inhabitants have fled the city and are in the neighbouring villages. Everything will be done to reassure them. I expect the Moosa Bagh, the last post held by the enemy, to fall to-morrow morning, an attack having been organised.

*Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Lucknow, 19th March 1858.*

The Moosa Bagh, the last post held by the enemy, was taken this morning, the cavalry being now in pursuit to the northward. Miss Jackson and Mrs. Orr have been saved; and arrangements are about being made for the withdrawal of part of the troops from the city, and I have requested Brigadier-General MacGregor to move Jung Bahadoor's in the same sense. I am occupied in arranging the details of the future garrison, which will be communicated to Your Lordship forthwith, when the Chief Engineer has completed a calculation I have called on him to furnish. No time will be lost in establishing the proper military position of the troops left here, and a strict instruction will be given to the Executive Engineer to allow no considerations whatever to interfere with the instructions he will receive on this account. It must be held to be paramount to every other. Will Your Lordship kindly communicate your instructions?

*From Brigadier CAMPBELL to Major NORMAN, Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Camp Moosa Bagh, 21st March 1858.*

1st Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery	...	six 6-pounder guns.
Major Olphert's Light Field Battery	...	six 9-pounder guns.
7th Hussars	...	350 Sabres.
Military Train	...	186 "
Hodson's Horse	...	585 "
Wales' Horse	...	438 "
5th Fusiliers	...	269 Bayonets.
75th Highlanders	...	511 "

I have the honour to report, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that the force under my command, strength as per margin, arrived at this place at 6 P. M. yesterday.

The infantry under Brigadier Stisted occupy the Moosa Bagh,



*From General Sir COLIN CAMPBELL, G.C.B., to the Right Hon'ble VISCOUNT CANNING, Governor-General of India in Council, dated Camp, La Martinière, Lucknow, 22nd March 1858.*

I have the honour to announce to your Lordship that I transferred my head-quarters to the Camp of Brigadier-General Sir Edward Lugard, K.C.B., at Buntara, on the 28th ultimo, the division which had been detached under Brigadier-General Sir J. Hope Grant, K.C.B., and that under Brigadier-General Walpole joining the next day.

Having received tolerably correct information with respect to the lines of works which had been constructed by the enemy for the defence of Lucknow, it appeared evident to me that the necessity would arise for operating from both sides of the Goomti when the capture of the city should be seriously entertained.

Two very important reasons conduced to show the expediency of such a course,—the one being that it would become possible to enfilade

#### DETAIL.

Head-quarters of the Division of Artillery, and of the Field Artillery Brigade, under Major-General Sir A. Wilson, K.C.B., and Colonel D. Wood, C.B., Royal Horse Artillery.

Lieutenant-Colonel D'Agallar's Troop, R. H. A.

Lieutenant-Colonel { Troops Bengal  
Tombs, C.B., and { Horse Artillery  
Lieutenant Bishops. { under Lieutenant-  
Colonel Turner.

Two 24-pounders and two 8-inch howitzers of the *Shannon's* Naval Brigade. Two Cos. Punjab Sappers and Miners.

The head-quarters of the Cavalry Division, and the 1st Cavalry Brigade, under Brigadier-General Sir J. Hope Grant, K.C.B., and Brigadier Little.

Her Majesty's 9th Lancers.

2nd Punjab Irregular Cavalry.

Detachment 5th Punjab Irregular Cavalry.

1st Sikh Irregular Cavalry.

The 2nd Division of Infantry, under Brigadier-General Sir E. Lugard, K.C.B., consisting of—

3rd Brigade.	{	Her Majesty's 34th Regiment.
Brigadier F. M. M. Guy.		Her Majesty's 35th Regiment.
		Her Majesty's 33rd Regiment.
4th Brigade.		42nd Highlanders.
Brigadier	{	93rd
Hon'ble A.		4th Punjab Rifles.
Hope.		

many of the enemy's new works; the other that great avenues of supply would be closed against the town, although I could not hope to invest a city having a circumference of twenty miles.

My first preparations, therefore, were made for the purpose of crossing the river. Bridges of casks had been previously constructed, and were ready in the Engineer's Park.

On the 2nd March, I advanced on Dilkoosha with troops as per margin, and seized that position, after a skirmish in which a gun was taken from the enemy.

When the brigades of infantry began to close on the advance guard, the enemy opened several guns which were in position in strong bastions along the line of the canal. This fire was heavy and well sustained.

These guns commanded the plateau, and compelled me to retire the camp as far back as it was possible, but not so far as I could have wished, owing to the ravines in rear.

The palace of Dilkoosha was occupied as an advance picquet on the right, and the Mahomed Bagh on the left,—heavy guns being placed in battery at both points to keep down the hostile fire.

During the whole of the 2nd, until these arrangements could be completed, the troops were much annoyed by the enemy's guns.

After that day, until an advance took place, although the shot ranged up to and sometimes into the camp, but slight loss ensued from this cause.

On the 3rd and 4th, the remainder of the siege-train, together with Brigadier-General Walpole's Division, closed up on the Dilkoosha position, the right of our line resting on Bibiapore and the Goomti, the left being towards Alumbagh.

There was an interval of about two miles between our left and Jellalabad, the right of the Alumbagh position. This interval was

occupied by a regiment of Irregular  
Horse.\* Brigadier Campbell, with a

strong brigade of cavalry and horse artillery, secured the extreme left and swept the country towards the north-west.

Three infantry regiments were withdrawn from Alumbagh, and joined the head-quarters camp.

On the 5th, General Franks, or the 4th Division of Infantry, came into direct communication with me. This officer had marched right across the Kingdom of Oudh, having signally defeated many bodies of insurgents, and kept his time with punctuality according to the orders given to him, with which your Lordship is already acquainted.

On the same day the Goomti was bridged near Bibiapore. Whilst the bridge was being formed, the enemy showed on the left bank, causing the necessity of a disposition of troops and heavy guns. He did not, however, make a real attack.

These guns were very useful in another respect, as their practice on the Martinière silenced much fire, which would otherwise have annoyed the picquets.

They were accordingly kept on the same ground for some days, till the advance of the troops rendered them unnecessary.



On the 6th, Sir James Outram, G. C. B., who had been withdrawn

*Force sent across the Goomti under Sir James Outram.*

**DETAIL.**

Lieutenant-Colonel D' Aguilar's troop,  
Royal Horse Artillery.

Major Remington's and Captain  
McKinnon's troops, Bengal Horse Artillery,  
under Lieutenant-Colonel P. Turner.

Captains Gibbon and Middleton's  
Light Field Batteries, Royal Artillery,  
and head-quarters, Field Artillery Brigade.

Head-quarters Cavalry Division and  
of 1st Cavalry Brigade.

Her Majesty's 2nd Dragoon Guards  
(Bays).

Her Majesty's 9th Lancers.

2nd Punjab Cavalry.

Detachments, 1st and 5th Punjab  
Cavalry, under Captains Watson and  
Sandford.

3rd Infantry Division, under Brigadier-  
General R. Walpole.

5th Brigade.	{	Her Majesty's 23rd
Brigadier		Fusiliers.
Douglas, C.B.		Her Majesty's 79th
		Highlanders.

1st Bengal Fusiliers.

2nd Battalion, Rifle

Brigade.

3rd Battalion, Rifle

Brigade.

2nd Punjab Infan-

try.

6th Brigade.	{
Brigadier	
Horsford, C.B.	

from Alumbagh, crossed to the left bank of the Goomti with troops as per margin, the 4th Division under Brigadier-General Franks, C.B., taking the place vacated by Brigadier-General Walpole in the line.

The plan of attack which had been conceived was now developed, and Sir James Outram was directed to push his advance up the left bank of the Goomti, while the troops in the position of Dilkoosha remained at rest till it should have become apparent that the first line of the enemy's works, or the rampart running along the canal and abutting on the Goomti, had been turned.

The works may be briefly described as follows:—

The series of courts and buildings called the Kaiser Bagh, considered as a citadel by the rebels, was shut in by three lines of defence towards the Goomti, of which the line of the canal was the outer one.

The second line circled round the large building called the Mess-house and the Moti Mahal, and the first or interior one was the principal rampart of the Kaiser Bagh, the rear of the enclosures of the latter being closed in by the city through which approach would have been dangerous to an assailant.

These lines were flanked by numerous bastions and rested at one end on the Goomti, and at the other on the great buildings of the street called the Huzrut Gunge, all of which were strongly fortified and flanked the street in every direction.

Extraordinary care had been expended on the defences of the houses and bastions, to enfilade the street. This duty was ably performed by Sir James Outram, who pitched his camp on the 6th instant, after a skirmish of his advance guard, in front of the Chukkur Wala Kotee, or Yellow-house.

On the 7th he was attacked by the enemy, who was speedily driven back.

Having reconnoitred the ground on the 8th instant, I directed Sir James Outram to arrange his batteries during the succeeding night and to attack the enemy's position, the key of which was the Chukkur Wala Kotee, the next day or the 9th.

This was done in very good style by the troops under his command, the enemy being driven at all points, the Yellow-House being seized, and the whole force advanced for some distance through ground affording excellent cover for the enemy.

He was then able to bring his right shoulders forward, occupying the Fyzabad Road, and to plant his batteries for the purpose of enfilading the works on the canal before alluded to.

He lost no time in doing this, other batteries of heavy guns and howitzers being constructed during the following night to play on the works and the Kaiser Bagh.

While this attack was being made by Sir James Outram along the left bank of the Goomti on the 9th instant, a very heavy fire was kept up on the Martinière both from mortars and heavy guns placed in position during the previous night on the Dilkoosha plateau.

At 2 P.M., the 42nd Highlanders, supported by the 93rd Highlanders, the 53rd and 90th Regiments, stormed the Martinière under the direction of Brigadier-General Sir Edward Lagard, K.C.B., and Brigadier the Hon'ble Adrian Hope.

It was quickly seen that the enfilading fire on the line of the canal from the opposite side of the river had produced the expected result.

The 4th Punjab Infantry, supported by the 42nd Highlanders, climbed up the entrenchment abutting on the Goomti, and proceeded to sweep down the whole line of the works till they got to the neighbourhood of Banks' house, when it became necessary to close operations for the night.

Major Wyld, 4th Punjab Rifles, distinguished himself very much on this occasion. The line of works was strongly occupied by the troops which had first entered and by the 53rd Regiment.

On the 10th instant, Sir James Outram was engaged in strengthening his position; Sir James Hope Grant, K.C.B., being employed



in patrolling towards the cantonment with the cavalry placed under Sir James Outram's orders, a system of extensive patrolling or reconnaissance having been established by my order in that direction, from the time that the first position had been taken up across the Goonti.

At sunrise on the same day, a disposition of troops and heavy guns was made by Sir Edward Lugard for the attack of Banks' house, which was carried at noon and secured as a strong military post.

The second part of the plan of attack against the Kaiser Bagh now came into operation, viz., to use the great blocks of houses and palaces extending from Banks' house to the Kaiser Bagh as our approach instead of sapping up towards the front of the second line of works.

By these means I was enabled to turn the new works towards our own left, at the same time that they were enfiladed on the right by Sir James Outram's advance.

The latter had already received orders to plant his guns with a view to raking the enemy's position, to annoy the Kaiser Bagh both with vertical and direct fire, also to attack the suburbs in the vicinity of the iron and stone bridges shortly after daybreak, and so command the iron bridge from the left bank. All this was carried out by Sir James Outram with the most marked success.

The enemy, however, still held tenaciously to his own end of the iron bridge on the right bank, and there was heavy cannonading from both sides till the bridge was afterwards taken in reverse.

Sir Edward Lugard's attack on the 11th was pressed forward in like manner.

The operation had now become one of engineering character, and the most earnest endeavours were made to save the infantry from being hazarded before due preparation had been made.

The Chief Engineer, Brigadier Napier, placed the batteries with a view to breaching and shelling a large block of palaces called the Begum Kotee.

The latter was stormed with great gallantry by the 93rd Highlanders, supported by the 4th Punjab Rifles, and one thousand Gurkhas, led by Brigadier the Hon'ble Adrian Hope, under the direction of Brigadier-General Sir Edward Lugard, at 4 p. m.

The troops secured the whole block of buildings, and inflicted a very heavy loss on the enemy, the attack having been one of very

desperate character. This was the sternest struggle which occurred during the siege.

From thenceforward the Chief Engineer pushed his approach with the greatest judgment through the enclosures by the aid of the Sappers and of heavy guns, the troops immediately occupying the ground as he advanced, and the mortars, being moved from one position to another as ground was won on which they could be placed.

The buildings to the right and the Secunder Bagh were taken in the early morning of the same day without opposition.

During the night of the 12th, Sir James Outram was reinforced with a number of heavy guns and mortars, and directed to increase his fire on the Kaiser Bagh, while at the same time mortars placed in position at the Begum's house never ceased to play on the Emambara, the next large palace it was necessary to storm between the Begum Kotee and the Kaiser Bagh.

On Brigadier-General Franks, C.B., who had relieved Sir Edward Lugard, and the 2nd Division, with the 4th Division, on the 12th instant, devolved the duty of attacking the Emambara.

A column of attack was formed for that purpose by Brigadier D. Russell, on the morning of the 14th.

In the meantime, the Maharajah Jung Bahadoor with a force of about nine thousand men and with twenty-four field guns drawn by men had arrived, and taken his position in our line on the 12th instant, and moved close to the canal on the 13th.

At my request, His Highness was begged by Brigadier-General MacGregor, C.B., the Special Commissioner attached to him, to pass the canal and attack the suburb in his front and considerably to the left of Banks' house. To this His Highness acceded with much willingness, and his force was most advantageously employed in thus covering my left, for several days, during which, from the nature of our operations, I was obliged to mass all the available strength of the British force towards the right, in the joint attack carried along both banks of the Goomti.

The Emambara was carried early on the 14th, and the Sikhs of the Ferozepore Regiment under Major Brasyer, pressing forward in pursuit, entered the Kaiser Bagh, the third line at the defences having been turned without a single gun being fired from them.

Supports were quickly thrown in, and all the well-known ground of former defence and attack, the Mess-house, the Tara Kotee, the



Mootee Mehal, and the Chuttur Munzil were rapidly occupied by the troops, while the engineers devoted their attention to securing the position towards the south and west. The day was one of long and continued exertion, and every one felt that although much remained to be done before the final expulsion of the rebels, the most difficult part of the undertaking had been overcome.

This is not the place for description of the various buildings successively sapped into or stormed; suffice it to say that they formed a range of massive palaces and walled courts of vast extent, equalled perhaps, but certainly not surpassed in any capital in Europe. Every outlet had been covered by a work, and on every side were prepared barricades and loopholed parapets.

The extraordinary industry evinced by the enemy in this respect has been really unexampled. Hence the absolute necessity for holding troops in hand, till at each successive move forward the Engineers reported to me that all which could be effected by Artillery and the Sappers had been done before the troops were led to the assault.

The 15th instant was employed in securing what had been taken, removing powder, destroying mines, and fixing mortars for the further bombardment of the positions still held by the enemy on the line of our advance up the Goomti and in the heart of the city.

Brigadier-General Sir J. Hope Grant, K.C.B., was sent out with cavalry on one side towards Sitapur to intercept fugitives, while Brigadier Campbell marched with like orders in the direction of Sundeela on a similar duty. They returned on the 17th to their former positions.

On the 16th instant, Sir James Outram, with the 5th Brigade under Brigadier Douglas, supported by two other regiments, Her Majesty's 20th and the regiment of Ferozepore, having crossed over the Goomti by a bridge of casks opposite the Secunder Bagh, advanced according to order through the Chuttur Munzil to take the Residency.

During the first movements of this operation, a movement of the enemy in retreat across the stone bridge became apparent.

Sir James was ordered to press forward, and he was able almost without opposition not only to take the iron bridge in reverse which was my principal object, but also to advance for more than a mile and occupy the Muchee Bawun and great Emambara. In short the city was ours.

Brigadier-General Walpole's picquets on the left bank were attacked by the retreating enemy, who was as usual heavily repulsed.

On the 19th a combined movement was organised.

Sir James Outram moved forward directly on the Moosa Bagh, the last position of the enemy on the line of the Goomti.

Sir J. Hope Grant cannonaded the latter from the left bank, while Brigadier Campbell moving right round the western side from the Alumbagh prevented retreat in that direction.

The rout was now complete and great loss was inflicted on the enemy by all these columns.

On the 16th, for the last time, the enemy had shown in some strength before Alumbagh, which on that date was held by only two of our regiments.

Jung Bahadoor was requested to move to his left up the canal, and take the position in reverse from which our position at Alumbagh had been so long annoyed.

This was executed very well by His Highness, and he seized the positions, one after another, with little loss to himself.

The guns of the enemy, which the latter did not stop to take away, fell into his hands.

On the 21st, Sir Edward Lugard was directed to attack a stronghold held by the Moulvie in the heart of the city. This he occupied after a sharp contest, and it now became possible to invite the return of the inhabitants, and to rescue the city from the horrors of this prolonged contest.

Brigadier Campbell with his cavalry attacked the enemy when retreating from the city in consequence of Sir Edward Lugard's advance, inflicting heavy loss, and pursued him for six miles.

I beg to enclose Sir James Outram's own account of his operations, which were removed from my immediate superintendence till he re-crossed the Goomti prior to the attack of the 16th.

It was matter of real gratification to me to be able to entrust the Trans-Goomti operation to this very distinguished officer, and after that had been conducted to my perfect satisfaction to bring him forward again to put the finishing stroke on the enemy, while the extended position in the town was of necessity held by the troops who had won it. My thanks are eminently due to him, and I trust he will receive them as heartily as they are offered.

I have now the pleasing task of communicating to your Lordship the name of an officer to whom, not only I as Commanding General, but to whom in truth the Service at large is under great obligation,



Major-General Mansfield, the Chief of the Staff, whose labour has been unceasing, whose abilities are of the highest order, and have been of the greatest use to me during this campaign. It is impossible for me to praise this officer too highly, or to recommend him sufficiently to the protection of your Lordship and of the Government.

I desire to draw the particular attention of your Lordship to Brigadier-Generals Franks, C.B., Walpole, Sir J. Hope Grant, K.C.B., and Sir Edward Lugard, K.C.B.

Their divisions have been most admirably commanded, and they have on every occasion amply justified all my expectations.

Brigadier-Generals Walpole and Sir J. Hope Grant were employed more immediately under the direction of Sir James Outram, who speaks in the highest terms of the assistance he received from them.

Sir J. Hope Grant's management of his Cavalry and Horse Artillery is always most admirable.

As detailed above, the manner in which the attacks on the main line of operations were directed by Sir Edward Lugard and Brigadier-General Franks reflected the greatest credit on them.

The officers in command of the cavalry brigades have proved themselves equal to their high position, and are worthy of your Lordship's favourable consideration.

Brigadier Campbell, in command of the Cavalry on the left, performed his detached duty with much vigilance and judgment. His march round the city on the 19th instant, which was a running fight for the greater part of the day, was a very difficult one.

His pursuit, on the 21st, of the party which broke away after being driven by Sir Edward Lugard from Shadut Gunge was highly effective.

Brigadier Hagart has received the marked commendation of Sir J. Hope Grant, and the Brigadiers in command of Infantry Brigades have particularly distinguished themselves under the eyes of their divisional commanders :—

Brigadier	D. Russell,	... 1st Brigade.
"	P. M. M. Guy,	... 3rd "
"	Hon'ble A. Hope,	... 4th "
"	Douglas, C.B.,	... 5th "
"	Horsford, C.B.,	... 6th "
"	Eveleigh,	... 7th "

and Lieutenant-Colonel Longden, (Her Majesty's 10th Foot), attached to the Gurkha Brigade, by order of the Commander-in-Chief.

The head-quarters, 2nd Brigade, with the 5th Fusiliers, and 78th Highlanders under Brigadier Franklin, remained at Alumbagh

in position, and was well disposed by that officer to resist the enemy's demonstration on the 16th instant.

To Major-General Sir Archdale Wilson, K.C.B., my warmest acknowledgments are due for the effective manner in which he commanded the Artillery Division.

The four corps, the Naval Brigade, the Royal Artillery, the Bengal Artillery, and the Madras Artillery, worked with the greatest harmony under his happy direction as one regiment.

The merits of Sir Archdale Wilson are too widely known to gain anything by encomium from me; but I may be permitted to express my great satisfaction at having been able to avail myself of the assistance of this most distinguished officer. The effective fire of the Artillery during the long operations which depended so much on the management of that arm elicited general admiration.

The practice of the 68-pounders of the Naval Brigade was capital, while the Kaiser Bagh and other great buildings which had been stormed, showed in a very convincing manner how truly the shells had been directed by the Royal and Bengal Artillery.

Whenever the Field Artillery could be used the Troops of Horse Artillery and field batteries of Royal Artillery, the Bengal Artillery, and the Madras Artillery did the most excellent service.

Sir Archdale Wilson expresses his great obligations to Captain Sir William Peel, K.C.B., R.N., till that most gallant officer was severely wounded, and to Brigadiers Wood, C.B., Royal Horse Artillery, and Barker, C.B., R.A., respectively, commanding the Field and Siege Artillery Brigades.

It would be difficult for me to give an adequate idea of the zeal and activity displayed by the Chief Engineer, Brigadier Napier, Bengal Engineers. Many of the operations depended on his proper appreciation of the obstructions to be overcome, and the means at his disposal for that purpose.

His great professional skill and thorough acquaintance with the value of his enemy have been of the greatest service, and I recommend him most cordially to Your Lordship's protection. I am under very great obligations to him.

The officers of the great departments of the army have accompanied me during the siege, and I beg to return them my thanks. They are as follows:—

Major H. W. Norman, Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army.

Lieutenant-Colonel W. Macpherson, Officiating Quartermaster-General of the Army.



Colonel Hon'ble W. L. Pakenham, C.B., Officiating Adjutant-General, Her Majesty's Forces.

Captain C. F. Seymour, 84th Regiment, Officiating Quartermaster-General, Her Majesty's Forces.

Captain G. Allgood, Officiating Assistant Quartermaster-General of the Army.

Lieutenant-Colonel Keith Young, Judge Advocate-General of the Army.

Lieutenant P. Stewart, Bengal Engineers, Superintendent of Electric Telegraphs.

Dr. MacAndrew, Inspector-General of Hospitals, Her Majesty's Forces.

Dr. Brown, the Superintending Surgeon of the Force, has again won my sincere thanks for his admirable arrangements.

Captain Fitzgerald, Assistant Commissary-General, who has had the disposition of the commissariat in the field, has met every want of the Army. He has distinguished himself much, and is a credit to his department.

I must draw very particular attention to the services of Major Norman, Deputy Adjutant-General, who, besides his ordinary departmental duties, has performed the very onerous one of Adjutant-General of the Army in the field throughout the campaign.

To Captain H. Bruce, Deputy Quartermaster-General, head of the Intelligence Department, and to Captain G. Allgood, Officiating Assistant Quartermaster-General, who performed the duties of Quartermaster-General of the Army in the field until the arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel Macpherson. These officers have all been most active in the performance of their duties.

To my personal staff and that of Major-General Mansfield my acknowledgments are due, but more particularly to my Military Secretary, Colonel Sterling, C.B., and to Captain G. R. Hope Johnstone, Bombay Army, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General to the Chief of the Staff. These two officers are most indefatigable.

A list of the other members of these staffs is appended.

Finally, I wish to draw Your Lordship's attention to the conduct of the regimental officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, and to the men of the regiments.

Their conduct has been very brilliant throughout. The manner in which the 93rd Regiment flung itself into the Begum Kotee followed

by the 4th Sikhs and supported by the 42nd was magnificent, and the subsequent attack on the Emambara and the Kaiser Bagh reflected the greatest credit on the regimental leaders of the 4th Division, and the soldiers who followed them.

Corrected lists will be sent immediately of the officers and soldiers who are deemed most worthy of distinction in a force in which every one has a claim.

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*From General Sir COLIN CAMPBELL, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief in India, to the Right Hon'ble Viscount CANNING, Governor-General of India in Council, dated Camp Lucknow, 28th March 1858.*

I have the honour to report to your Lordship the departure of His Highness Jung Bahadoor from the camp before Lucknow.

I desire to take this opportunity to express my thanks to His Highness for the assistance rendered to me during the late operations by him and his gallant troops.

I found the utmost willingness on his part to accede to any desire of mine during the progress of the siege, and from the first His Highness was pleased to justify his words that he was happy to be serving under my command.

His troops have proved themselves worthy of their commanders, and it will doubtless be a happiness to them hereafter that they were associated with the British Arms for the reduction of the great city of Lucknow.

My best thanks are due to the Special Commissioner, Brigadier-General MacGregor, C.B., the medium of communication between His Highness and myself.

I beg to recommend him and the British officers serving under his orders to the favourable consideration of your Lordship.

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*List of the Personal Staff of His Excellency General Sir COLIN CAMPBELL, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief in India, and of Major-General W. R. MANSFIELD, Chief of the Staff.*

Colonel Sterling, C.B., unattached, Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief.

Captain Sir David Baird, Bart., Her

Majesty's 98th Regiment.

Lieutenant F. Alison, 72nd Highlanders.

Captain W. F. Forster, 18th Royal Irish.

} Aides-de-Camp to the  
} Commander-in-Chief.



Major J. Metcalfe, 3rd Regiment, Bengal Native Infantry, Interpreter and Commandant, head-quarters.

Lieutenant R. G. Hope Johnstone, Bombay Army, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General to the Chief of the Staff.

Lieutenant D. M. Murray, Her Majesty's 64th Regiment.	} Aides-de-Camp to the Chief of the Staff.
Lieutenant F. R. S. Flood, (severely wounded), Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment.	

Surgeon J. Clifford, Officiating Surgeon to the Commander-in-Chief.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP, LUCKNOW; The 22nd March 1858.	} (Sd.) A. C. STERLING, Col., Mily. Secy.

*List of Annexures.*

1. Report from Major-General Sir James Outram, G. C. B.
2. Return of the killed and wounded from 2nd to 21st March.
3. Return of captured ordnance.
4. State of Army, dated 2nd March 1858.
5. State of Brigadier-General Franks' Force, dated 4th March 1858.

(Sd) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Depy. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

*Memorandum of operations carried on under the command of Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, G.C.B., during the Siege of Lucknow.*

On the morning of the 6th instant, shortly before daybreak, I pro-

\* 4th Company, Royal Engineers, and 254 Bengal Sappers, Lieutenant-Colonel D'Aguilar's Troop, Horse Artillery, Captain Mackinnon's Troop, and Captain Remington's Troop of Bengal Artillery. 2nd Dragoon Guards, 9th Lancers, a detachment of 1st Punjab Cavalry.

2nd Punjab Cavalry, a detachment 5th Punjab Cavalry.

23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers.	} 5th Brigade.
79th Highlanders.	
1st Bengal Fusiliers.	} 5th Brigade.
2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.	
3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.	
2nd Punjab Infantry.	

ceeded with the force named in the margin\* to cross the Goomti river over the two temporary bridges which had been constructed by the order of His Excellency, the whole of the cavalry being under the command of Brigadier-General Sir J. Hope Grant, K.C.B., the infantry under that of Brigadier Walpole, the Field Artillery under Brigadier D.

Wood, C. B., the Siege Artillery, which subsequently joined me, under Lieutenant-Colonel Riddell, R.A. After proceeding a short distance, in a northerly direction, the enemy became visible on our left flank, and on being approached by the cavalry, they were discovered to be in

considerable force, chiefly sowars. The 2nd Punjab Cavalry then attacked on the right, while Major Smith of the Queen's Bays with two squadrons of his own regiment, one squadron of the 9th Lancers, and Lieutenant-Colonel D'Aguilar's Troop of Horse Artillery, advanced from our left. The enemy were immediately driven back, and pursued to the banks of the river, many being cut up; but I regret to state that in this charge the gallant Major Smith was killed. Our camp was then formed on the Fyzabad Road about half a mile in advance of the village of Chinhut on the Lucknow side. Early on the following morning, 7th March, the enemy made a smart attack on our advanced picquets, and brought out several guns under cover of ravines and clumps of trees in our front. They were, however, speedily withdrawn on our skirmishers and Horse Artillery and Captain Middleton's Field Battery, protected by the Cavalry, coming to the front and opening

\* Lieutenant-Colonel D'Aguilar's, c.n.,  
R. A., Captain Remington's, B. A., and  
Captain Mackinnon's Troop.

their fire. The Artillery\* practice on this occasion, as on the preceding day, was admirable.

2 The following day, the 8th instant, under the instructions of His Excellency, Colonel D'Aguilar's Troop of Horse Artillery and the 9th Lancers re-crossed the river to the head-quarters camp, and the siege

24-pounder guns	...	...	8
8-inch howitzers	...	...	4
8-inch mortars	...	...	10
			—
			22
			—

guns named in the margin joined me. Having decided upon an attack on the enemy's position on the next morning, the 9th instant, I caused an entrenchment for eight 24-pounder

guns and three 8-inch howitzers to be constructed during the night. The battery was armed, and commenced its fire at daybreak with excellent effect, after which the right column of infantry, accompanied by Captain Gibbon's Field Battery under Brigadier-General Walpole, covered with a cloud of skirmishers commanded by Brigadier Horsford, c.n., supported by the 5th Brigade under Brigadier Douglas, drove the enemy through the jungles, walls, and villages which afforded them an excellent cover, and bringing the right shoulders forward, occupied the Fyzabad Road. In the meantime, the left column of attack, composed of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, supported by two companies of the 79th Highlanders, which had been held in readiness on the left of the battery, together with the Horse Artillery under Brigadier Wood, which had been formed in rear of the bridge across the Kokral advanced, and in concert with the right column, carried the Chukkur Kotee, (or Yellow-House,) the key of the rebel position, in gallant style



and thereby turned the strong line of entrenchment, which had been constructed by the enemy on the right bank of the Goomti, of which success the skirmishers on the other side of the river, subsequently, were apprised by Lieutenant Butler, of the Bengal Fusiliers, who swam across the Goomti, and climbing the parapet, remained in that position for a considerable time under heavy fire of musketry, until the work was occupied. After the occupation of the Chukkur Kotee, we drove the enemy rapidly through the old Irregular Cavalry lines and suburbs to the Padshah Bagh. The fortified gates of the strong-walled enclosure were blown open, and the garden occupied, and two guns found by our troops. Three guns and a howitzer were then placed in position to enfilade the works in rear of the Martinière. A battery of two 24-pounder guns and two 8-inch howitzers was placed near the river to keep down the fire from the town. A battery for five mortars was constructed during the night, and in the morning commenced playing on the Kaiser Bagh. Four heavy guns were also placed in a work thrown up by the enemy at the east entrance into the Padshah Bagh.

3. On the 10th, we were occupied in strengthening our position, the enemy being in force in the suburbs in our front, from which they made an attack in considerable numbers on a picquet held by the 79th Highlanders, but were repulsed with heavy loss. General Sir J. Hope Grant occupied himself the while in patrolling the vicinity, during which operation a most valuable young officer, Major Sandford, of the 5th Punjab Irregular Cavalry, was unfortunately killed; but the enemy suffered severely.

4. During this night, another battery was constructed in the Padshah Bagh for four 24-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, and five 8-inch mortars, which kept up a vertical and direct fire on the defences in the interior of the Kaiser Bagh. Two more 24-pounders were also brought to bear on the mess-house and on the Kaiser Bagh, in compliance with the instructions of His Excellency. I made arrangements to attack the suburbs in the vicinity of the iron and stone bridges, and shortly after daylight, on the 11th instant, the right

\* 79th Highlanders.\*

2nd and 3rd Battalions, Rifle Brigade.

1st Bengal Fusiliers.

Captain Gibbon's Light Field Battery  
and two 24-pounders.

column, as per margin,\* formed on the Fyzabad Road under the immediate command of Brigadier-General Walpole, and worked its way, covered

by its skirmishers, through the town, until it reached the mosque on the old cantonment road, which commands the approach to the iron bridge.

5. The left column, as per margin,\* proceeded along the lower road towards the iron bridge. These two columns were connected by a strong chain of skirmishers, which, as well as the left column, met with considerable opposition, as the

\* Two 24-pounder guns.  
Three Field Battery guns, Royal Artillery.  
23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers.  
2nd Punjab Infantry, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Pratt.

enemy opened three guns on them from the opposite side of the river and also held the ground in great strength in front of the rifle skirmishers commanded by Brevet-Major Warren, Captains Wilmot, and Thynne, and Lieutenant Grey, who all behaved most gallantly. Captain Thynne, a most promising officer, I regret to say, was mortally wounded. This column occupied the houses down to the river's bank, and the head of the iron bridge, to the right of which the two 24-pounder guns were placed in battery. The spirit and dash of the men during this critical operation was most remarkable, and merits my highest commendation. Lieutenant Moorsom, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, who had been deputed by me to guide the column, was killed on the spot while reconnoitring on the opposite side of the road. I deplore sincerely the loss of this most gallant and promising young officer, whose soldier-like zeal and acquirements rendered him an ornament to his profession.

6. Having left the Bengal Fusiliers posted in the mosque on the Cantonment Road, I proceeded with the remainder of the right column in that direction, and shortly afterwards met Sir J. H. Grant's Cavalry and Horse Artillery, which in the meantime had been operating on the extreme right. Turning now towards the stone bridge, we surprised the camp of the rebel 15th Irregular Horse, whose standards and two guns were captured by the Rifles, the enemy flying in all directions over the plain, many being cut up by our cavalry.

7. I then penetrated to the head of the stone bridge, through the strong and dense suburbs, without encountering any material opposition. The enemy, however, were able to command it with guns, as well as with musketry from the tops of several high and strong stone-houses, from the opposite side of the river, and the position was, moreover, too distant, and the approaches too intricate, to warrant my holding it permanently with the force at my disposal. I therefore withdrew to the mosque at the cross-road, already occupied by the Bengal Fusiliers, our route being through suburbs in which we destroyed a quantity of munitions of war, and finally we retired to



camp, when the arrangements for the occupation of the iron bridge had been completed.

8. During the nights of the 12th and 13th, having been reinforced by four 18-pounder guns, two 10-inch howitzers, five 10-inch mortars and four 5½-inch mortars, three batteries were erected from which five 10-inch mortars, ten 8-inch mortars, and four 24-pounder guns were brought to bear upon the Kaiser Bagh, on the fall of which, on the morning of the 14th, the guns and mortars were turned on the Residency and the buildings to the right of the bridge. During this operation Lieutenant Cuthbert, of the Royal Artillery, brought himself prominently to notice by extinguishing a fire in a small building in front of his battery, in a very dangerous and exposed position. The operations connected with a breastwork across the iron bridge were conducted by Lieutenant Wynne, R.E., and Sergeant Paul, who displayed great coolness and resolution in the face of a heavy and continual fire.

9. Having been ordered to join His Excellency's camp, my operations on the north side of the Goomti were here brought to a close.

10. Our casualties during these proceedings amounted to five officers killed and nine wounded, and the loss in men, including sergeants, was twenty-one killed and one hundred and four wounded. Total twenty-six killed and one hundred and thirteen wounded. With the exception of the officers, the above statement of casualties does not include the Cavalry Division. General Sir J. Hope Grant having been ordered off into the district, neither his casualty list, nor his notice of his officers has been received. From the peculiar nature of the fighting the actual loss of the enemy is difficult to ascertain. But I cannot estimate it at less than two thousand throughout the whole operations.

11. On the 16th instant, under instructions from His Excellency, I proceeded to the Kaiser Bagh where I found the 5th Brigade under the command of Brigadier Douglas, C.B., comprising the 23rd Fusiliers, the 79th Highlanders, and the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, to which His Excellency had added Her Majesty's 20th Regiment and the Ferozepore Regiment of Sikhs.

12. Vast numbers of the enemy having been seen crossing the stone bridge from the city, apparently with the design of attacking Brigadier-General Walpole's camp, on the north of the Goomti, His Excellency ordered me to press our movement. I immediately ordered the advance,

and took possession of the Residency with little opposition, the 23rd Fusiliers charging through the gateway, and driving the enemy before them at the point of the bayonet, the remainder of the brigade following them in reserve.

13. The enemy having been dislodged from the Residency, two companies of the 23rd, under Lieutenant-Colonel Bell, accompanied by Captain Gould Weston, who pointed out the road, pressed rapidly forward, and captured the brass gun which was in position to sweep the iron bridge, after some opposition. In the meanwhile the Residency height was crowned by a Field Battery of Madras Artillery, under the command of Major Cotter, which kept up a heavy fire on the Muchee Bhowun. This battery was subsequently withdrawn, and replaced by two 68-pounder guns of the Naval Brigade. On their arrival, the Bengal Fusiliers moved to the iron bridge, and shortly afterwards advanced, together with the Regiment of Ferozepore, and took the Muchee Bhowun and the Imambara, the enemy precipitately retiring, and abandoning six guns. One company of the Fusiliers, under Captain Salisbury,\* was pushed on to the Roomidurwaza Gate, where another gun was captured. The 79th were then brought up to occupy the Imambara, and the remainder of the Bengal Fusiliers were placed in the Muchee Bhowun.

14. On the morning of the 17th, Brigadier Douglas caused the Hoseinabad Mosque and Dowlutkhana, in which two guns and a small mortar were found, to be occupied by a company of the 79th Highlanders. About 1 P.M., with the force named in the margin, I moved towards the block of buildings known as Shurfoodowlah's house, having previously occupied the entrance to the Chowk with three companies of the 79th Highlanders.

On arriving at the Jumma Musjid, nine cart loads of powder were found in a courtyard in the rear, which impeded our progress. I therefore directed it to be destroyed under the supervision of the Engineers. I regret, however, to have to state that from some accidental cause the powder ignited.

15. Captain Clerke, R. E., and Lieutenant Brownlow, B. E., who had greatly distinguished themselves, have since died from the effects

*Captain Middleton's Field Battery.*  
Two 8-inch howitzers.  
One Company Native Sappers.  
One Wing, Her Majesty's 20th Foot.  
One " " 23rd "  
One " " 79th "  
Brassey's Sikhs.

towards the block of buildings known as Shurfoodowlah's house, having previously occupied the entrance

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\* *Sic in original ; should be Salisbury.*



of the explosion, in whose melancholy death the Service has sustained a heavy loss, which I sincerely deplore. About thirty men shared their fate, and the rest of the working party were more or less injured.

16. I then sent two companies of the 79th Highlanders with one 8-inch howitzer to take possession of Shurfoodowlah's house, which was occupied without any casualty, the enemy precipitately retreating, although they had made every preparation for a vigorous defence. An iron gun and a brass gun with an ammunition wagon, together with several small guns, all in position, were captured.

17. I then reinforced the three companies of the 79th in the Chowk, with five companies of the 20th Regiment, and completed the chain of communication.

18. On the 18th, Brigadier Douglas ordered Lieutenant Gordon, commanding a picquet of the 20th, to clear the houses in his front, which he effected much to the Brigadier's satisfaction, killing twenty-three of the enemy.

19. The stone bridge was found to be undermined, and the circumstance reported to His Excellency.

20. On the morning of the 19th, under instructions from His Excellency, I proceeded to attack the Moosa Bagh, the force named in the margin being assembled for that purpose.

Two Squadrons, 9th Lancers  
One Company, Royal Engineers.  
One do. Native Sappers.  
One Field Battery, Captain Middleton's.

21. At about half-past 6 A. M., I proceeded to Gao Ghat, and found Ali Nuki Khan's house occupied by the enemy, who opened a sharp fire of musketry on the head of the column. Two companies of the 79th led by Lieutenant Evereth, being

Two 18-pounders } Under Captain  
Two 8-inch howitzers } Carleton, B. A.  
Four 8-inch mortars }  
Three companies, 20th Regiment.  
Seven " 23rd "  
79th Highlanders.  
2nd Punjab Infantry.

ordered to advance, soon drove the enemy out, and took possession of it. Considerable delay here took place in consequence of having to break through a thick wall, during which time I ordered up a wing of the Bengal Fusiliers to occupy the house.

22. The troops then advanced through the suburbs without opposition towards Moosa Bagh, which position the enemy was reported to occupy with thirteen guns, and five or six thousand men.

23. On arriving on the open ground two guns were opened on the column, and the enemy appeared in great strength on the road. I immediately ordered out skirmishers from the 79th and 23rd, and

Captain Middleton's Battery to the front, whose fire soon silenced that of the enemy, during which time the Lancers made a flank movement to the enemy's left, and on our advance, their whole force took to flight, abandoning their guns; on finding which I sent to order back the heavy guns under escort of the three companies of the 20th Regiment, as being no longer required.

24. The two squadrons of the 9th Lancers followed up the pursuit for about four miles, when they overtook the enemy, captured six guns and killed about a hundred of them, the rest dispersing over the country, and escaping by the aid of the nullahs and broken feature of the country. The conduct of the officers and men of the 9th was most gallant, as they undauntedly charged masses of the enemy.

25. The Field Artillery and Infantry followed in support as rapidly as possible, and captured four more guns, making in all twelve, which I believe to be the total possessed by the enemy, no trace of the reported thirteenth gun being observable.

26. I then occupied the Moosa Bagh with the 2nd Punjab Infantry under Major Green, and withdrew the rest of the troops to their quarters in the city.

27. Throughout the course of these operations, which were very laborious, the cheerfulness and zeal of both officers and men were most conspicuous, and merit my warmest thanks.

28. I have to express my particular acknowledgments to Brigadier-General Walpole, who afforded me on every occasion the most cordial support, and very ably carried out the operations which fell to his share; also to Brigadier-General Sir J. Hope Grant, commanding the Cavalry, whose vigilance and activity in the execution of his onerous duties were unceasing.

29. Brigadier Wood, C. B., Commanding the Field Batteries, and Lieutenant-Colonel Riddell, Commanding the Siege-Train, carried on their respective duties to my entire satisfaction. The services of Lieutenant-Colonel Turner, B. A., specially attached to the Force, were of the highest value to me, and I beg to tender him my cordial acknowledgment for the same.

30. It is a source of much gratification to me to submit the names of those officers engaged in the operations on the north bank of the Goomti, who have been honourably mentioned by Brigadier-General Walpole and their respective commanders, *viz.*, Brigadiers Horsford C.B., and Douglas, Commanding 5th and 6th Brigades, Lieutenant-



Colonel Hill, Commanding 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade; Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, C.B., Commanding 3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade; Captain Gibbon, R. A., who commanded the 9-pounder Field Battery.

31. The Brigadier-General also particularly notices the conduct of Captain Barwell, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, and Captain Carey, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General; also that of Captain Warner, Aide-de-Camp, and Lieutenant Eccles, his Orderly Officer.

32. The Brigadiers wish to record the services of their respective Staffs:—Captain Macpherson, 78th Highlanders, (wounded,) Brigade-Major of the 5th Brigade; Brevet-Major Mollan, Brigade-Major of the 6th Brigade; and Brevet-Major Ross, and Lieutenant Walker, their Orderly Officers.

33. Brigadier Wood, C.B., favourably mentions the conduct and professional knowledge of Lieutenant-Colonel Turner, Lieutenant-Colonel D'Aguilar, Major Yates, Brevet-Major Pennywick, Captain Gibbon, Captain Mackinnon, Captain Remington, and Captain Johnston; he also notices the assistance he received from Captain Frith, his Brigade-Major, and Captain Scott, in charge of the Commissariat arrangements.

34. Lieutenant-Colonel Riddell, Commanding Siege-Train, eulogizes, Captains Thring, Goodenough, and Walker, R. A., Captain Pearson and Lieutenant Simeon, B. A., and Lieutenants Cuthbert and FitzMaurice, R.A., and Major Turner and Captain Young, Staff Officers.

35. Major Nicholson, R. E., highly applauds the energy displayed by the officers of that department, viz., Lieutenants Malcolm, Wynne, Swetenham, and Keith, R. E., and Lieutenants Watson, Tennant, Hovenden, and Nuthall, B. E.

36. Lieutenant-Colonel Wells records the services of Major Bruce, Captains Prevost, Duff, and Norton, of the 23rd Fusiliers.

37. I have next to notice the services of the officers engaged on the south or city side of the river.

38. Brigadier Napier, Captain Hutchinson, Brigade-Major, and Lieutenant Greathed, of the Engineers, afforded me on different occasions the greatest assistance by their professional advice, and I tender them my cordial thanks; they were ably seconded by Lieutenant Tulloch and Mr. May, attached to that department.

39. Major Brayser\* led his Sikhs with his usual gallantry, and I regret to add was severely wounded.

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\* Sic in original; should be Brasyer.

40. My thanks are also due to Captain Bennett, Commanding Her Majesty's 20th Regiment.

41. Captain Coles, in command of two squadrons of the 9th Lancers, did good service in pursuing the enemy when they abandoned their position in the Moosa Bagh. On this occasion the local knowledge of Captain Carey, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General of the 3rd Division, was of much use to me. Captain Dodgson, Assistant Adjutant-General, Captain Gordon, Deputy Judge Advocate-General, and Ensign Hewitt, 41st Regiment Native Infantry, Orderly Officer, were present at the occupation of the Moosa Bagh, having joined me from Alumbagh, where they had been of much service in their respective appointments.

42. I have lastly to bring to His Excellency's consideration the services of those officers who had the good fortune to be engaged in all the operations on both sides of the river.

43. Brigadier Douglas has carried out all his instructions with signal ability and success, and deserves my cordial acknowledgments, as does Major Nicholson, R. E., who evinced the most indefatigable industry in the construction of the heavy batteries which it fell to his department to execute, and in choosing sites for which he was constantly exposed to very heavy fire.

44. Lieutenant-Colonel Wells commanded the 23rd Fusiliers, until incapacitated by illness (on the last day's operation) when the command was assumed by Lieutenant-Colonel Pratt, who also commanded the left column of attack on the 11th instant across the river. Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor was in command of the 79th Highlanders, Major Green, Punjab Rifles, and Captain Cunliffe commanded the 1st Bengal Fusiliers until the arrival of Captain Hume, who also deserves my thanks. Captain Middleton commanded the Field Battery, which was actively engaged throughout.

45. Brigadier Douglas mentions, with approbation, Captain Stevenson, Acting Brigade-Major, and Lieutenants Walker, 79th, and Utterton, 23rd Fusiliers, his Aide-de-Camp and Orderly Officer.

46. I have the highest pleasure in acknowledging how much I am indebted to the officers of my Personal Staff.

47. His Excellency is already aware of the opinion I have formed of the merits and services of Colonel Berkeley, Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, my Military Secretary; and the assistance I have derived



from him throughout these operations is an additional obligation I am under to this most deserving officer.

48. Captain Chamier, Aide-de-Camp, and Lieutenant Hargood, Aide-de-Camp (horse killed), have worked with the unremitting zeal and activity which has characterised their conduct in all the operations in which I have been engaged since I left Allahabad in September last.

49. Captain Weston, 65th Regiment, Native Infantry, Orderly Officer, has signalized himself by the spirit and gallantry which he has displayed on several occasions, and has been of much use to me.

50. Captains Orr and Bunbury, of the Intelligence Department, have performed their duties with great ability, and Mr. Denison, C. S., who recently brought up despatches from the Governor-General, accompanied the Forces, and was most active and zealous in rendering aid to the poor sufferers who were blown up in the explosion on the 17th instant.

51. Mr. Kavanagh, Assistant Commissioner, from his knowledge of the localities, rendered good service on several occasions.

(Sd.) J. OUTRAM, *Maj.-Genl.,*  
*Comdg. the 1st Divn. of the Army.*

*GENERAL ORDERS by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council.*

DATED ALLAHABAD, MONDAY, 5th APRIL 1858.

No. 54 of 1858.—The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General having now received the despatches\* from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, giving an account of the re-taking of Lucknow by the force under His Excellency's personal command, is pleased to publish them for general information.

In December last, it became the grateful duty of the Governor-General in Council to promulgate in General Orders the announcement of the relief of the garrison of Lucknow, so admirably achieved by General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., and the rescue of the women and children, sick and wounded, long beleaguered there. It is now the Governor-General's privilege to convey to His Excellency the tribute of his highest admiration, and of his most cordial congratulations on the capture of the strong city of the rebels.

From the 2nd till the 16th of March, a series of masterly operations took place, by which the Commander-in-Chief, nobly

\* See pages 465-477.

supported in his well laid plans of attack by the ability and skill of the General officers, and by the indomitable bravery and resolution of the officers and men of all arms, drove the rebels successively from all their strongly fortified posts, till the whole fell into the possession of our troops.

That this great success should have been accomplished at so little cost of valuable lives, enhances the honour due to the Leader who has achieved it.

It is a pleasure to the Governor-General to acknowledge publicly the services of the General and other officers who took part in the capture of Lucknow.

During the last days of the operations, the Nepalese Force, under Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, was associated with the army under General Sir Colin Campbell's command.

To the distinguished leader of that force, the Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, the Governor-General desires to express his thanks for the hearty co-operation which the Commander-in-Chief received from His Highness, and for the gallant bearing of His Highness' troops.

To Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., the Government of India is under a new debt of gratitude. After having held the exposed post of Alumbagh for more than three months, in the face of powerful bodies of rebels, whose attacks he never failed to repel, Sir James Outram has further greatly distinguished himself at the head of the 1st Division, by the brilliant and thoroughly complete manner in which he executed the duties entrusted to him. The Governor-General requests that Sir James Outram will accept his most sincere thanks.

His Lordship offers his hearty acknowledgments to the other General officers whose services are prominently noticed in these despatches.

To Major-General Mansfield, Chief of the Staff, of whose eminent services the Commander-in-Chief speaks with well merited commendation.

To Major-General Sir Archdale Wilson, Baronet, K.C.B., in chief command of the Artillery, who, after winning lasting renown in the capture of Delhi, has borne a conspicuous part in the reduction of Lucknow.

To Major-General Sir J. Hope Grant, K.C.B., Commanding the Cavalry of the force; to Brigadier-General Franks, C.B.; Brigadier-General Walpole, and Brigadier-General Sir Edward Lugard, K.C.B., Commanding the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Divisions of Infantry.



The Governor-General has to record his acknowledgments to Captain Sir William Peel, K.C.B., Commanding the Naval Brigade of H. M.'s Ship *Shannon*, and to offer his especial thanks to him for his remarkable services.

The Governor-General entirely concurs with His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in prominently recognising the great skill and ability of Brigadier Napier, who commanded the Engineers of Her Majesty's and the East India Company's Services forming part of the force. Brigadier Napier is especially entitled to the thanks of the Governor-General; and to him, to Colonel Harness, Commanding the Royal Engineers, and to the several officers under them, of both the services, His Lordship's grateful acknowledgments are offered.

The Governor-General has much satisfaction in expressing his high sense of the merits of the several officers commanding brigades and regiments.

To the commanding officers of the Royal Artillery, of the Naval Artillery, and of the Bengal and Madras Artillery, the Governor-General tenders his cordial thanks.

To Major Norman, Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, to whose superior merits and distinguished services the Commander-in-Chief bears willing testimony, a tribute in which the Governor-General concurs; to Colonel the Hon'ble W. L. Pakenham, C.B., Officiating Adjutant-General, Her Majesty's Forces in India; to Lieutenant-Colonel Macpherson, Officiating Quartermaster-General of the Army; to Captain Seymour, Officiating Quartermaster-General, Her Majesty's Forces; to Captain Bruce, Deputy Quartermaster-General, and Captain Algood, Assistant Quartermaster-General; to Lieutenant-Colonel Keith Young, Judge Advocate-General; to Captain Fitzgerald, Assistant Commissary-General, who is especially mentioned by the Commander-in-Chief; to Lieutenant P. Stewart, of Engineers, Superintendent of Electric Telegraphs; to Dr. MacAndrew, Inspector-General of Hospitals, Her Majesty's Forces, and to Dr. Brown, Superintending Surgeon of the Force, the Governor-General has much satisfaction in expressing his sense of the good service they have rendered.

To the officers of the Personal Staff of the Commander-in-Chief, of the Chief of the Staff, and of General officers commanding divisions, the thanks of the Governor-General are due; and His Lordship records his acknowledgments to the officers of the Staff, of divisions and brigades, all of whom have zealously performed their duty.

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To the officers of the Personal Staff of the Commander-in-Chief, of the Chief of the Staff, and of General officers commanding divisions, the thanks of the Governor-General are due; and His Lordship records his acknowledgments to the officers of the Staff, of divisions and brigades, all of whom have zealously performed their duty.

To the officers and men of every service, soldiers, seamen and marines, composing the force by which Lucknow has been taken, the Governor-General desires to express his admiration of their conduct and to tender to each individual the thanks of the Government of India. His Lordship will take the earliest opportunity of bringing under the favourable notice of Her Majesty's Government, and of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, the services rendered by the force.

In testimony of the services, the Governor-General is pleased to direct that every officer and soldier, European and Native, and the officers and men of the Navy, who took part in the capture of Lucknow, shall receive a donation of six months' batta.

By order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General.

(Sd.) R. J. H. BIRCH, Col.,  
Secy. to the Govt. of India, Mil. Dept.,  
with the Governor-General.

*Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Lucknow, 24th March 1858.*

Brigadier-General Sir James Hope Grant, K. C. B., was sent yesterday to disperse a body of insurgents under Rajah Jai Lal Sing at Koorsee. The operation was perfectly successful, and the Brigadier-General took twelve guns. He will return to his old quarters at the cantonments this afternoon.

*MEMORANDUM by Lieutenant I. F. MacANDREW, Military Secretary to Brigadier-General MacGREGOR, C.B., for the information of the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Camp Bunnec, 24th March 1858.*

The force commanded by Maharajah Jung Bahadoor before Lucknow numbered 15,000 men of all arms, and consisted of 23 battalions with 24 guns. This includes the force of Gurkhas which came up with General Franks, but not the guns attached to them, which were British.

The casualties in the Maharajah's force in the actions before Lucknow were 51 killed and 287 wounded.

*General Orders by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India, dated Allahabad, the 12th April 1858.*

No. 64 of 1858.—The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General has much satisfaction in publishing the following report of a gallant and successful attack on the enemy retreating from Lucknow by the troops under the command of Brigadier-General Sir J. Hope Grant, K. C. B., at Koorsee, on the road to Fyzabad, on the 23rd March 1858.



*From Major H. W. NORMAN, Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, with the Governor-General,—No. 167-A, dated Head-Quarters Camp, Lucknow, 28th March 1858.*

I have the honour, by direction of the Commander-in-Chief, to

• With report from Brigadier-General Sir J. Hope Grant, K. C. B., on the defeat by the troops under his command of a body of the enemy and capture of fourteen guns.

forward, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, copy of a letter\* from Brigadier-General Sir J. Hope Grant, K. C. B.,

Commanding the Cavalry Division of this Army, dated 26th instant, No. 60, reporting his having overtaken a body of the enemy at "Koorsee" in this neighbourhood, and captured fourteen guns.

2. His Excellency much regrets the loss in this affair of a gallant young officer, Lieutenant MacDonnell, attached to the 2nd Punjab Cavalry.

3. Returns of casualties and of ordnance captured in the action are annexed.

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*From Brigadier-General Sir J. HOPE GRANT, K.C.B., Commanding Division, to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, No. 60, dated Camp near Lucknow, 26th March 1858.*

I have the honour to report, for the information of His Excellency Sir Colin Campbell, that agreeably to the orders received from Major-General Mansfield, Chief of the Staff, I marched at 12 o'clock on

Major Remington's and Captain Mac-  
kinnon's troops of Bengal Horse Artillery.

Major Moir's Heavy Field Battery.

Her Majesty's 2nd Dragoon Guards.

2nd Punjab Cavalry.

1st " " (Detachment.)

Her Majesty 53rd Regiment.

2nd and 3rd Battalions, Rifle Brigade,  
and 2nd Punjab Infantry with some Sappers and Miners.

the night of the 22nd instant with the force as per margin in the direction of Koorsee; finding it, however, nearly impossible to proceed with the heavy guns across the country roads in the dark, I halted the column a short distance from the

cantonments until morning, it was consequently nearly 4 P.M. on the 23rd before we arrived at Koorsee. We found the enemy in full retreat along the Fyzabad Road. Forming up the cavalry and the horse artillery I advanced, leaving the infantry with the heavy guns pointing towards the village. Two guns of the advance guard under Lieutenant Hunter had in the meantime come into action against a party of rebels who were making their way out of a small ghuree on our left front, for the purpose of joining the main body on the Fyzabad Road; these were soon dispersed, and as we were clear

of the village I gave the order to change front to the right; by this movement our line completely covered the flank of the retreating enemy. A few rounds from the Horse Artillery caused them to scatter, on seeing which the 1st and 2nd Punjab Cavalry on the left of the line under the command of Captain Samuel Brown charged most gallantly five or six times through the rebels, cutting up about two hundred, and capturing fourteen guns besides several ammunition wagons, two elephants, some camels, bullocks, and quantities of baggage.

I directed Lieutenant Manderson with two guns, Horse Artillery, and a squadron of the 2nd Dragoon Guards, the whole under the command of Captain Loftus, to proceed to the support of the Punjab Cavalry. The success was complete; achieved, however, at the loss of two fine gallant officers, Lieutenant MacDonnell, 2nd Punjab Cavalry, killed, and Captain Cosserat, Commanding Detachment, 1st Punjab Cavalry, dangerously wounded.

I have to thank the following officers for the assistance they afforded me:—

Brigadier Horsford, Commanding the Infantry; Lieutenant-Colonel Maberly, R. A., Commanding the Artillery; Captain Mackinnon and Major Remington, Commanding troops of Bengal Horse Artillery, and Major Moir, Bengal Artillery, Commanding Heavy Field Battery; Lieutenants Manderson and Hunter, Bengal Horse Artillery, and Lieutenant Strange, R. A., Staff Officer to Lieutenant-Colonel Maberly; Lieutenant-Colonel Briscoe, Commanding 2nd Dragoon Guards; Major Keene, Commanding the outposts, and Captain Loftus both of the 2nd Dragoon Guards; Captain T. Browne, Commanding 2nd Punjab Cavalry, and Captain Cosserat, after that officer was wounded; Lieutenant Mackenzie, Commanding Detachment, 1st Punjab Cavalry; Lieutenant-Colonel English, C. B., Commanding Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment; Lieutenant-Colonel MacDonell, C. B., Commanding 3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade; Lieutenant-Colonel Percy Hill, Commanding 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade; and Major Green, Commanding 2nd Punjab Infantry; also Lieutenant Watson, Commanding Sappers and Miners, and Major Mollan, Major of Brigade, Captain Scott, Officiating Deputy Commissary-General, and—Forbes, Esquire, Civil Service.

My own personal Staff—Major Hamilton, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General; Lieutenant Roberts, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General; Captain the Hon'ble A. Anson, Aide-de-Camp, and Captain Johnson, Extra Aide-de-Camp, were of the greatest possible use to me.



*Return of casualties of the force under the command of Brigadier-General Sir J. HOPE GRANT, K. C. B., which took place on the 23rd March 1858 at Koorsee.*

Detail.	KILLED.										WOUNDED.										MISSING.										Remarks.	
	Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Native officers.	Sergents and havildars.	Trumpeters, drummers, rank and file and labourers.	Total.	Officers.	Troop.	Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Native officers.	Sergents and havildars.	Trumpeters, drummers, rank and file.	Total.	Officers.	Troop.	Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Native officers.	Sergents and havildars.	Trumpeters, drummers, rank and file.	Total.	Officers.	Troop.		
Artillery	Staff, Royal Artillery	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	* These two horses were killed by the explosion of a tumbril on the 2nd instant.
	1st Troop, 1st Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	† These two artillerymen were burnt by the above explosion.	
	2nd Troop, 1st Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
	Her Majesty's 2nd Dragoon Guards.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
Cavalry	9th Lancers attached to 2nd Dragoon Guards.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
	2nd Punjab Cavalry	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
	1st " "	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
	Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	

(84.) J. HOPE GRANT, Brig.-Genl.,  
Comdg. Force.

CAMP LUCKNOW CANTONMENTS,  
The 30th March 1858.

*List of officers killed.*

Brigade.	Rank and name.	Regiment.	Remarks.
Cavalry	Lieutenant T. J. MacDonell...	2nd Punjab Cavalry...	Killed, 23rd March 1858.

*List of officers wounded.*

Brigade.	Rank and name.	Regiment.	Remarks.
Cavalry	Captain J. P. Cosserat	1st Punjab Cavalry	Dangerously, 23rd instant.

(Sd.) J. HOPE GRANT, *Brigr.-Genl.*,  
Comdg. Force.

DATED CAMP, NEAR LUCKNOW,

*The 25th March 1858.*

*Return of ordnance captured from the enemy on the 23rd March 1858, by the force under the command of Sir J. HOPE GRANT, K.C.B.*

No.	Nature of ordnance.	Weight.			Remarks.
1	One gun, brass, 9-pounder ...	9	3	7	} British manufacture.
2	Ditto ditto 9 ditto ...	9	3	7	
3	Ditto ditto 8 ditto ...	9	0	0	
4	Ditto ditto 9 ditto ...	12	0	0	} Native manufacture.
5	Ditto ditto 6 ditto ...	8	0	0	
6	Ditto ditto 3 ditto ...	4	0	0	
7	Ditto ditto 3 ditto ...	1	0	0	
8	Ditto ditto 2 ditto ...	1	0	0	} British ditto, hooped trunnions.
9	Ditto Iron, 8 ditto ...	22	0	17	
10	Ditto ditto 6 ditto ...	10	0	0	} Foreign manufacture.
11	Ditto ditto 4 ditto ...	7	0	0	
12	Ditto ditto 1½ ditto ...	3	1	0	
13	Ditto ditto 1 ditto ...	4	0	0	
14	One howitzer, brass, 5 1-10 inch	1	2	0	



*Return of carriages captured.*

Description.	Number of each captured.	Remarks.
Gun carriages, Native manufacture ...	9	
Gun limbers ditto ditto ...	7	
Gun carriage, English ditto ...	2	
Gun limbers, ditto ditto ...	5	
Ammunition wagons, English manufacture.	4	Native boxes on one wagon body.
Store cart ... ..	1	
French cart ... ..	1	
Trumbills ... ..	3	

(Sd.) E. MABERLY, *Lieut.-Col., R. A.,*  
*Comdg. Arty. Force under Sir J. H. GRANT.*

*The Assistant Adjutant-General,*  
 SIR J. HOPE GRANT'S *Force.* }

(Sd.) J. H. GRANT, *Brigr.-Genl.,*  
*Comdg.*

(True copies.)

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Maj.,*  
*Depty. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.*

By Order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General.

(Sd.) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.,*  
*Secy. to the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept.,*  
*with the Governor-General.*

*From Major G. B. MILMAN, Commanding at Alumbagh, to the Adjutant-General,*  
*—dated Alumbagh, 29th March 1858.*

I have the honour to transmit the enclosed descriptive return of a brass gun I took possession of yesterday.

One of my detachment riding down the road near the Char Bagh saw it in a garden, and I sent out and had it brought into the fort.

*Return of captured ordnance now at Alumbagh.*

ALUMBAGH,  
The 29th March 1858.

Nature of ordnance.	Number of each.	Remarks.
Ordnance, brass gun ...	1	Calibre about 8lbs. Unserviceable.
Carriages, field gun ...	1	Native pattern.
" limbers, do. ...	2	Ditto.

(Sd.) H. FRANCIS, *Capt.,  
Comdg. Arty., Alumbagh.*

Examined.

J. FRASER, *Lieut.,  
Adj., Arty. Dep.* } (Sd.) G. B. MILMAN, *Maj., 5th Fusiliers,  
Comdg. at Alumbagh.*

*GENERAL ORDERS by the Hon'ble the President of the Council of India in Council,—dated Fort William, 1st April 1858.*

No. 520 of 1858.—The following notifications from the Foreign Department with the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General are published in General Orders:—

*The 20th March 1858.*

No. 349.—The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General has been pleased to direct that the following letter from Brigadier-General G. H. MacGregor, C.B., with its several enclosures, reporting an engagement on the 5th instant, between the advanced division of Maharajah Jung Bahadoor's Army, under General Khurruk Bahadoor, and the rebel Nazim-Mehudee Hossein, at the Kundoo Nuddee, be published for general information.

His Lordship has pleasure in acknowledging the distinguished gallantry exhibited on this occasion by General Khurruk Bahadoor and the Native officers and men of the Nepalese force, and by Captain A. C. Plowden and the other British officers attached thereto, and in tendering his thanks to the various officers, both Nepalese and British,



noticed in the report of Brigadier-General MacGregor, and also to the men composing the force, for their valuable services.

*From Brigadier-General G. H. MACGREGOR, C.B., Military Commissioner, to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor-General, Foreign Department, Allahabad,—(No. 184,) dated Camp before Lucknow, 12th March 1858.*

In forwarding, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, the report of Captain Plowden, the British officer in military charge of the advanced division of Maharajah Jung Bahadoor's army under General Khurruk Bahadoor, of an action which took place on the 5th instant at the Kundoo Nuddee, between the division and the rebel Nazim-Mehndee Hossein, resulting in the capture of the enemy's only gun, and the loss to him of nearly 600 killed, with casualties to the extent only of one killed and sixteen wounded on our part, I have the honour to bring to the notice of His Lordship in Council the extreme gallantry and good conduct of the officers and men engaged.

2. I would particularly bring to the notice of His Lordship in Council the coolness and good management of General Khurruk Bahadoor, who, in most difficult ground, so admirably disposed his troops as to secure the splendid result above mentioned. To Brigadiers Run Sing and Junga Doje my best thanks are due, and they will doubtless merit the approbation of Government.

3. Colonels Luckmun, Goorung, Teela, Bickrum Sing, Tappah, Beemul Ali, Jurdeer Sing, Partimon Kover Ranajee, Sirkishn Sohoy, and Soorut Tappah are favourably mentioned by Captain Plowden, as well as Major-Captain Runoojal Sing Tappah, Soojun Sing, and Meerwan Sing, all of whom rendered active and excellent service.

4. Captain Plowden also mentions the name of Lieutenant Aiteram Bishtah for his distinguished gallantry, he having cut down five of the enemy.

5. My best thanks are due to Captain Plowden for the sound and judicious advice which he gave regarding the disposition of the troops, as well as to Captain Lane in military charge of Brigadier Junga Doje's Brigade, and to Lieutenants Francis, Gibb, Bogle, Sankey and Foote, attached to the force, as also to Lieutenant Owen, late 19th Native Infantry, who volunteered his services.

The medical officers, namely, Surgeons McClelland and Morton and Assistant Surgeons Playfair and Geo, are favourably mentioned by Captain Plowden, as well as Mr. Forbes, C. S., and Sergeants Home and King of the Bengal Artillery.

*From Captain A. C. PLOWDEN, in military charge of a Division, Gurkha Force, to Captain MACANDREW, Secretary to Military Commissioner,—dated Camp before Lucknow, 11th March 1858.*

I have the honour to report, for the information of Brigadier-General MacGregor, C.B., particulars of an action in which the advanced division of the Gurkha Force under my military charge was engaged on the 5th instant against a force of the enemy, amounting to 4,000 men, under the command of Nazim-Mehndee Hossein, which resulted in a loss to the rebels of nearly 600 killed and the capture of one gun, whilst the casualties on our side were one killed and sixteen wounded, two of the latter having since died.

2. Having received information that the rebels had taken up a strong position on the Kundoo Nuddee, and had erected a battery by the side of the bridge on the Lucknow Road, for the purpose of disputing our passage; moreover that they had advanced across the bridge, I proposed a plan of attack, which was approved of by General Khurruk Bahadoor, and successfully carried out.

3. The division, consisting of the strength as per margin, advanced  
 13 Guns. in quarter distance columns at  
 7 Regiments of Infantry. deploying distances, five regiments  
 Aggregate force 3,800.  
 forming the first line, and two on either flank as a reserve.

4. On viewing the enemy, who was posted in detached parties extending from our left to right front, I halted the columns and deployed into line. I was much deceived as to the nature of the ground between us and the enemy; what at first appeared to be level, with a few fields of cultivation in front of the right brigades, afterwards proved to be deep ravines with bush jungle, though the ground in front of the left brigade was a plain facing the enemy's battery. At this point our guns opened. After a few rounds from the right, or Brigadier Run Sing Bahadoor's Brigade, which caused the enemy in front to retire into the ravines, the advance was sounded. The right brigade had scarcely advanced fifty yards, when the enemy opened a sharp fire of musketry from a jungle on our right front. Presuming he was in greatest force in that direction, I requested Brigadier Run Sing Bahadoor to make an oblique movement in that direction, which at once brought him in contact with the rebels. The Brigade rushed gallantly into the jungle with a loud cheer, formed a line of skirmishers, and forced the rebels to make a rapid retreat. The Gurkhas were quite at home in this mode of warfare; their pursuit was so rapid through the ravines that numbers of the rebels



were very soon overtaken, shot and cut down. Many instances of individual bravery on the part of the Gurkhas were brought to my notice; there were several who each cut down three and four of the enemy. The pursuit was followed up for two miles when the enemy, having disappeared through a thick jungle, the "assembly" was sounded, and we formed our camp on the Nuddee.

5. The part taken in the engagement by the left or Brigadier Junga Doje's Brigade, under the military charge of Captain Lane, is described by that officer in a letter to my address which, together with one from Lieutenant Gibb, in charge of the batteries of the division, are herewith annexed.

6. I have now the pleasure to record the meritorious services of the Nepalese officers. General Khurruk Bahadoor displayed great coolness and a generous confidence in my advice. Brigadier Run Sing Bahadoor, a smart and intelligent officer, led his brigade with great coolness and spirit, ably assisted by the following Colonels of regiments:—Luchmun Goorung, "Kalee Bahadur" Regiment; Teela Bickrum Sing Tappah, "Roodroo Doje" Regiment; Beemul Alio, "Nia Gooruck" Regiment; and Captain-Major Runojul Sing Tappah, Commanding "Nursing Dull" Regiment; also Colonel Jusdeen Sing and Major Soojun Sing, commanding batteries. Captain Lane brings to my notice the services of Brigadier Junga Doje and the following Colonels commanding regiments in his brigade, *viz.*, Colonels Purtimon Koor Ranajee, "Srinath" Regiment; Srikrishn Sohoy, "Junganath" Regiment; and Somrut Tappah, "Shumshere Dull" Regiment, and Captain Meerwan Singh, "Junganath" Regiment, who together with the non-commissioned officers and men of the division, merit the approbation of His Highness the Maharajah.

7. My best thanks are due to the British officers attached to the division for the ready assistance I received from all in the field, and have great pleasure in submitting their names for favourable notice, *viz.*, Captain Lane, in charge of Brigadier Junga Doje's Brigade; Lieutenants Francis and Gibb in charge of the batteries of the division; Robertson and Bogle who, though attached to the rear division, joined Lieutenant Gibb's batteries; Lieutenants Owen, late 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, and Sankey, Madras Engineers, and Lieutenant Foote, attached to the advanced regiment of the Right Brigade; Surgeons McClelland, Morton, and Assistant Surgeons Playfair and Gee were unremitting in their attention to the wounded, both in the field and subsequently.

8. I cannot conclude without offering my best thanks to Mr. Forbes of the Civil Service: he was well to the front with a small party of sowars; his intimate knowledge of the country we have passed through, and accurate information he gathered, have been of great service.

9. Brigadier Run Sing Bahadoor has brought to my notice the gallant conduct of Lieutenant Aiteram Bishtah of the Boordoo Doje Regiment who cut down five of the enemy.

10. Lieutenant Gibb mentions for favourable notice the names of Sergeants Home and King, Bengal Artillery.

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*From Captain C. P. LANE in military charge of the 2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, Gurkha Force, to Captain A. C. PLOWDEN, in military charge, 2nd Division, Gurkha Force,—dated Camp Hyderghur, 8th March 1858.*

I have the honour to furnish the following report of the part taken by the Brigade under the command of Brigadier "Junga Doje," to which I am attached in military charge, during the action with the enemy on the morning of the 5th instant.

After passing "Mussafir Khana" about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile, on emerging from some mango groves upon an open plain, we perceived the enemy in our front occupying the banks of the "Kundoo Nullah." The Brigade was formed into line, and the guns advancing opened fire on the enemy, which was replied to by one gun in position on the opposite side of the nullah, and a smart fire of matchlockmen posted amongst the ravines on this side. The gun was soon silenced by the excellent practice of our guns under the immediate superintendence of Lieutenant Gibb.

The order for the general advance of the brigade was then given, one regiment being told off to remain in support of the guns; the brigade, taking ground to the left, slightly turned the enemy's flank, and advancing rapidly across some open ground under a heavy fire at once became engaged with the enemy amongst the ravines. From these they were soon driven with considerable loss across the nullah into the heavy jungle on the opposite bank, and closely pursued by our men, were shot and cut down in large numbers.

General Khurruk Bahadoor seeing the enemy in full flight, keeping two companies for the protection of the guns, granted permission to the remainder of the regiment in reserve to join in the pursuit.

The pursuit was continued for some distance, when the men becoming much scattered from the denseness of the jungle, I deemed it



expedient to advise the re-call being sounded. The troops returning to the bridge on the Lucknow Road took possession of the gun.

I beg to record the services of Brigadier "Junga Doje," of Colonel Purtimon Koer Ranajee, Commanding the "Srinath" Regiment, of Colonel Srikrishn Sohay, of the "Junganath" Regiment, of Colonel Soorut Tappah, of the "Shumshere Dull" Regiment. I am desirous that their conduct, as well as that of all the officers and men under them, should be brought to the favourable notice of His Highness the Maharajah.

I especially wish to mention the zeal with which Captain Meerwan Sing, of the "Junganath" Regiment, led his men to the attack.

Lieutenants Francis and Gibb, each in their own department, afforded me every assistance, as did also Lieutenant Sankey of the Madras Engineers.

My acknowledgments are also due to Lieutenant Owen, of the late 19th Native Infantry, who kindly volunteered his services, and rendered me valuable assistance.

Lieutenant Bogle, of the Bengal Artillery, who arrived from the Head-Quarters Camp during the engagement, did good service.

Doctors Morton and Playfair were in constant attendance on the brigade, and all their arrangements met with my entire approbation.

Before concluding, I wish to bring to the favourable notice of the Brigadier-General the good conduct of Sergeants Home and King attached to the guns of the brigade, especially that of the former, through whose excellent practice the enemy's gun was so speedily silenced.

I am happy to report that notwithstanding the heaviness of the enemy's fire not a single casualty occurred in the brigade.

*From 1st-Lieutenant J. L. GIBB, Bengal Artillery, in military charge, Nepalese Batteries, under Colonel JUSDEEH SING and Major-Captain SOOJUN SING, to Captain A. C. FLOWDEN, in military charge of the division of Nepalese troops commanded by General Khurruk Bahadoor,—dated Camp Jugdispore, 6th March 1858.*

I have the honour to report, for the information of Brigadier-General MacGregor, C.B., the proceedings of the Nepalese Light

- 1 12-pounder iron gun.
- 1 9-pounder ditto.
- 3 9-pounder brass guns.
- 6 6-pounder ditto.
- 2 12-pounder howitzers.

Field Batteries (strength as per margin) engaged in the action of yesterday at the Kundoo Nuddee.

The batteries formed up in line in the centre at 1,000 yards, and

came into action at a range of about 800 yards from the enemy's position.

After a few rounds of round shot and shrapnel, the enemy's only gun was silenced ; after which the infantry advanced rapidly.

Previously to the infantry advancing, four guns under Colonel Jusdeer Sing moved off to the right flank ; owing to a deep dry nullah, a little in front of the centre guns, they could not be advanced further.

I hope you will bring to the notice of the Brigadier-General the efficient services of Colonel Jusdeer Sing and Major Soojun Sing, commanding batteries, and of all the officers and men under their respective commands ; also the ready assistance given to the Nepalese Artillery by Lieutenant A. Bogle, Bengal Artillery, and by Sergeants Home and King, of the Bengal Artillery, who laid their guns very effectively ; the former in particular who, in two shots, silenced the enemy's gun. A return of ordnance captured accompanies.

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*Return of ordnance, ammunition, &c., captured at the Kundoo Nuddee on the 5th March 1858.*

Native made, honey-combed badly at the lower side of the bore close

One 9-pounder brass gun.  
One limber.

to the breech. A few rounds of Native ammunition, round shot and grape.

CAMP JUDDISPORE. }  
The 6th March 1858. }

(Sd.) J. L. GIBB, *Lieut.,  
Bl. Arty.,*  
*attached to the Nepalese Arty.*  
(True copies.)

I. F. MACANDREW, *Lieut.,  
Mil. Secy.*

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*Foreign Department, Allahabad, 30th April 1858.—The following Proclamation was issued in the Province of Oudh by order of the Governor-General of India in the month of March.*

PROCLAMATION.

The Army of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is in possession of Lucknow, and the city lies at the mercy of the British Government, whose authority it has for nine months rebelliously defied and resisted.

This resistance, begun by a mutinous soldiery, has found support from the inhabitants of the city, and of the Province of Oudh at large. Many who owe their prosperity to the British Government, as well as those who believed themselves aggrieved by it, had joined in this bad cause, and have ranged themselves with the enemies of the State.

They have been guilty of a great crime, and have subjected themselves to a just retribution.



The capital of their country is now once more in the hands of the British troops. From this day it will be held by a force which nothing can withstand, and the authority of the Government will be carried into every corner of the Province.

The time then has come at which the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India deems it right to make known the mode in which the British Government will deal with the talukdars, chiefs, and landholders of Oudh, and their followers.

The first care of the Governor-General will be to reward those who have been steadfast in their allegiance at a time when the authority of the Government was partially overborne, and who have proved this by the support and assistance which they have given to British officers.

Therefore the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General hereby declares that Drigbyjeye Singh, Raja of Bulrampore, Koolwunt Singh, Raja of Pudnaha, Rao Hurdeo Buksh Singh, of Kutiaree, Kashee Purshad, Talukdar of Sissaindee, Zubr Singh, Zemindar of Gopal Khair, and Chundee Lal, Zemindar of Moraon (Baiswarah) are henceforward the sole hereditary proprietors of the lands which they held when Oudh came under British rule subject only to such moderate assessment as may be imposed upon them; and that these loyal men will be further rewarded in such manner, and to such extent, as, upon consideration of their merits and their position, the Governor-General shall determine.

A proportionate measure of reward and honour, according to their deserts, will be conferred upon others in whose favour like claims may be established to the satisfaction of the Government.

The Governor-General further proclaims to the people of Oudh, that, with the abovementioned exceptions, the proprietary right in the soil of the province is confiscated to the British Government which will dispose of that right in such manner as to it may seem fitting.

To those talukdars, chiefs, and landholders, with their followers, who shall make immediate submission to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, surrendering their arms and obeying his orders, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General promises that their lives and honour shall be safe, provided that their hands are not stained with English blood murderously shed. But as regards any farther indulgence which may be extended to them, and the condition in which they may hereafter be

placed, they must throw themselves upon the justice and mercy of the British Government.

To those amongst them who shall promptly come forward and give to the Chief Commissioner their support in the restoration of peace and order, this indulgence will be large, and the Governor-General will be ready to view liberally the claims which they may thus acquire to a restitution of their former rights.

As participation in the murder of Englishmen or Englishwomen will exclude those who are guilty of it from all mercy, so will those who have protected English lives be specially entitled to consideration and leniency.

*Allahabad, the 30th April 1858.*

It is the melancholy duty of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General to announce the death of that most distinguished officer, Captain Sir William Peel, K.C.B., late in command of Her Majesty's Ship *Shannon*, and of the Naval Brigade in the North-Western Provinces.

Sir William Peel died at Cawnpore, on the 27th instant, of small-pox. He had been wounded at the commencement of the last advance upon Lucknow, but had nearly recovered from the wound, and was on his way to Calcutta, when struck by the disease which has brought his honourable career to an early close.

Sir William Peel's services in the field during the last seven months are well known in India and in England. But it is not so well known how great the value of his presence and example has been, wherever, during this eventful period, his duty has led him.

The loss of his daring but thoughtful courage, joined with eminent abilities, is a very heavy one to his country; but it is not more to be deplored than the loss of that influence, which his earnest character, admirable temper, and gentle kindly bearing exercised over all within his reach: an influence which was exerted unceasingly for the public good, and of which the Governor-General believes that it may with truth be said that there is not a man of any rank or profession who, having been associated with Sir William Peel in these times of anxiety and danger, has not felt and acknowledged it.

By order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India.

(Sd.) G. F. EDMONDSTONE,

*Secy. to the Govt. of India,*

*Foreign Dept.*



*GENERAL ORDERS by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India, dated Allahabad, the 18th March 1858.*

No. 35 of 1858.—The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General is pleased to publish for general information the following letter from the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, forwarding returns of the casualties in the force under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, from the 2nd to the 9th March 1858, inclusive, with a list of the officers who have been killed or wounded since the latter date.

*From the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, with the Governor-General,—No. 139-A, dated Head-Quarters Camp, before Lucknow, the 12th March 1858.*

By desire of the Commander-in-Chief, I have the honour to enclose returns of the casualties in the force under His Excellency's command, from the 2nd to the 9th instant, inclusive.

Forwards returns of the casualties in the force under His Excellency's command, from the 2nd to the 9th instant inclusive.

2. Since the latter date the following officers have been killed or wounded—

*On 10th March 1858.*

Captain C. A. Sanford, 5th Punjab Cavalry, killed.

Lieutenant F. E. H. Farquharson, Her Majesty's 42nd Highlanders, wounded severely.

Captain C. W. McDonald, Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders, wounded slightly.

Lieutenant O. L. Smith, 4th Punjab Rifles, wounded severely.

*On 11th March 1858.*

Captain W. R. Moorsom, Her Majesty's 52nd Light Infantry, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, killed.

Acting Mate Garvey, Royal Naval Brigade (Her Majesty's ship *Shannon*) killed.

Captain C. W. McDonald, Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders, killed.

Lieutenant C. W. Serjison, Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders, killed.

Captain W. F. Thynne, 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade, killed.

Lieutenant L. E. Cooper, 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade, killed.

Major W. S. R. Hodson, Hodson's Horse, mortally wounded, (since dead).

Major A. Taylor, Bengal Engineers, wounded severely.

Captain G. P. Prevost, Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers, wounded severely.

Lieutenant G. W. H. Bussell, Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers, wounded slightly.

Captain Miller, Her Majesty's 79th Highlanders, wounded slightly.

Lieutenant Grimston, Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders, wounded slightly.

Ensign Hastie, Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders, wounded slightly.

Lieutenant A. McL. Stewart, 4th Punjab Rifles, wounded slightly.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,

Depty. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

*Numerical return of killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on the 2nd March 1858.*

Corps.		KILLED.			WOUNDED.			MISSING.		
		European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.
Artillery Division	Naval Brigade ...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...
	2nd Troop, 1st Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery.	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	3rd Troop, 3rd Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery.	...	...	1	...	...	2	...	...	...
Cavalry Division	Her Majesty's 9th Lancers	...	...	1	1	1	...	1	2	...
	2nd Punjab Cavalry	...	...	...	...	2	4	...	...	...
	5th Ditto	...	...	3	...	1	...	...	...	...
	1st Sikh Irregular Cavalry	...	...	...	1	1	8	...	...	1
2nd Infantry Division	Her Majesty's 34th Regiment	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
	Ditto 38th do.	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...
	Ditto 42nd Highlanders	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
	4th Punjab Infantry (Rifles)	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...
Total		...	1	3	2	12	15	...	1	3
Grand Total		...	1	5	...	14	15	...	1	3

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP.  
DILKUSHA PARK, LUCKNOW.  
The 2nd March 1858.

(Sd.)

H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,

Depty. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.



*Nominal Roll of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
1	Naval Brigade (Her Majesty's ship Shannon.)	A. B. Seaman ..	John MacCann ...	Killed.
2	Ditto	Boatswain's mate	James Terry ...	Wounded dangerously.
3	2nd Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery.	Gunner	John Fleming ...	Severe contusion.
4	Brigade Staff ...	Brigadier	A. Little ...	Wounded severely.
5	Her Majesty's 9th Lancers	Private	Henry Turner ...	Ditto ditto.
6	Ditto	Ditto	William Whitaker	Missing from hospital.
7	1st Sikh Irregular Cavalry	Lieutenant	A. R. D. Mackenzie	Wounded slightly.
8	Her Majesty's 34th Regiment	Corporal	George Bethell ...	Ditto ditto.
9	Ditto 38th ditto	Private	Thomas Page ...	Ditto severely.
10	Ditto ditto	Ditto	Thomas Walsh ...	Ditto slightly.
11	Ditto 42nd Highlanders	Ditto	Alexander McCulloch.	Ditto ditto.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP,  
DILEKOSHA PARK, LUCKNOW, }  
The 2nd March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Maj.*,  
Depty. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

*Numerical return of killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, on the 3rd March 1858.*

Corps.	KILLED.		WOUNDED.		MISSING.	
	European officers.	Native officers.	European officers.	Native officers.	European officers.	Native officers.
	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.		Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.		Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	
Artillery Division—F Troop, Royal Horse Artillery	...	...	...	...	...	...
2nd Infantry Division, Her Majesty's 42nd Highlanders	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...
Grand Total	...	...	...	...	...	...

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP,  
BIBRAPORE: }  
The 4th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Maj.*,  
Depty. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Name.	Remarks.
1	Her Majesty's 42nd Highlanders ...	Lance Corporal	Andrew Morrison	Wounded severely.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP,  
BOMBAY;  
The 4th March 1858. }

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Maj.*  
*Depty. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.*

*Numerical return of killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on the 4th March 1858.*

Corps.		KILLED.				WOUNDED.				MISSING.			
		European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.
Artillery Division	F Troop, Royal Horse Artillery ...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	6th Company, 11th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	3rd Troop, 3rd Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery.	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cavalry Division	5th Punjab Cavalry ...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2nd Infantry Division	Her Majesty's 34th Regiment	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	4th Punjab Rifles	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3rd Infantry Division	1st Bengal Fusiliers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total		...	...	...	1	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Grand Total		...	...	...	1	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP BEFORE LUCKNOW, }  
The 6th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Maj.*  
*Depty. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.*

\* Sic in original.



*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.*

No	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
1	F Troop, Royal Horse Artillery ...	Gunner ..	William Metcalf	Wounded.
2	6th Company, 11th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	Do. ...	Francis Lawson ...	Do slightly.
3	Her Majesty's 34th Regiment ...	Private ..	Pat. Brennan ...	Do severely.
4	1st Bengal Fusiliers ...	Do. ...	J. Shipton ...	Do slightly.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP BEFORE LUCKNOW; }  
The 6th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Depty. Adj.-Genl. of the Army.

*Numerical return of killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on the 5th March 1858.*

Corps.	KILLED.				WOUNDED.				MISSING.			
	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.
Cavalry Division—5th Punjab Cavalry ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2nd Infantry Division—Her Majesty's 34th Regiment ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Grand Total ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

\* Wounded on the 4th March.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP BEFORE LUCKNOW; }  
The 6th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Depty. Adj.-Genl. of the Army.

*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
1	Her Majesty's 34th Regiment ...	Private ...	John Pritchard ...	Wounded dangerously.
2	Ditto ditto ...	Do. ...	James Campbell ...	Do. severely.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP BEFORE LUCKNOW; }  
The 6th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Depty. Adj.-Genl. of the Army.

*Numerical return of killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on the 6th March 1858.*

Corps.	KILLED.				WOUNDED.				MISSING.			
	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.
Artillery Division—F Troop, Royal Horse Artillery ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Cavalry Division ...	2nd Dragoon Guards ...	...	1	3	1	...	5	11	...	...	1	18
	9th Lancers ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
	2nd Punjab Cavalry ...	...	...	...	...	...	3	7	...	...	...	4
Total	...	1	1	3	...	1	9	18	...	...	1	24
Grand Total	...	2	3	10	...	18	1	24	...	...	...	...

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP BEFORE LUCKNOW ;

*The 7th March 1858.*

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,

*Depty. Adjlt.-Genl. of the Army.*

*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on the 6th March 1858.*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
1	F Troop, Royal Horse Artillery	Driver	Samuel Tins	Wounded severely.
2	Her Majesty's 2nd Dragoon Guards	Major	J. P. Smith	Killed.
3	Ditto ditto	Corporal	Nicholls	Do.
4	Ditto ditto	Lieutenant	P. A. W. Carnegie	Wounded.
5	Ditto ditto	Private	Stanley	Do.
6	Ditto ditto	Do.	Thomas Searson	Do.
7	Ditto ditto	Do.	Wheeler	Do.
8	Ditto ditto	Do.	Hall	Do.
9	Ditto ditto	Do.	Frazer	Do.
10	Ditto ditto	Do.	Hunt	Missing.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP BEFORE LUCKNOW ;

*The 7th March 1858.*

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,

*Depty. Adjlt.-Genl. of the Army.*



*Numerical return of killed, wounded and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on the 7th March 1858.*

Corps.	KILLED.			WOUNDED.			MISSING.		
	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.
Artillery Division ... 3rd Company, 14th Battalion, Royal Artillery	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Cavalry Division ...	2nd Dragoon Guards ...			...	...	2	...	...	...
	2nd Punjab Cavalry ...			...	...	4	...	...	...
	5th Punjab Cavalry ...			...	...	1	...	...	...
3rd Infantry Division ...	Her Majesty's 70th Highlanders			...	1	...	...	...	...
	1st Bengal Fusiliers ...			...	...	2	...	...	...
	3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade			...	...	1	...	...	...
4th Infantry Division—Gurkha Force ...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Total ...	...	...	1	2	1	10	5	...	...
Grand Total	...	...	1	2	1	11	5	...	...

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP BEFORE LUCKNOW, }

The 8th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,

Depty. Adj't.-Gen'l. of the Army.

*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on the 7th March 1858.*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
1	3rd Company, 14th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	Gunner and Driver	Lawrence Power ...	Wounded slightly.
2	2nd Dragoon Guards ...	Sergeant ...	F. Redmond ...	Killed.
3	H. O. Service, doing duty with Her Majesty's 70th Highlanders.	Ensign ...	G. G. Thain ...	Wounded slightly.
4	1st Bengal Fusiliers ...	Corporal ...	James Finnigan ...	Do. severely.
5	Ditto. ...	Private ...	Daniel McCarthy ...	Do. do.
6	3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade	Do. ...	James Collins ...	Do. slightly.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP BEFORE LUCKNOW, }

The 8th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,

Depty. Adj't.-Gen'l. of the Army.

*Numerical return of killed, wounded and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on the 8th March 1858.*

Corps.	KILLED.				WOUNDED.				MISSING.			
	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.
2nd Infantry Division—4th Punjab Rifles ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Grand Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP BEFORE LUCKNOW, }  
The 9th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Depty. Adj.-Genl. of the Army.

*Numerical return of killed, wounded and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on the 9th March 1858.*

Corps.	KILLED.				WOUNDED.				MISSING.			
	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.
Divisional Staff	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Artillery Division	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...
Engineer Brigade	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
2nd Infantry Division	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...
3rd Infantry Division	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	56	...	...	...	...	...
Grand Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	61	...	...	...	...	...

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP BEFORE LUCKNOW, }  
The 10th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Depty. Adj.-Genl. of the Army.



*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
1	Naval Brigade, H. M.'s Ship <i>Shamoon.</i>	Captain ...	Sir W. Peel, K.C.B.	Severely wounded.
2	Siege Artillery ...	Gunner and Driver.	Alexander McNeill ...	Slightly do.
3	Divisional Staff ...	Captain ...	R. Stewart, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.	Severely wounded in left foot by musket ball.
4	Her Majesty's 42nd Highlanders...	Sergeant ...	Alexander Leitch ...	Slightly wounded.
5	Ditto ditto	Private ...	J. Gardener ...	Killed by grape shot.
6	Ditto ditto	Do. ...	A. Mason ...	.. by cannon shot.
7	Ditto ditto	Do. ...	R. McKenzie ...	Wounded dangerously.
8	Ditto ditto	Do. ...	R. Drackie ...	Wounded severely.
9	Ditto ditto	Do. ...	J. Lamb ...	Ditto ditto.
10	Ditto ditto	Do. ...	B. Holmes ...	Ditto ditto.
11	Ditto ditto	Do. ...	J. Turner ...	Ditto ditto.
12	Ditto ditto	Do. ...	W. Blaber ...	Ditto ditto.
13	Ditto ditto	Do. ...	P. Smith ...	Ditto slightly.
14	Ditto ditto	Do. ...	D. Lawson ...	Ditto ditto.
15	Her Majesty's 90th Regiment ...	Lance-Corporal	J. Marshall ...	Killed.
16	Ditto ditto ...	Private ...	J. Nowlan ...	Scalp wound slight.
17	Her Majesty's 92nd Highlanders ...	Do. ...	J. Griffin ...	Wounded slightly.
18	Ditto ditto	Do. ...	C. McGee ...	Ditto ditto.
19	Ditto ditto	Do. ...	W. Mitchell ...	Ditto severely.
20	Ditto ditto	Do. ...	J. Finlayson ...	Ditto slightly.
21	Ditto ditto	Do. ...	A. Gough ...	Ditto ditto.
22	Ditto ditto	Do. ...	J. McCulloch ...	Ditto ditto.
23	Her Majesty's 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers.	Sergeant ...	Elijah Adams ...	Ditto severely.
24	Ditto ditto ...	Private ...	James Bone ...	Killed.
25	Ditto ditto ...	Do. ...	George Walters ...	Wounded slightly.
26	Her Majesty's 79th Highlanders ...	Do. ...	John Rankin ...	Killed.
27	Ditto ditto	Do. ...	Thomas Ritchie ...	Wounded dangerously.
28	Ditto ditto	Do. ...	Robert Dargo ...	Wounded severely.
29	Ditto ditto	Do. ...	Robert Dick ...	Ditto ditto.
30	Ditto ditto	Do. ...	James Miller ...	Ditto ditto.
31	Ditto ditto	Do. ...	John Morgan ...	Ditto ditto.
32	Ditto ditto	Do. ...	Thomas Kyno ...	Ditto ditto.
33	Ditto ditto	Do. ...	Patrick Dooley ...	Ditto ditto.
34	Ditto ditto	Do. ...	Thomas McBay ...	Ditto slightly.

*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded and missing in the Army  
under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-  
Chief—(Concl'd.)*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
36	Her Majesty's 79th Highlanders...	Private	Michael Meaney	Wounded severely by the accidental discharge of a musket.
36	1st Bengal Fusiliers	Captain	E. St. George	Wounded dangerously.
37	Ditto ditto	Sergeant	Thomas White	Wounded slightly.
38	Ditto ditto	Private	Alexander Hair	Killed.
39	Ditto ditto	Do.	Patrick Henahan	Ditto.
40	Ditto ditto	Do.	Edward Gibbons	Ditto.
41	Ditto ditto	Do.	Daniel Kenwy	Ditto.
42	Ditto ditto	Do.	Michael McComb	Wounded slightly.
43	Ditto ditto	Do.	George Castle	Ditto ditto.
44	Ditto ditto	Do.	Luke Woodcock	Fracture of thigh ; severe.
45	Ditto ditto	Do.	James Dillon	Lost centre finger of left hand.
46	Ditto ditto	Do.	Patrick Gallagher	Wounded dangerously.
47	Ditto ditto	Do.	John McMahon	Wounded in head.
48	Ditto ditto	Do.	John Doyle	Ditto ditto.
49	2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade	Do.	T. Blagburn	Ditto slightly.
50	Ditto ditto	Do.	T. Bone	Ditto ditto.
51	Ditto ditto	Do.	A. Loder	Ditto severely.
52	Ditto ditto	Do.	J. Lovelock	Ditto slightly.
53	Ditto ditto	Acting Corporal	L. Ratlan	Ditto ditto.
54	3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade	Color-Sergeant	William Hart	Ditto ditto.
55	Ditto ditto	Private	William Brown	Ditto ditto.
56	2nd Punjab Infantry	Lieutenant	A. J. Anderson (38th Native Infantry.)	Killed.
57	Bengal Sappers and Miners	Do.	Forbes	Slightly wounded.
58	Field Artillery	Gunner driver.	William Oliver	Wounded.
59	Ditto	Do.	J. Black	
60	Ditto	Do.	T. McWhinney	

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP BEFORE LUCKNOW, }  
The 10th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Deputy Adj.-Genl. of the Army.



*GENERAL ORDERS by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Allahabad, the 25th March 1858.*

No. 46 of 1858.—In continuation of General Order No. 35, of the 18th instant, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General is pleased to publish for general information further returns of casualties in the force under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, from the 10th to the 15th March 1858, inclusive.

By order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General.

(Sd.) R. J. H. BIRCH, Col.,  
Secy. to the Govt. of India, Milv. Dept.

*Numerical return of killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, on the 10th of March 1858.*

Corps,				KILLED.				WOUNDED.				MISSING.			
				European officers, Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers, Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers, Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.			
Artillery Division	{	Naval Brigade ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	
		Siege Artillery ...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	
		Field do. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Engineer Brigade	{	Punjab Pioneers...	...	...	1	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	
1st Cavalry Brigade	{	5th Punjab Cavalry	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	
2nd Infantry Division	{	Her Majesty's 42nd Highlanders	...	...	1	...	...	1	17	...	...	...	...	...	
		Ditto 93rd do.	...	...	...	...	1	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	
		4th Punjab Rifles	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	
3rd do. do.	{	23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	
		70th Royal Highlanders	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
		2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	
		2nd Punjab Infantry	...	...	1	1	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	
4th do. do.	{	Her Majesty's 20th Regiment	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...		
		Gurkha Force	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	...		
Total				...	1	1	6	...	4	...	50	...	...	...	
Grand Total				...	5	...	...	...	54	...	...	...	...	...	

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP BEFORE LUCKNOW,  
The 11th March 1859.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Deputy Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
1	Naval Brigade ...	Captain Main Top	William Hopkins ...	Wounded slightly.
2	Ditto ...	A. B. ...	John Nichols ...	Do, do.
3	Ditto ...	A. B. ...	George Downer ...	Do, severely.
4	Ditto ...	Leading seaman ...	John Richardson ...	Do, slightly.
5	6th Company, 11th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	Lieutenant ...	H. A. Tracey ...	Do, do.
6	Ditto ditto ...	Gunner and driver	John Williams ...	Do, do.
7	Punjab Pioneers ...	Sergeant ...	John Copeland ...	Do, severely.
8	5th Punjab Cavalry ...	Captain ...	D. A. Sandford ...	Killed.
9	Her Majesty's 42nd High-landers.	Lieutenant ...	F. E. H. Farquharson ...	Wounded severely.
10	4th Punjab Rifles ...	Adjutant ...	O. J. Smith ...	Do, do.
11	Her Majesty's 42nd High-landers.	Captain ...	C. W. McDonald ...	Do, slightly.
12	Her Majesty's 42nd High-landers.	Private ...	H. Burgess ...	Do, do.
13	Ditto ditto ...	Do, ...	H. Sinclair ...	Do, do.
14	Ditto ditto ...	Do, ...	J. White ...	Do, severely.
15	Ditto ditto ...	Do, ...	M. Brown ...	Do, do.
16	Ditto ditto ...	Do, ...	F. Burke ...	Do, slightly.
17	Ditto ditto ...	Do, ...	A. McDonald ...	Do, dangerously.
18	Ditto ditto ...	Do, ...	J. Barnes ...	Do, slightly.
19	Ditto ditto ...	Do, ...	J. Montell ...	Do, dangerously.
20	Ditto ditto ...	Do, ...	A. Watson ...	Do, severely.
21	Ditto ditto ...	Do, ...	A. Edridge ...	Do, slightly.
22	Ditto ditto ...	Do, ...	E. Murphy ...	Do, do.
23	Ditto ditto ...	Do, ...	G. Paul ...	Do, severely.
24	Ditto ditto ...	Do, ...	A. Howie ...	Do, slightly.
25	Ditto ditto ...	Do, ...	A. McLaren ...	Do, severely.
26	Ditto ditto ...	Do, ...	D. McKay ...	Do, slightly.
27	Ditto ditto ...	Do, ...	T. Hill ...	Do, severely.
28	Ditto ditto ...	Do, ...	R. McCrea ...	Do, slightly.
29	Ditto ditto ...	Do, ...	J. Moodie ...	Killed.
30	Her Majesty's 42nd High-landers.	Do, ...	M. Russel ...	Wounded slightly.
31	Ditto ditto ...	Do, ...	J. Ross ...	Do, do.
32	Ditto ditto ...	Do, ...	J. Anderson ...	Do, do.
33	Ditto ditto ...	Do, ...	D. Reid ...	Do, do.
34	Ditto ditto ...	Do, ...	J. Nichol ...	Do, do.
35	Her Majesty's 20th Regiment	Drummer ...	Frederick Wray ...	Do, do.
36	Ditto ditto ...	Private ...	Alexander Egan ...	Do, do.
37	Her Majesty's 23rd Royal	Do, ...	George Howie ...	Killed.
38	Watch Pioneers.	Do, ...	Joseph Downey ...	Wounded slightly.
39	Her Majesty's 75th High-landers.	Sergeant ...	William Dairo ...	Killed.
40	Ditto ditto ...	Private ...	James Miller ...	Died of wounds.
41	Ditto ditto ...	Do, ...	Thomas Ritchie ...	Do, do.
42	2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade	Sergeant ...	William Richards ...	Wounded.
43	Ditto ditto ...	Private ...	Charles Dignan ...	Do.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP BEFORE LUCKNOW,

The 11th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,

Depty. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.



*Numerical return of killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, on the 11th March 1858.*

Corps.		KILLED.			WOUNDED.			MISSING.		
		European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.
Artillery Division	Naval Brigade H. M.'s Ship <i>Shannon</i>	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
	Siege Artillery ...	...	...	3	...	...	3	...	...	...
	Field do. ...	...	...	1 1	...	...	4	...	...	...
Engineer Brigade	Bengal Sappers and Miners	...	...	...	1	...	3	...	...	...
	Punjab Pioneers ...	...	...	2	...	1	4	...	...	...
Cavalry Division	Her Majesty's 2nd Dragoon Guards	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	2nd Punjab Cavalry	...	...	...	...	...	1 3	...	...	...
2nd Infantry Division	Her Majesty's 42nd Highlanders	...	...	2	...	...	11	...	...	...
	Ditto 53rd Regiment	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Ditto 60th do.	...	...	1	...	...	2	...	...	...
	Ditto 63rd Highlanders	...	...	2 12	...	...	27	...	...	1
3rd Do. do.	4th Punjab Rifles	...	...	7	...	1	17	...	...	...
	Her Majesty's 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers.	...	...	...	...	2	6	...	...	...
	Her Majesty's 79th Highlanders	...	...	...	...	1	4	...	...	...
	1st European Bengal Fusiliers	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade	...	...	1	...	1	6	...	...	...
	3rd Do. do.	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
4th Do. do.	2nd Punjab Infantry	...	...	1	...	...	6	...	...	...
	Her Majesty's 20th Regiment	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	...
Cavalry Division	Ditto 97th do.	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	Hodson's Horse ...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
1st Infantry do.	Staff ...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total		...	...	3 29	...	1 12	115*	...	...	1
Grand Total		...	...	34	...	1	128	...	...	6

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP BEFORE LUCKNOW, }  
The 11th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Depty. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

\* Sic in original.

*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
1	Naval Brigade, H. M.'s Ship <i>Shannon</i> .	Acting Mate	Henry P. Garvey...	Killed.
2	Ditto ditto	Yeoman, Store-rooms.	Fred. E. White ...	Wounded severely.
3	Ditto ditto	A. B.	John Pain ...	Ditto slightly.
4	Siege Artillery, 3rd Company, 5th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	Gunner and Driver.	George Williams ...	Killed.
5	1st Troop, 1st Brigade Horse Artillery.	Gunner ...	William Trenholm	Wounded slightly on 9th instant.
6	5th Company, 12th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	Corporal ...	John Douglas ...	Ditto ditto.
7	Ditto ditto	Gunner and Driver.	William Sparrow...	Ditto ditto.
8	Ditto ditto	Ditto	Henry Robbins ...	Ditto ditto.
9	Ditto ditto	Ditto	Robert Maginnis ...	Ditto Since dead.
10	6th Company, 11th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	Gunner and Driver.	Thos. McKeower ...	Killed.
11	Ditto ditto	Ditto	John Jones ...	Do.
12	Ditto ditto	Ditto	George Barker ...	Wounded severely.
13	8th Company, 2nd Battalion, Royal Artillery.	Bombardier	T. Perry ...	Ditto slightly.
14	Ditto ditto	Gunner and Driver.	T. Toad ...	Ditto ditto.
15	Bengal Engineers ...	Major ...	A. Taylor ...	Ditto severely.
16	Punjab Pioneers ...	Corporal ...	William Abel ...	Ditto slightly.
17	Her Majesty's 2nd Dragoon Guards.	Private ...	Hunt ...	Killed, { Private Hunt, 2nd Dragoon Guards, returned missing on the 9th instant, was killed, his body has since been found.
18	H. M.'s 93rd Highlanders ...	Captain ...	C. W. McDonald ...	Killed.
19	Ditto ditto	Lieutenant ...	C. W. Sergeant ...	Do.
20	Ditto ditto	Ditto	R. V. S. Grimstone	Wounded slightly.
21	Ditto ditto	Ensign ...	C. Hastie ...	Ditto ditto.
22	6th Punjab Rifles (44th N. I.) ...	Lieutenant ...	A. M. L. Steward...	Ditto ditto.
23	Her Majesty's 42nd Highlanders	Private ...	James Croughan ...	Ditto ditto.
24	Ditto ditto	Ditto	John Brown ...	Ditto severely.
25	Ditto ditto	Ditto	William Stirling ...	Ditto slightly.
26	Ditto ditto	Sergeant ...	John Hiddle ...	Ditto ditto.
27	Ditto ditto	Private ...	Henry Morrison ...	Ditto ditto.
28	Ditto ditto	Ditto	Thomas Walt ...	Ditto ditto.



*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief—(Contd.)*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
29	Her Majesty's 42nd Highlanders	Sergeant ...	Joseph Munford ...	Ditto dangerously.
30	Ditto ditto	Private ...	Robert Holmes ...	Killed.
31	Ditto ditto	Ditto	William Minnie ...	Wounded slightly.
32	Ditto ditto	Private ...	Francis Doyle ...	Killed.
33	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	Charles Fraser ...	Wounded slightly.
34	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	Ronald Black ...	Ditto severely.
35	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	George Yates ...	Ditto ditto.
36	Ditto 90th Regiment	Color-Sergeant	G. Holsey ...	Killed.
37	Ditto ditto	Private ...	William Polney ...	Wounded severely.
38	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	William Parr ...	Ditto slightly.
39	Ditto 93rd Highlanders	Sergeant ...	James Gow ...	Killed.
40	Ditto ditto	Corporal ...	George Steele ...	Do.
41	Ditto ditto	Private ...	William Cabbie ...	Do.
42	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	George Jones ...	Do.
43	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	James Kay ...	Do.
44	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	James Kinross ...	Do.
45	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	John McEwan ...	Do.
46	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	John McGregor ...	Do.
47	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	James Martin ...	Do.
48	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	Daniel Park ...	Do.
49	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	Henry Readie ...	Do.
50	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	John French ...	Do.
51	Ditto ditto	Sergeant ...	John Dymart ...	Wounded severely.
52	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	John McWilliam ...	Ditto dangerously.
53	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	John Wedderspoon	Ditto ditto.
54	Ditto ditto	Corporal ...	William Hinde ...	Ditto ditto.
55	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	Solomon White ...	Ditto slightly.
56	Ditto ditto	Private ...	Charles Bailey ...	Ditto ditto.
57	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	George Bryce ...	Ditto severely.
58	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	William Bulek ...	Ditto ditto.
59	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	Peter Gaithrees* ...	Ditto ditto.
60	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	Arthur Campbell ...	Wounded ditto.
61	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	John Conner ...	Ditto ditto.
62	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	William Collie ...	Ditto ditto.
63	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	James Cunningham	Ditto dangerously.

\* Sic in original.

*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief—(Contd.)*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
64	Her Majesty's 83rd Highlanders	Private	James Cosgrove	Wounded—dangerously.
65	Ditto ditto	Ditto	John Fraser	Wounded severely.
66	Ditto ditto	Ditto	William Gibson	Ditto slightly.
67	Ditto ditto	Ditto	William Gibb	Ditto severely.
68	Ditto ditto	Ditto	John Graham	Ditto ditto.
69	Ditto ditto	Ditto	Andrew Houston	Ditto ditto.
70	Ditto ditto	Ditto	William Leadbetter	Ditto slightly.
71	Ditto 79th Highlanders	Ditto	Peter Lenkie	Wounded severely.
72	Ditto ditto	Ditto	John McDonald	Ditto slightly.
73	Ditto ditto	Ditto	Thomas MacKay	Ditto severely.
74	Ditto ditto	Ditto	George McKay	Ditto ditto.
75	Ditto ditto	Ditto	Samuel McKenzie	Ditto ditto.
76	Ditto ditto	Ditto	Robert McLeod	Ditto ditto.
77	Ditto ditto	Ditto	Duncan Munro	Ditto slightly.
78	Ditto ditto	Ditto	Michael Patterson	Ditto dangerously.
79	Ditto ditto	Ditto	John Reid	Ditto slightly.
80	Ditto ditto	Ditto	James Reilly	Ditto dangerously.
81	Ditto ditto	Ditto	Edward Shaw	Ditto severely.
82	Ditto ditto	Ditto	James Sheppard	Ditto ditto.
83	Ditto ditto	Ditto	John Stewart	Ditto ditto.
84	Ditto ditto	Ditto	Alexander Thompson	Ditto slightly.
85	Ditto ditto	Ditto	William Walker	Ditto severely.
86	Ditto ditto	Ditto	John White	Ditto slightly.
87	Ditto ditto	Ditto	Alexander Wilson	Ditto dangerously.
88	Ditto ditto	Ditto	A. Duff	Missing.
89	Ditto 63rd Regiment	Captain	G. R. Hopkins	Wounded severely.
90	Ditto ditto	Lieutenant	H. Helsham	Ditto ditto.
91	Ditto ditto	Ditto	T. R. S. Flood, Esq. A.D.-C. to Chief of the Staff.	Ditto ditto.
92	Ditto Fusiliers.	Captain	G. P. Prevost	Ditto slightly.
93	Ditto ditto	Lieutenant	G. W. H. Russell	Ditto severely.
94	Ditto ditto	Sergeant	Chas. Halland	Ditto slightly.
95	Ditto ditto	Private	John Gawin	Ditto severely.
96	Ditto ditto	Ditto	Walter Herbert	Ditto ditto.
97	Ditto ditto	Ditto	Thomas Lott	Ditto slightly.



*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief—(Concl'd.)*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
98	Her Majesty's 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers.	Private ...	Frank Francis ...	Wounded slightly.
99	Ditto 79th Highlanders	Captain ...	G. M. Miher ...	Ditto severely.
100	Ditto ditto	Sergeant ...	James McLaren ...	Ditto slightly.
101	Ditto ditto	Corporal ...	James McDonald ...	Ditto severely.
102	Ditto ditto	Private ...	George Loferty ...	Ditto ditto.
103	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	William Gregory ...	Ditto slightly.
104	1st European Bengal Fusiliers ...	Ditto ...	Daniel Flannery ...	Ditto
105	2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade ...	Captain ...	W. F. Thynne ...	Killed.
106	Ditto ditto ...	Ensign ...	L. E. Cooper ...	Wounded dangerously, since dead.
107	2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade ...	Corporal ...	J. Longden ...	Wounded slightly.
108	Ditto ditto ...	Private ...	David Hawkes ...	Ditto ditto.
109	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	John Norris ...	Ditto dangerously.
110	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	George Smith ...	Ditto mortally.
111	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	J. Turner ...	Ditto slightly.
112	3rd ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	Robert Harding ...	Ditto severely.
113	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	John Lynch ...	Ditto ditto.
114	Her Majesty's 20th Regiment ...	Sergeant ...	A. Deumsey ...	Ditto slightly.
115	Ditto ditto ...	Private ...	W. Porter ...	Ditto ditto.
116	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	F. Davey ...	Ditto severely.
117	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	W. Bowsher ...	Ditto slightly.
118	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	C. Buckley ...	Ditto ditto.
119	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	J. Sturman ...	Ditto ditto.
120	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	Charles Mowly ...	Ditto severely.
121	Ditto 97th ditto ...	Ditto ...	J. McDonald ...	Ditto slightly.
122	Hodson's Horse ...	Major ...	W. S. B. Hodson ...	Ditto mortally, since dead.
123	Staff, 1st Infantry Division ...	Lieutenant ...	W. R. Moorsom ...	Killed.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP BEFORE LUCKNOW, }  
The 14th March 1856.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Deputy Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

*Numerical return of killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, on the 12th March 1858.*

Corps.	KILLED.				WOUNDED.				MISSING.			
	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.
Artillery Division ... { 3rd Company, 14th Battalion, Royal Artillery	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Engineer Brigade ... { Punjab Sappers Pioneers	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
2nd Infantry Division ... { Her Majesty's 38th Regiment Do, 53rd do.	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
3rd Do. do. ... { Do, 23rd Fusiliers 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade 2nd Punjab Infantry	...	...	1	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...
4th Do. do. ... Her Majesty's 20th Regiment	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Total	...	...	2	...	...	...	11	...	...	...	...	...
Grand Total	...	...	2	...	...	...	11	...	...	...	...	...

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP BEFORE LUCKNOW, }  
The 12th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Depty. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
1	3rd Company, 14th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	Gunner and Driver.	Henry Higgins	Wounded severely.
2	Her Majesty's 38th Regiment	Lieutenant-Colonel.	W. J. Loftus	Ditto ditto.
3	Ditto 53rd ditto	Private	John Gavin	Killed.
4	Ditto 23rd Fusiliers	Color-Sergeant	C. J. Lester	Wounded slightly.
5	Ditto ditto	Private	David Ragget	Ditto ditto.
6	Ditto ditto	Ditto	John Sumner	Ditto ditto.
7	Ditto ditto	Ditto	William Scott	Ditto severely.
8	2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade	Ditto	Joseph Lemman	Ditto ditto.
9	2nd Punjab Infantry	Lieutenant	P. W. Powlett	Ditto ditto.
10	Her Majesty's 20th Regiment	Private	William Joyce	Ditto ditto.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP BEFORE LUCKNOW, }  
The 12th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Depty. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.



*Numerical return of killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, on the 13th March 1858.*

Corps.		KILLED.			WOUNDED.			MISSING.		
		European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.
Artillery Division	{ Naval Brigade, H. M.'s Ship Shannon	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	{ No. 20 Light Field Battery	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	{ 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Engineer Brigade	{ Bengal Sappers and Miners	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	{ Delhi Pioneers...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...
	{ Punjab do. ...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...
Cavalry do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2nd Infantry Division	{ Her Majesty's 38th Regiment	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	{ Brigade Staff	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
3rd Do. do.	{ Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	{ Do. 79th Highlanders	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	{ 2nd Punjab Infantry	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
4th Do. do.	{ Her Majesty's 90th Regiment	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
	{ Do. 90th do.	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Total		...	...	1	...	...	17	...	...	...
Grand Total		...	...	1	...	...	18	...	...	...

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP,  
BIDRAPORH,  
The 14th March 1858. }

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Deputy Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
1	Naval Brigade H. M.'s Ship Shannon.	A. B. ...	Edward Robinson	Wounded dangerously.
2	3rd Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery.	Officiating Apothecary	R. W. Beale	Severe contusion on 8th instant.
3	Her Majesty's 38th Regiment	Private	Michael Leaky	Wounded slightly.
4	Ditto ditto	Do.	Robert Hall	Do. do.
5	Brigade Staff	Captain	H. T. Macpherson	Do. severely.
6	Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers	Hospital Apprentice	R. Pereira	Severe contusion on 9th instant.
7	Ditto ditto	Private	Charles Davis	Wounded slightly.
8	Her Majesty's 79th Highlanders	Do.	James Logan	Do. do.
9	Ditto 23rd Regiment	Do.	Joseph Beni	Do. severely.
10	Ditto 90th ditto	Corporal	H. Adams	Do. do.
11	Ditto ditto	Private	S. McDovett	Do. slightly.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP BEFORE LUCKNOW. }  
The 14th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Deputy Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

*Numerical return of killed, wounded and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, on the 14th March 1858.*

Corps.		KILLED.				WOUNDED.				MISSING.			
		European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.
Artillery Division	{ Naval Brigade, H. M.'s Ship Shannon ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...
	{ Siege Artillery ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Engineer Brigade	{ Bengal Sappers and Miners ...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	{ Delhi Pioneers ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
	{ Punjab „ ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...
Cavalry Brigade	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2nd Infantry Division	{ Her Majesty's 30th Regiment ...	...	...	1	...	2	...	13	9	...	...	...	...
3rd Infantry Division	{ Her Majesty's 22nd Royal Welch Fusiliers ...	...	...	1	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...
	{ 2nd Punjab Infantry ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...
4th Infantry Division	{ Staff ...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	{ Her Majesty's 10th Foot ...	...	...	3	...	1	...	23	...	...	...	...	...
	{ Do. 20th Regiment ...	...	...	7	...	1	...	12	...	...	...	...	...
	{ Do. 90th do. ...	...	...	1	...	...	...	21	...	...	...	...	...
	{ Do. 97th do. ...	...	1	1	...	...	...	11	...	...	...	...	...
	{ Regiment of Ferozepore ...	...	1	5	...	...	...	33	...	...	...	3	...
	Total	...	3	20	...	...	...	130	...	...	...	3	...
	Grand Total	...	23	...	...	...	...	136	...	...	...	3	...

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP  
REPOUR LUCKNOW,  
The 16th March 1858.

(Sd.)

H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,

Depty. Adj.-Genl. of the Army.



*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
1	Naval Brigade, H. M.'s Ship Shannon.	A. B.	John Ahearn	Wounded severely.
2	Ditto	Bandman	George Hutchins	Ditto ditto.
3	Ditto	A. B.	Alfred Green	Ditto ditto.
4	Ditto	Private, Royal Marine.	Henry Brummage	Ditto ditto.
5	Royal Artillery	Major	W. W. Barry	Severely burnt.
6	3rd Company, 8th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	Gunner and Driver.	Joseph Orr	Wounded.
7	Her Majesty's 38th Regiment.	Lieutenant-Colonel.	T. C. Kelly	Ditto slightly.
8	Ditto	Brevet-Major	E. T. Gloster	Ditto dangerously.
9	Ditto	Sergeant-Major	Patrick McFadden	Ditto ditto.
10	Ditto	Sergeant	Joseph Bell	Ditto severely.
11	Ditto	Corporal	George Leadbetter	Ditto ditto.
12	Ditto	Private	Edward Hill	Ditto ditto.
13	Ditto	Ditto	Philip Jones	Ditto ditto.
14	Ditto	Ditto	John Alger	Ditto ditto.
15	Ditto	Ditto	William Viner	Ditto ditto.
16	Ditto	Ditto	Edward Harrod	Ditto ditto.
17	Ditto	Ditto	William Bird	Ditto ditto.
18	Ditto	Ditto	Henry Boyce	Ditto ditto.
19	Ditto	Ditto	John Mungan	Ditto ditto.
20	Ditto	Ditto	Patrick Cassidy	Ditto dangerously.
21	Ditto	Ditto	George Roach	Ditto severely.
22	Ditto	Drummer	Thomas Grey	Killed.
23	Her Majesty's 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers.	Sergeant	Faber Carr	Wounded slightly.

*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief—(Contd.)*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
24	Her Majesty's 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers.	Private	John Clarke	Wounded slightly.
25	Ditto	Ditto	William Bungay	Ditto severely.
26	Ditto	Ditto	John Gwatkin	Killed.
27	Her Majesty's 10th Foot.	Ditto	M. Fogarty	Do.
28	Ditto	Ditto	M. McGairy	Do.
29	Ditto	Ditto	D. Mahony	Do.
30	Ditto	Captain	J. Cator	Wounded severely.
31	Ditto	Corporal	Ryan	Ditto slightly.
32	Ditto	Private	M. Hennessy	Ditto severely.
33	Ditto	Ditto	B. Tirooley	Ditto ditto.
34	Ditto	Ditto	P. Phailan	Ditto dangerously.
35	Ditto	Ditto	P. Purcell	Ditto ditto.
36	Ditto	Ditto	T. Summers	Ditto slightly.
37	Ditto	Ditto	L. Castello	Ditto severely.
38	Ditto	Ditto	R. Keyburn	Ditto ditto.
39	Ditto	Ditto	C. Connors	Ditto ditto.
40	Ditto	Ditto	J. Murphy	Ditto slightly.
41	Ditto	Ditto	J. Cronch	Ditto ditto.
42	Ditto	Corporal	J. Air	Ditto severely.
43	Ditto	Private	J. Akers	Ditto ditto.
44	Ditto	Ditto	J. Hastings	Ditto ditto.
45	Ditto	Ditto	J. Sidey	Ditto ditto.
46	Ditto	Ditto	M. Cromers	Ditto dangerously.
47	Ditto	Ditto	T. Sterling	Ditto slightly.
48	Ditto	Ditto	P. Shea	Ditto mortally.
49	Ditto	Ditto	M. Silk	Ditto slightly.



*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief—(Contd.)*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
50	Her Majesty's 10th Foot.	Private	D. Teachen	Wounded severely.
51	Ditto	Corporal	M. Thennally	Ditto slightly.
52	Ditto	Drummer	P. Cummins	Ditto dangerously.
53	Ditto	Private	J. Connel	Ditto severely.
54	Her Majesty's 20th Regiment.	Ditto	J. Parsden	Killed.
55	Ditto	Ditto	E. Halliday	Ditto.
56	Ditto	Ditto	C. Hills	Ditto.
57	Ditto	Ditto	E. Walker	Ditto.
58	Ditto	Ditto	W. Watson	Ditto.
59	Ditto	Ditto	N. Moore	Ditto.
60	Ditto	Ditto	J. Webber	Ditto.
61	Ditto	Major	W. Radcliff	Wounded.
62	Ditto	Private	T. Wintanly	Ditto.
63	Ditto	Ditto	T. Sullivan	Ditto.
64	Ditto	Ditto	A. Chamberlain	Ditto.
65	Ditto	Ditto	J. Doyle	Ditto slightly.
66	Ditto	Ditto	H. Masterson	Ditto ditto.
67	Ditto	Ditto	R. Marrow	Ditto ditto.
68	Ditto	Ditto	A. Cann	Ditto ditto.
69	Ditto	Ditto	G. Joyce	Ditto ditto.
70	Ditto	Ditto	J. Cefield	Ditto ditto.
71	Ditto	Ditto	J. Banister	Ditto ditto.
72	Ditto	Ditto	G. Abbott	Ditto ditto.
73	Ditto	Ditto	G. Lincoln	Ditto ditto.
74	Her Majesty's 90th Regiment.	Ditto	D. Sharpe	Ditto dangerously, (since dead.)
75	Ditto	Ditto	S. Smith	Ditto ditto.

*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief—(Contd.)*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
76	Her Majesty's 90th Regiment.	Private	J. W. Wager	Wounded dangerously, (since dead).
77	Ditto	Ditto	J. King	Ditto ditto.
78	Ditto	Ditto	J. Kilderry	Ditto ditto.
79	Ditto	Ditto	H. Crompton	Wounded severely.
80	Ditto	Ditto	J. Watson	Ditto ditto.
81	Ditto	Ditto	O. McCann	Ditto ditto.
82	Ditto	Ditto	J. Harper	Ditto ditto.
83	Ditto	Ditto	J. Field	Ditto ditto.
84	Ditto	Ditto	J. Godfrey	Ditto ditto.
85	Ditto	Ditto	J. Feeney	Ditto ditto.
86	Ditto	Ditto	C. Stuart	Ditto ditto.
87	Ditto	Ditto	W. Canning	Ditto ditto.
88	Ditto	Ditto	J. Ulph	Ditto ditto.
89	Ditto	Ditto	J. Wilson	Ditto slightly.
90	Ditto	Ditto	G. Witchalls	Ditto ditto.
91	Ditto	Ditto	A. Jordan	Ditto ditto.
92	Ditto	Ditto	F. McKenna	Ditto ditto.
93	Ditto	Ditto	J. Farrell	Ditto ditto.
94	Ditto	Corporal	D. McMullin	Killed.
95	Ditto	Private	F. Saunders	Ditto.
96	Ditto	Corporal	T. O. W. Ingram	Wounded slightly.
97	Her Majesty's 97th Regiment.	Lieutenant-Colonel.	Singleton	Ditto ditto.
98	Ditto	Private	W. Turner	Ditto ditto.
99	Ditto	Sergeant-Major	T. O'Hara	Ditto ditto.
100	Ditto	Color-Sergeant	D. O'Keefe	Ditto ditto.
101	Ditto	Sergeant	T. Fussil	Ditto ditto.



*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief—(Concl'd.)*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
102	Her Majesty's 97th Regiment.	Corporal	W. Charnock	Wounded slightly.
103	Ditto	Ditto	J. Wharmby	Ditto ditto.
104	Ditto	Private	T. Ryan	Ditto ditto.
105	Ditto	Ditto	J. Gunning	Ditto ditto.
106	Ditto	Ditto	J. Kelly	Ditto ditto.
107	Ditto	Ditto	E. P. Browne	Ditto ditto.
108	Ditto	Ditto	J. Mead	Ditto ditto.
109	Regiment of Ferozepore.	Captain	DaCosta (58th Native Infantry).	Ditto (since dead.)
110	Staff	Lieutenant	John Wall, Depy. Asst. Qrmt.-Genl.	Killed.
111	Do.	Ditto	Ogilvie, Madras Sepers.	Wounded.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP  
BEFORE LUCKNOW;  
The 15th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Depy. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

*Numerical return of killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, on the 15th March 1858.*

		KILLED.				WOUNDED.				MISSING.			
		European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.
Corps.													
Artillery Division	5th Company, 12th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	3rd Company, 14th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	3rd Company, 5th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Engineer Brigade	Bengal Sappers and Miners.	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2nd Infantry Division.	Her Majesty's 38th Regiment.	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3rd "	2nd Punjab Infantry.	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4th "	Her Majesty's 20th Regiment.	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Her Majesty's 90th Regiment.	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Her Majesty's 97th Regiment.	...	1	...	...	8	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Total		...	3	...	...	18	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Grand Total		...	3	...	...	18	...	...	...	1	...	...	...

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP  
BEFORE LUCKNOW;  
The 16th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,

Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army.



*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
1	5th Company, 12th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	Gunner and Driver.	John Saunder ...	Wounded slightly.
2	3rd Company, 14th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	Shoeing-smith	George Laver ...	Ditto severely.
3	3rd Company, 5th Battalion, Bengal Artillery.	Gunner ...	George Price ...	Ditto.
4	Her Majesty's 38th Regiment.	Private ...	William Henshaw...	Ditto slightly
5	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	William Allingham	Ditto ditto
6	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	John Cripps ...	Ditto severely
7	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	Henry Tippet ...	Ditto ditto
8	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	John McCusker ...	Ditto ditto
9	Her Majesty's 20th Regiment.	Ditto ...	Robert Nicholson	Ditto slightly.
10	Her Majesty's 90th Regiment.	Ditto ...	M. Brennan ...	Ditto severely.
11	Her Majesty's 97th Regiment.	Ditto ..	W. Reece ...	Ditto ditto.
12	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	T. Charnock ...	Ditto slightly.
13	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	J. Coyle ...	Ditto ditto.
14	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	B. Basketfield ...	Ditto ditto.
15	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	G. Kendal ...	Ditto ditto.
16	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	J. Browne ...	Ditto ditto.
17	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	F. Brennan ...	Ditto ditto.
18	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	W. Ainsworth ...	Ditto ditto.
19	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	R. Hart ...	Missing, supposed to have been blown up.
20	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	J. Prescott ...	Killed.

These casualties occurred on the 14th instant.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP  
BEFORE LUCKNOW.  
The 16th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Depty. Adj.-Genl. of the Army.

*ERRATUM—At page 74 of the Governor-General's Camp Gazette, dated the 26th March, the last portion of the Nominal Roll of Europeans killed, &c., in the army before Lucknow, having been incorrectly printed, the following is to be substituted for it :—*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
89	Her Majesty's 90th Regiment.	Private ...	J. Wilson ...	Wounded slightly.
90	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	G. Witchalls ...	Ditto ditto.
91	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	A. Jordan ...	Ditto ditto.
92	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	F. McKenna ...	Ditto ditto.
93	Ditto ditto	Corporal ...	J. Farrell ...	Ditto ditto.
94	Ditto ditto	Private ...	D. McMullin ...	Ditto ditto.
95	Ditto ditto	Corporal ...	F. Saunders ...	Ditto ditto.
96	Her Majesty's 97th Regiment.	Lieutenant-Colonel.	T. O' W. Ingram ...	Killed.
97	Ditto ditto	Private ...	Singleton ...	Ditto.
98	Ditto ditto	Sergeant-Major	W. Turner ...	Wounded slightly.
99	Ditto ditto	Color-Sergeant	T. O'Hara ...	Ditto ditto.
100	Ditto ditto	Sergeant ...	D. O'Keefe ...	Ditto ditto.
101	Ditto ditto	Corporal ...	T. Fussil ...	Ditto ditto.
102	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	W. Charnock ...	Ditto ditto.
103	Ditto ditto	Private ...	J. Wharmby ...	Ditto ditto.
104	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	T. Ryan ...	Ditto ditto.
105	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	J. Gunning ...	Ditto ditto.
106	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	J. Kelly ...	Ditto ditto.
107	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	H. P. Browne ...	Ditto ditto.
108	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	J. Mead ...	Ditto ditto.
109	Regiment of Ferozepore.	Captain ...	DaCosta, 58th Native Infantry.	Ditto (since dead).
110	Staff ...	Lieutenant ...	John Wall, Deputy Assistant Quarter-master-General	Killed.
111	Do. ...	Ditto ...	Ogilvie, Madras Sepoys.	Wounded.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Maj.,  
Depty. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.*



*GENERAL ORDERS by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Allahabad, 7th April 1858.*

No. 59 of 1858.—In continuation of General Order No. 46, of the 25th ultimo, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General is pleased to publish, for general information, further returns of casualties in the force under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, from the 16th to the 21st instant, inclusive.

*Numerical return of killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, on the 16th March 1858.*

Corps.			KILLED.		WOUNDED.		MISSING.								
			European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	
Artillery Division	Siege	3rd Company, 8th Battalion, Royal Artillery	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		3rd Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Field	5th Company, 12th Battalion, Royal Artillery	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		6th Company, 13th Battalion, Royal Artillery	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Punjab Pioneers	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Engineer Brigade		Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers	...	...	1	1	8	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	
3rd Infantry Division	...	79th Highlanders	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
		1st European Bengal Fusiliers	...	...	2	1	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
		3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
		2nd Punjab Infantry	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
4th Infantry Division	...	Her Majesty's 10th Foot	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	
		90th Regiment	...	...	...	...	1	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	
		Regiment of Ferozepore	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
		Divisional Staff	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Total			...	...	4	...	6	30	...	...	2	...	...	...	
Grand Total			...	...	4	...	36	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP, }  
LUCKNOW;  
The 17th March 1858. }

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Depty. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
1	Siege Artillery, 3rd Company, 8th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	Corporal ...	Archer Francis ...	Leg broken by gun wheel in removing captured guns.
2	Field Artillery, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery.	Veterinary Surgeon.	T. Hickman ...	Wounded slightly.
3	5th Company, 12th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	Gunner and Driver.	Sparrow ...	Ditto ditto.
4	6th Company, 13th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	Ditto	Woodburn ...	Ditto ditto.
5	Her Majesty's 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers.	Private ...	Richard White ...	Killed.
6	Ditto ditto ...	Lieutenant ...	A. L. Tobin ...	Wounded severely.
7	Ditto ditto ...	Sergeant ...	James Dawson ...	Ditto mortally.
8	Ditto ditto ...	Corporal ...	William Ritchie ...	Ditto slightly.
9	Ditto ditto ...	Private ...	Thomas Hamlet ...	Ditto ditto.
10	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	James Witt ...	Ditto ditto.
11	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	Thomas Slack ...	Ditto ditto.
12	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	Richard Hemming ...	Ditto ditto.
13	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	James Morgan ...	Ditto ditto.
14	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	Thomas Harrox ...	Ditto ditto.
15	Her Majesty's 79th Highlanders.	Ditto ...	James Malcolm ...	Ditto severely.
16	1st European Bengal Fusiliers.	Ditto ...	Thomas McLaughlin ..	Killed.
17	Ditto ditto ...	Color-Sergeant ...	Thomas McBride ...	Ditto.
18	Ditto ditto ...	Lieutenant ...	William Ellis ...	Wounded slightly.
19	Ditto ditto ...	Private ...	William Cambridge ...	Ditto ditto.
20	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	G. Knowles ...	Ditto ditto.
21	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	J. Evans ...	Ditto severely.
22	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	J. Morrissey ...	Ditto ditto.
23	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	J. Kelly ...	Ditto ditto.
24	Doing duty, 3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.	Ensign ...	Drake ...	Ditto slightly.
25	Ditto ditto ...	Private ...	Thomas Higginbottom ...	Ditto severely.
26	Her Majesty's 10th Foot.	Ditto ...	Pat Phelan ...	Died of wounds.
27	Her Majesty's 90th Regiment.	Ditto ...	William Cocom ...	Wounded slightly.
28	Regiment of Poonchore	Major ...	J. Brasyer ...	Ditto
29	Divisional Staff ...	Lieutenant ...	S. Chalmers, 53rd Native Infantry, Sub-Assistant Commissary-General.	Ditto severely.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP,  
LUCKNOW;  
The 17th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Depty. Adj.-Genl. of the Army.



*Numerical return of killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, on the 17th of March 1858.*

Corps.		KILLED.				WOUNDED.				MISSING.						
		European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.			
Artillery Division.	Siege ...	8th Company, 2nd Battalion, Royal Artillery... ..				..	...	...	...	...	...	*1	...	...	...	...
		6th Company, 11th Battalion, Royal Artillery... ..				..	...	...	...	...	...	*2	...	...	...	...
	Field—6th Company, 13th Battalion, Royal Artillery .. ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Engineer Brigade	...	23rd Company, Royal Engineers				1	...	14	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
		Bengal Engineers doing duty with Royal Engineers .. ..				...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Punjab Pioneers ... ..				...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3rd Infantry Division	...	1st European Bengal Fusiliers				...	...	...	...	...	...	†1	...	...	...	...
		Her Majesty's 79th Highlanders .. ..				...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
		2nd Punjab Infantry				...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
Total		...	...	...	...	2	...	16	...	1	...	9	...	...	...	...
Grand Total		...	18				...	10				...	...			

\* These casualties occurred on the 16th March.

† This casualty occurred on the 15th March.

ADJUT.-GEN'L'S OFFICE,  
HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP, LUCKNOW;  
The 18th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,

Deputy Adjut.-Genl. of the Army.

*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
1	8th Company, 2nd Battalion, Royal Artillery.	Gunner ...	James Kean ...	Wounded severely.
2	6th Company, 11th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	Sergeant ...	James Johnston ...	Ditto slightly.
3	Ditto ditto	Trumpeter ...	Thomas Sullivan ...	Ditto severely.
4	6th Company, 13th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	Gunner and Driver,	Henry Bracy ...	Ditto ditto.
5	Ditto ditto	Bombardier ...	John France ...	Killed.
6	1st European Bengal Fusiliers.	Captain ...	F. O. Salusbury ...	Wounded slightly on the 15th March.
7	Her Majesty's 79th Highlanders.	Sergeant ...	James Blythe ...	Wounded severely.
8	Ditto ditto	Private ...	John Dawn ...	Ditto slightly.
9	23rd Company, Royal Engineers.	Captain ...	A. J. Clerke ...	Died from the effects of a gunpowder explosion.
10	Ditto ditto	Lance-Corporal	James Davis ...	Ditto ditto.
11	Ditto ditto	Sapper ..	Michael Daily ...	Ditto ditto.
12	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	James Bunting ...	Ditto ditto.
13	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	Andrew Fair Service	Ditto ditto.
14	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	William Robinson	Ditto ditto.
15	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	Charles Tucker ..	Ditto ditto.
16	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	William Cuterson	Ditto ditto.
17	Ditto ditto	Ditto ..	George Beer ...	Ditto ditto.
18	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	David Northwood	Ditto ditto.
19	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	James Slade ...	Ditto ditto.
20	Ditto ditto	Ditto ..	John Yeo ...	Ditto ditto.
21	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	Alfred Smith ...	Ditto ditto.
22	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	Frederick Morgan	Ditto ditto.
23	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	John Ford ...	Ditto ditto.
24	Ditto ditto	Ditto ...	James Chapman ...	Suffering severely from the effects of a gunpowder explosion.
25	Bengal Engineers doing duty with Royal Engineers.	Lieutenant ...	E. P. Brownlow ...	Died from the effects of a gunpowder explosion.

These casualties occurred on the 16th March 1858.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP,  
LUCKNOW;  
The 18th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,

Depty. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army,



*Numerical return of killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, on the 18th of March 1858.*

Corps.			KILLED.				WOUNDED.				MISSING.			
			European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.
Artillery Division	{ Naval Brigade, H. M.'s Ship Shannon.		...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
1st Cavalry Brigade	Pathan Horse ...		...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3rd Infantry Division.	{ Her Majesty's 79th Highlanders.		...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...
	{ 1st European Bengal Fusiliers.		...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
4th Infantry Division.	{ Her Majesty's 20th Regiment		...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
	{ Ditto 90th ditto		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*1	...
	{ Ditto 97th ditto		...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Regiment of Ferozepore			...	...	2	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...
Total			...	...	2	2	...	...	1	16	...	...	...	1
Grand Total			...	...	4	...	...	...	17	...	...	...	...	1

\* Missing from 15th March.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP,  
LUCKNOW;  
The 19th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Depty. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
1	Naval Brigade, H. M.'s Ship <i>Shannon</i> .	A. B.	... Thomas Sullivan ...	Wounded severely.
2	Her Majesty's 79th Highlanders.	Private	... George Andrews ...	Ditto slightly.
3	Ditto ditto	Ditto	... John Brown ...	Ditto ditto.
4	Ditto ditto	Ditto	... John Todd ...	Ditto ditto.
5	1st European Bengal Fusiliers.	Ditto	... Thomas Martin ...	Killed by the explosion of a mine.
6	Ditto ditto	Ditto	... Robert Brian ...	Wounded slightly.
7	Her Majesty's 20th Regiment.	Captain	... A. R. Warren ...	Ditto ditto.
8	Ditto ditto	Sergeant	... J. Buckley ...	Ditto ditto.
9	Ditto ditto	Private	... T. Peck ...	Ditto severely.
10	Ditto ditto	Ditto	... R. Opony ...	Ditto ditto.
11	Ditto ditto	Ditto	... J. Winning ...	Ditto slightly.
12	Her Majesty's 97th Regiment.	Sergeant	... A. White ...	Ditto ditto.

One man Her Majesty's 90th missing ; name not yet reported.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP,  
LUCKNOW;  
The 19th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Maj.*,  
*Deputy Adj.-Genl. of the Army.*



*Numerical return of killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, on the 19th of March 1858.*

Corps.	KILLED.				WOUNDED.				MISSING.			
	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.
Artillery Division	3rd Company, 14th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
	6th Company, 13th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Engineer Brigade—Punjab Pioneers	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
1st Cavalry Brigade—H. M.'s 9th Lancers	...	...	1	...	1	...	3	3	...	...	...	3
3rd Infantry Division— " 79th Highlanders	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Total	...	...	3	...	1	...	7	3	...	...	...	3
Grand Total	...	...	3	...	...	...	8	3	...	...	...	3

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP,  
LUCKNOW;  
The 20th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,

Depty. Adj't.-Genl. of the Army.

*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
1	3rd Company, 14th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	Acting Bombardier.	Joseph Tucker	... Slightly burnt by explosion.
2	6th Company, 13th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	Gunner and Driver	Patrick McCarthy	... Wounded severely.
3	H. M.'s 9th Lancers	Private	G. J. Prangnell	... Killed.
4	Ditto ditto	Captain	T. W. H. Hutchinson	... Wounded dangerously (since dead).
5	Ditto ditto	Corporal	Samuel Newman	... Ditto ditto.
6	Ditto ditto	Private	G. G. Andrews	... Ditto slightly.
7	Ditto ditto	Ditto	P. Donoboe	... Ditto ditto.
8	Her Majesty's 79th Highlanders.	Ditto	Thomas Mauro	... Wounded dangerously (since dead).
9	Ditto ditto	Ditto	William Taylor	... Ditto ditto.
10	Ditto ditto	Ditto	Peter Jack	... Ditto ditto.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP,  
LUCKNOW;  
The 20th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,

Depty. Adj't.-Genl. of the Army.

*Numerical return of killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, on the 20th March 1858.*

Corps.		KILLED.				WOUNDED.				MISSING.			
		European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.
	Divisional Staff	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Brigade Staff	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Artillery Division	{ Siege—3rd Company, 14th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	...	*1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cavalry Brigade	{ Her Majesty's 7th Hussars	...	...	...	...	3	...	2	4	...	...	...	...
	{ Hodson's Horse	...	...	2	1	1	7	5	...	...	1	1	...
1st Infantry Division	{ 1st Battalion, 5th Fusiliers	...	...	...	...	1	...	3	...	...	...	...	...
	{ Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders.	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
3rd " "	{ Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers.	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
	{ 1st European Bengal Fusiliers.	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	...	2	3	1	4	1	17	9	...	...	1	1
	Grand Total	...	5	1	...	22	9	...	...	1	...	1	...

\* This man was returned in a former casualty return as "wounded."

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP  
BEFORE LUCKNOW;  
The 21st March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.

Deputy Adj.-Genl. of the Army.



*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
1	Divisional Staff ..	Lieutenant ...	O. D. Tharkwell, 15th Native Infantry, Assistant Baggage Master to Siege Artillery.	Killed.
2	Brigade Staff ...	Ditto ...	Jonathan Cape, 30th Native Infantry, Assistant Baggage Master to Engineer Brigade.	Ditto.
3	3rd Company, 14th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	Shoeing-smith ...	George Laver ...	Died on the 20th instant from wounds previously received.
4	Her Majesty's 7th Hussars.	Captain ...	Slade ...	Wounded.
5	Ditto ditto ...	Lieutenant ...	Wilken ...	Ditto.
6	Ditto ditto ...	Cornet ...	Banks ...	Ditto dangerously.
7	Ditto ditto ...	Private ...	John Kelly ...	Ditto slightly.
8	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	Thomas Harrison ...	Ditto severely.
9	Her Majesty's 1st Battalion, 5th Fusiliers.	Ensign ...	J. A. Cubitt ...	Ditto slightly.
10	Ditto ditto ...	Private ...	Thomas Johnson ...	Ditto severely.
11	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	William McGee ...	Ditto slightly.
12	Ditto ditto ..	Ditto ...	Thomas Mara ...	Ditto ditto.
13	Her Majesty's 76th Highlanders.	Ditto ...	George Maycock ...	Ditto ditto.
14	Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers.	Ditto ...	John Kiely ...	Ditto severely.
15	1st European Bengal Fusiliers.	Ditto ...	James Moore ...	Ditto ditto.
16	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	Dennis Burns ...	Ditto ditto.
17	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	Ben Johnson ...	Ditto slightly.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP,  
LUCKNOW;  
The 21st March 1858. }

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Maj.*,  
*Depty. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.*

*Numerical return of killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, on the 21st March 1858.*

Corps.		KILLED.				WOUNDED.				MISSING.			
		European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.
Engineer	Brigade—Punjab Pioneers	...	...	...	...	1	...	3	...	...	...	2	...
2nd Cavalry	Brigade.	Her Majesty's 7th Hussars				...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
		1st Sikh Irregular Cavalry				1	...	2	...	3	1	6	3
2nd Infantry	Division.	Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders.				...	...	...	...	11	...	...	...
		4th Punjab Rifles				...	...	1	...	2	...	6	...
3rd Infantry	Division.	Her Majesty's 79th Highlanders.				...	...	*1	...	...	...	...	...
		1st European Bengal Fusiliers.				...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
		3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade				...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		2nd Punjab Infantry				...	...	†1	...	...	...	...	...
Total		...	1	6	...	6	1	26	6	...	...	2	1
Grand Total		...	7			33			6	2			1

\* Died of wounds received on the 17th instant.

† Died of wounds received on the 11th instant.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP,  
LUCKNOW,  
The 22nd March 1858. }

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Maj.*,

*Depty. Adj't-Genl. of the Army.*



*Nominal roll of Europeans killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.*

No.	Corps.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
1	Punjab Pioneers ...	Ensign ...	— Knowles ...	Wounded. Gun shot in knee.
2	1st Sikh Irregular Cavalry.	Captain ...	F. Wale, Commandant	Killed.
3	Ditto ditto ...	Lieutenant ...	— Godby ...	Wounded slightly.
4	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	— Montgomerie ...	Ditto ditto.
5	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	— Sandeman ...	Ditto ditto.
6	Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders.	Private ...	John Armstrong ...	Ditto severely.
7	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	Alexander Barrie ...	Ditto slightly.
8	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	Alexander Beath ...	Ditto ditto.
9	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	James Ferguson ...	Ditto ditto.
10	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	Francis Lanchlan ...	Ditto severely.
11	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	James Lyons ...	Ditto slightly.
12	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	James McDonald ...	Ditto severely.
13	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	Samuel McBurnie ...	Ditto ditto.
14	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	Thomas Marshall ...	Ditto slightly.
15	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto ...	Alexander McLeod ...	Ditto ditto.
16	Ditto ditto ...	Sergeant ...	John McKay ...	Ditto ditto.
17	4th Punjab Rifles ...	Major ...	— Wildie ...	Ditto severely.
18	Ditto ditto ...	Captain ...	— Hood ...	Ditto dangerously.
19	Her Majesty's 79th Highlanders.	Sergeant ...	James Blyth ...	Died of wounds received on the 17th March.
20	1st European Bengal Fusiliers.	Private ...	Angus Cameron ...	Shot in the city.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP  
BEFORE LUCKNOW;  
The 22nd March 1858. }

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Deps. Adj.-Genl. of the Army,

*Nominal roll of officers killed and wounded in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, from the 2nd to the 31st of March, inclusive.*

No.	Corps or Department.	Rank and Names.	Remarks.
<i>General Staff.</i>			
1	Extra Aid-de-Camp to Chief of Staff.	Lieutenant F. R. S. Flood ...	Wounded severely.
<i>Artillery Division.</i>			
	Divisional Staff ...	Lieutenant O. D. Thackwell, 15th Native Infantry, Assistant Baggage Master.	Killed.
	Naval Brigade, Her Majesty's ship <i>Shannon</i> .	Acting Mate Henry P. Garvey...	Ditto.
	Ditto ditto	Captain Sir W. Peel, K.C.B. ...	Wounded severely.
5	Royal Artillery, siege ...	Major W. W. Barry ...	Ditto severely (burnt).
	Ditto ditto	Lieutenant H. A. Tracey ...	Ditto slightly.
	3rd Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery, Field.	Veterinary Surgeon T. Hickman	Ditto ditto.
<i>Engineer Brigade.</i>			
	Brigade Staff ...	Lieutenant Jonathan Cape, 30th Native Infantry, Assistant Baggage Master.	Killed.
	Royal Engineers ...	Captain A. J. Clarke ...	Died from the effects of a gunpowder explosion.
10	Bengal Engineers doing duty with the Royal Engineers.	Lieutenant E. P. Brownlow ...	Ditto ditto.
	Bengal Engineers ...	Major A. Taylor ..	Wounded severely.
	Ditto ...	Lieutenant J. G. Forbes ...	Ditto slightly.
	Punjab Pioneers ...	Ensign Knowles ...	Gun shot in knee.
<i>Cavalry Division.</i>			
	1st Cavalry Brigade Staff...	Brigadier A. Little ...	Wounded severely.
15	Her Majesty's 9th Lancers	Captain T. W. H. Hutchinson	Ditto dangerously (since dead.)
	5th Punjab Cavalry ...	Major C. A. Stafford ...	Killed.
	1st Sikh Irregular Cavalry	Captain F. Wale, Commandant	Ditto.
	Ditto ditto ...	Lieutenant A. R. D. Mackenzie	Wounded slightly.



*Nominal roll of officers killed and wounded in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, from the 2nd to the 21st of March, inclusive—(Contd.)*

No.	Corps or department.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
20	1st Sikh Irregular Cavalry	Lieutenant Godby ...	Wounded.
	Ditto ditto ...	Lieutenant Montgomerie ..	Ditto.
	Ditto ditto ...	Lieutenant Sandeman ...	Ditto.
	<i>2nd Cavalry Brigade Staff.</i>		
	Her Majesty's 2nd Dragoon Guards.	Major J. P. Smith ...	Killed.
	Ditto ditto	Lieutenant P. W. A. Carnegie...	Wounded slightly.
	Her Majesty's 7th Queen's Own Hussars.	Captain W. H. Slade ...	Ditto ditto.
25	Ditto ditto	Lieutenant H. J. Wilken ...	Ditto ditto.
	Ditto ditto	Cornet W. G. H. Bankes ...	Ditto very severely.
	Hodson's Horse ...	Major W. S. R. Hodson ...	Ditto dangerously (since dead.)
	<i>1st Infantry Division.</i>		
	Divisional Staff. ...	Lieutenant W. R. Moorsem, (Her Majesty's 52nd Light Infantry) Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General.	Killed.
	<i>1st Infantry Brigade.</i>		
	Her Majesty's 1st Battalion, 5th Fusiliers.	Ensign J. A. Cubitt ...	Wounded slightly.
	<i>2nd Infantry Brigade.</i>		
30	Regiment of Perozepore ...	Captain L. G. DaCosta, 58th Native Infantry.	Killed.
	Ditto ditto	Major J. Brasyer ...	Wounded severely.
	<i>2nd Infantry Division.</i>		
	Divisional Staff ...	Captain Robert Stewart, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.	Ditto ditto.
	<i>3rd Infantry Brigade.</i>		
	Her Majesty's 38th Regiment.	Lieutenant-Colonel W. J. Loftus	Ditto ditto.
	Ditto ditto	Lieutenant-Colonel T. C. Kelly	Ditto slightly.
35	Ditto ditto	Brevet-Major E. T. Gloster ..	Ditto dangerously.

*Nominal roll of officers killed and wounded in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, from the 2nd to the 21st of March, inclusive—(Contd.)*

No.	Corps or department.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
40	Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment.	Captain G. R. Hopkins ...	Wounded severely.
	Ditto ditto	Lieutenant H. Helsham ...	Ditto ditto.
	<i>4th Infantry Brigade.</i>		
	Her Majesty's 42nd Highlanders.	Lieutenant F. E. H. Farguharson	Ditto ditto.
	Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders.	Captain C. W. McDonald ...	Killed, previously slightly wounded.
	Ditto ditto	Lieutenant C. W. Sergison ...	Killed.
	Ditto ditto	Lieutenant R. V. S. Grimstone	Wounded slightly.
	Ditto ditto	Ensign C. Hastie ...	Ditto ditto.
	4th Punjab Rifles ...	Major A. T. Wilde ...	Ditto dangerously.
	Ditto ...	Captain J. Hood ...	Ditto ditto.
45	Ditto ...	Lieutenant A. McL. Stewart ...	Ditto slightly.
	Ditto ...	Lieutenant O. L. Smith ...	Ditto severely.
	<i>3rd Infantry Division.</i>		
	5th Infantry Brigade Staff	Captain H. L. Macpherson ...	Ditto ditto.
	Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers.	Captain G. P. Prevost ...	Ditto slightly.
	Ditto ditto	Lieutenant G. W. H. Russell.	Ditto severely.
	Ditto ditto	Lieutenant A. L. Tobin ...	Ditto ditto.
	Her Majesty's 79th Highlanders.	Captain G. M. Miller ...	Ditto ditto.
	Ditto ditto	Ensign G. G. Thain (Hon'ble East India Company's service attached.)	Ditto slightly.
	1st European Bengal Fusiliers.	Captain F. O. Salisbury ...	Ditto ditto.
55	Ditto ditto	Captain E. St. George ...	Ditto dangerously.
	Ditto ditto	Lieutenant N. Ellis ...	Ditto slightly.
	<i>6th Infantry Brigade.</i>		
	2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade	Captain W. F. Thynne ...	Killed.



*Nominal roll of officers killed and wounded in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, from the 2nd to the 21st of March, inclusive.—(Concl'd.)*

No.	Corps or department.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
	2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade	Ensign L. E. Cooper ...	Wounded dangerously, (since dead).
	Doing duty 3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.	Ensign J. A. Drake (Hon'ble East India Company's service attached.)	Wounded slightly.
	2nd Punjab Infantry ...	Lieutenant A. J. Anderson, (38th Native Infantry.)	Killed.
60	Ditto ditto ...	Lieutenant P. W. Powlett ... <i>4th Infantry Division.</i>	Wounded severely.
	Divisional Staff ...	Lieutenant John Wall, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General.	Killed.
	Ditto ...	Lieutenant S. Chalmers (53rd Native Infantry), Sub-Assistant Commissary-General.	Wounded severely.
	Ditto ...	Lieutenant Ogilvie, Madras Sappers and Miners.	Ditto slightly.
	<i>7th Infantry Brigade.</i>		
	Her Majesty's 10th Foot...	Captain J. Cator ...	Ditto severely.
65	Her Majesty's 20th Regiment.	Major W. Radcliffe ...	Wounded.
	Ditto ditto	Captain A. R. Warren ...	Ditto slightly.
67	Her Majesty's 97th Regiment.	Lieutenant-Colonel T. O. W. Ingram.	Killed.

## ABSTRACT.

19 Officers killed or died of wounds.

48 Do. wounded.

Total 67

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,  
HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP,  
LUCKNOW;  
The 26th March 1858.

(Signed) H. W. NORMAN, *Maj.,*  
*Depty. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.*





*Numerical return of killed, wounded, and missing in the Army under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, from the 2nd to the 21st March 1858—(Conclud.)*

DETAIL.			KILLED.			WOUNDED.			MISSING.					
Divisions.	Brigades.	Corps.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Horses.
1st Infantry Division.	1st Infantry Brigade.	Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers	...	...	...	...	1	...	3	...	...	...	...	...
		Ditto 78th Highlanders	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	2nd Infantry Brigade.	Ditto 90th Light Infantry	...	...	3	...	29	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
		Regiment of Perozepore ...	...	1	2	5	...	45	...	3	...	...	...	...
	Divisional Staff	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2nd Infantry Division.	3rd Infantry Brigade.	Her Majesty's 34th Regiment	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Ditto 38th ditto	...	...	1	...	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Ditto 53rd ditto	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Ditto 42nd Royal Highlanders.	...	...	5	...	39	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	4th Infantry Brigade.	Ditto 93rd Highlanders	...	2	...	13	...	50	...	1	...	...	...	...
3rd Infantry Division.	4th Punjab Rifles	...	...	...	8	...	30	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Brigade Staff ...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	5th Infantry Brigade.	Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers	...	...	4	...	25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Ditto 79th Highlanders	...	...	7	...	21	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	1st European Bengal Fusiliers	...	...	8	...	21	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4th Infantry Division.	2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade	...	1	...	...	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		3rd ditto ditto	...	...	...	1	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
	2nd Punjab Infantry	...	1	1	7	...	32	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Divisional Staff	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Her Majesty's 10th Regiment	...	...	4	...	23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5th Infantry Division.	7th Infantry Brigade.	Ditto 20th ditto	...	...	7	...	28	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Ditto 67th ditto	...	1	...	2	...	21	...	1	...	...	...	...
	Total	...	...	16	3	198	13	51	4	540	63	...	13	32
Grand Total	...	...	127	13	595	63	...	...	...	...	13	32	...	...

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP,  
LUCKNOW;  
The 21st March 1858.

(sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Deputy Adj.-Genl. of the Army.

\* See in original; should be 93.

*Return of ordnance captured from the enemy during the operations at Lucknow by the Army under His Excellency Sir COLIN CAMPBELL, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief.*

Nature of Ordnance.	No.	Weight.	Manufacture and Remarks.
		wt. qrs. lb.	
Ordnance iron gun, 18-pounder ...	1	41 0 0	British manufacture, Native carriage.
Ditto ditto 18 do. ...	1	41 0 0	Ditto two feet knocked off muzzle.
Ditto ditto 12 do. ...	2	14 0 0	Foreign manufacture.
Ditto ditto 9 do. ...	1	17 0 2	British manufacture, trunnions attached by a hoop round the gun.
Ditto ditto 9 do. ...	3	12 0 0	Foreign manufacture, one burst at muzzle.
Ditto ditto 8 do. ...	1	19 0 0	Ditto trunnions attached by a hoop round the gun.
Ditto ditto 7 do. ...	1	9 0 0	Foreign manufacture.
Ditto ditto 6 do. ...	1	7 0 0	Ditto dismantled.
Ditto ditto 6 do. ...	1	17 1 12	British manufacture, Native carriage.
Ditto ditto 6 do. ...	1	16 0 0	Foreign manufacture, hooped, and burst half a foot from muzzle.
Ditto ditto 6 do. ...	2	8 0 0	Foreign manufacture, trunnions attached by hoops round the gun.
Ditto ditto 5 do. ...	1	14 0 0	Foreign manufacture.
Ditto ditto 4 do. ...	2	5 0 0	Ditto ditto.
Ditto ditto 3 do. ...	1	4 0 0	Ditto ditto.
Ditto ditto 3 do. ...	2	3 0 0	Ditto ditto.
Ditto ditto 2 do. ...	3	4 0 0	Ditto ditto one is iron hooped.
Ditto ditto 1 do. ...	1	3 0 0	Ditto ditto.
Ditto ditto 1 and under	17	various.	All foreign manufacture.
Ordnance iron howitzer, 8-inch ...	1	21 0 0	British manufacture.
Ditto carriage, 12-pounder	1	10 0 0	Ditto ditto.
Ordnance brass gun, 32-pounder ...	1	80 0 0	Foreign, vent bouche spring, "Lord Cornwallis" engraved on 1st reinforce ring; "Claude Martin, Lucknow, 1796," on base ring.
Ditto ditto 18 do. ...	2	50 0 0	Foreign, vent bouche spring, "Claude Martin."
Ditto ditto 16 do. ...	1	40 0 0	Foreign, vent bouche spring burst.
Ditto ditto 15 do. ...	2	40 0 0	Ditto vent bouche burst, both bearing the Dolphin crest raised on 1st reinforce and inscribed "Sirkar Iltas Bahadoor."
Ditto ditto 12 do. ...	1	14 0 0	Foreign, vent bouche spring.
Ditto ditto 9 do. ...	3	10 0 0	British manufacture.
Ditto ditto 9 do. ...	4 {	From 16 cwt. } to 6. }	Foreign manufacture, two of them are unfinished, dismantled.
Ditto ditto 6 do. ...	2	8 0 0	Foreign manufacture, "Claude Martin" engraved on base ring, vent bouching blown out.



*Return of ordnance captured from the enemy during the operations at Lucknow by the Army under His Excellency Sir COLIN CAMPBELL, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief.—(Conclud.)*

Nature of Ordnance.	No.	Weight.	Manufacture and Remarks.
		cwt. qrs. lb.	
Ordnance brass gun, 6-pounder ...	1	.....	Foreign manufacture, "Claude Martin" engraved on base ring, vent bouching blown out.
Ditto ditto 6 do ...	3	7 0 0	Foreign manufacture, dismantled and unfinished.
Ditto ditto 5 do. ...	4	6 0 0	Foreign manufacture, 1½ feet blown off muzzle of one.
Ditto ditto 4 do. ...	1	4 0 0	Foreign manufacture, hooped trunnions.
Ditto ditto 3 do. ...	8	5 0 0	Ditto ditto one burst at breech.
Ditto ditto 1½ do. ...	1	3 0 0	Ditto ditto.
Ditto ditto 1 and under	11	various.	Ditto ditto.
Ordnance brass howitzer, 24-pounder	1	10 0 0	"Coates, Perampore."
Ditto ditto 24 do.	1	9 3 3	British manufacture.
Ordnance brass mortar, 12-inch ...	1	15 0 0	Foreign manufacture.
Ditto ditto 11 do. ...	1	11 0 0	Ditto ditto.
Ditto ditto 10 do. ...	2	6 0 0	Ditto ditto.
Ditto ditto 8 do. ...	1	5 0 0	Ditto ditto.
Ditto ditto 6½ do. ...	1	2 1 16	British manufacture, "Sherrwood," Fort William.
Ordnance brass mortar, 4 7-16th ...	1	6 1 0	Foreign manufacture.
Ditto ditto 3 7-16th ...	1	6 2 0	Ditto ditto.
Ordnance brass gun, 18-pounder-10th	1	20 2 0	Foreign manufacture, "Claude Martin."
Ditto ditto 9 ditto ...	2	9 3 0	British manufacture, one of them hooped 1½ feet from muzzle.
Ditto ditto 6 ditto ...	1	8 0 0	Foreign manufacture, chase knocked off.
Ditto ditto 6 ditto ...	1	3 3 27	British manufacture, muzzle much drooped.
Ditto ditto 3 ditto ...	1	6 0 0	Foreign manufacture.
Ordnance howitzer, 24 ditto ...	1	9 3 10	British manufacture, muzzle cut off and hooped.
Ditto iron gun, 9 ditto ...	1	20 0 0	British manufacture.
Ditto ditto 8 ditto ...	1	16 2 26	British manufacture, trunnions hooped.
Ditto ditto 4 ditto ...	2	16 0 0	Foreign ditto, ditto ditto.
Ditto ditto ½ ditto ...	1	0 1 0	Ditto ditto, ditto ditto.
Total number captured ...	113	.....	

Captured by the Garhja Force.

Fourteen guns have been captured since this return was prepared.

CAMP LUCKNOW, }  
The 24th March 1858. }

(True copy.)

(Sd.) E. B. JOHNSON, *Lieut.-Col.,*  
*Asst. Adjt.-Genl., Arty.*

(Sd.) TOD BROWN, *Lieut.,*  
*Compy. of Ordn. with the Army.*

(True copy.)

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Maj.,*  
*Depy. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.*

*Present state of the Army in the Field, under the personal command  
of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.*

Corps.		EFFECTIVE.				
		European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, sergeants, rank and file.	Grand Total.	Horses.
Artillery Division	Naval Brigade (Her Majesty's ship Shannon).	26	...	405	431	...
	Field Artillery Brigade	43	...	727	800	600
	Siege Artillery Brigade	18	...	364	382	...
		87	...	1,526	1,613	800
Engineer Brigade	Royal Engineers	16	...	261	277	...
	Bengal do.	24	13	212	249	...
	Madras Sappers	1	...	...	1	...
	Punjab Pioneers	6	20	755	781	...
	Delhi Pioneers, (unarmed)	3	8	743	754	...
Cavalry Division.		50	41	1,911	2,002	...
	Her Majesty's 9th Lancers	20	...	434	454	423
	2nd Battalion, Military Train	12	...	198	210	213
	1st Sikh Irregular Cavalry (Wales' Horse).	6	15	443	464	441
	2nd Punjab Cavalry	8	20	492	520	572
	Detachment, 5th Punjab Cavalry	4	4	80	91	90
	Detachment, 12th Irregular Cavalry and Oudh Irregular Cavalry.	1	5	62	68	44
	Her Majesty's 2nd Dragoon Guards.	29	...	442	471	443
	Her Majesty's 7th Hussars	29	...	391	422	413
	Volunteer Cavalry	9	...	50	59	62
	Detachment, 1st Punjab Cavalry	4	4	100	108	106
	Hodson's Horse	7	12	724	743	707
		132	61	3,430	3,613	3,287
1st Infantry Division.	Her Majesty's 6th Fusiliers	22	...	512	534	...
	Ditto 84th Regiment	22	...	642	663	...
	1st Madras Fusiliers	20	...	456	489	...
	Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders	13	...	501	519	...
	Ditto 90th Light Infantry.	34	...	702	736	...
	Regiment of Eroozepore	3	20	390	323	...
	Her Majesty's 34th Regiment	30	...	583	573	...
	Ditto 35th ditto	48	...	938	940	...
	Ditto 53rd ditto	35	...	776	811	...
	Her Majesty's 42nd Royal Highlanders.	40	...	833	879	...
	Her Majesty's 63rd Royal Highlanders.	36	...	900	936	...
	4th Punjab Rifles	9	10	451	470	...
2nd Infantry Division.	Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers	54	...	825	879	...
	Ditto 79th Highlanders	40	...	808	908	...
	1st Bengal Fusiliers	30	...	546	576	...
	Her Majesty's 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.	37	...	750	793	...
	Her Majesty's 3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.	43	...	834	877	...
	2nd Punjab Infantry	9	15	566	590	...
3rd Infantry Division.		359	45	11,940	12,543	...
	Total	827	147	18,707	19,771	4,517
Grand Total		827	147	18,707	19,771	4,517

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP  
BEFORE LUCKNOW.  
The 2nd March 1858.

(Sd.)

H. W. NORMAN, Maj.

Deputy Adj.-Genl. of the Army.



*Abstract of Effectives.*

Corps.	EFFECTIVE.				
	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned off. sergeants, drummers, rank and file.	Total.	Horses.
Artillery	87	...	1,320	1,407	939
Engineers, (744 unarmed Pioneers included)	50	41	1,911	2,002	...
Cavalry	133	61	3,430	3,624	3,587
Infantry	555	45	11,940	12,540	...
Total	825	147	18,707	19,771	4,517
Grand Total	19,771				4,517

(Sd.)

H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Depty. Adj.-Genl. of the Army.*Present state of the Field Force under the command of  
Brigadier-General T. H. FRANKS, C.B.*

Corps.		EFFECTIVE.				
		European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Total.	Horses.
Artillery	8th Company, 2nd Battalion, Royal Artillery.	4	...	46	53	.....
	9th Company, 13th Battalion, Royal Artillery.	5	...	120	134	111
	14th Company, 5th Battalion, Bengal Artillery.	1	...	26	27	.....
	Detail of A Company, 3rd Battalion, Madras Artillery.	4	...	126	130	82
	Total	17	...	327	344	193
Cavalry	Detachment, Benares Horse	...	3	82	85	70
	Ditto Lahore Light Horse	11	...	122	133	141
	Ditto Pathan Horse	2	3	104	109	83
	Ditto 3rd Sikh Irregular Cavalry.	...	3	211	216	118
	Total	13	11	519	543	417
British Infantry	Her Majesty's 10th Regiment	31	...	667	698	.....
	Ditto 20th ditto	31	...	645	676	.....
	Ditto 97th ditto	38	...	575	613	.....
Gurkhas*	Infantry and Artillery 6 Battalions	10	90	2,913	3,013	.....
Total		110	96	4,800	5,006	.....
Grand Total		140	107	5,646	5,893	610

\* N. B.—The Gurkhas were withdrawn from General Franks, and joined the Maharajah Jung Bhadoor's force on the Maharajah's arrival.

CAMP BEFORE LUCKNOW.

(Sd.)

H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Depty. Adj.-Genl. of the Army.

The 4th March 1858.

*Abstract of Effectives.*

Corps.				EFFECTIVES.				
				European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Total.	Horses.
Artillery	...	...	...	17	...	327	344	103
Cavalry	...	...	...	39	11	619	541	417
Infantry	...	...	...	110	90	4,800	5,000	...
Total				140	107	5,640	5,899	610
Grand Total				5,899				610

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Maj.*,  
*Depty. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.*

(True copies.)

(Sd.) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.*,  
*Secy. to the Govt. of India, Mly. Dept.*

*Roll of officers who have served under Brigadier R. NAPIER, Commanding Engineer Brigade, during the operations at Lucknow in March 1858, and who are deemed deserving of honourable mention.*

Corps or detachment.	Rank and names.		Remarks.
Royal Engineers...	Colonel Harness, Commanding Royal Engineers.		In charge of the arrangement for taking the Emambara, and highly energetic and valuable services in securing the Kaiser Bagh when the place was carried by a few of our troops, and general cordial co-operation.
Ditto	...	Major Nicholson	Conducted most satisfactorily and with great energy and judgment all siege operations across the river with the division under Major-General Sir J. Outram, G.C.B.
Ditto	...	Captain W. O. Lennox	Senior Field Engineer on the attack on the Martinière, actively employed in all the attacks before and on the Kaiser Bagh. Especially mentioned for honourable notice by Colonel Harness, R.E.
Ditto	...	Captain Clérke	Adjutant of the Royal Engineers.
Ditto	...	Lieutenant F. Beaumont	Very useful in fortifying position taken by Major Wilde's Sikhs across the canal entrenchment, having accompanied their advance. In attack on Emambara took a house which turned the enemy's defences, in part breached their outer wall, and enabled Major Brasyer's Sikhs to assault successfully, and materially aided the general assault. In attack on Kaiser Bagh accompanied advance of Sikhs up Choenee Bazar into a position in a gateway which commanded the Kaiser Bagh. Especially brought to notice by Colonel Harness, R. E.



*Roll of officers who have served under Brigadier R. NAPIER, Commanding Engineer Brigade, during the operations at Lucknow in March 1858, and who are deemed deserving of honourable mention.—(Contd.)*

Corps or detachment.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
Bengal Engineers	Lieutenant P. T. Scratchley.	Orderly officer, attended me on all occasions, and was particularly useful.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant C. E. Wynne	Especially recommended for notice by Major Nicholson, R. E., for the manner in which he removed a breastwork from the iron bridge under a heavy fire. Recommended by Major Nicholson for the Victoria Cross.
Bengal Engineers	Major A. Taylor, Commanding Bengal Engineers.	Invaluable services and energy in preparation of the Engineer Park. Great energy in charge of the arrangement for attacking Banks' house and Begum's Palace; very valuable and cordial co-operation and assistance in all duties.
Ditto ...	Captain G. Hutchinson, Brigade-Major.	Directing Engineer with Major-General Sir James Outram, G. C. B., in the attacks on the Residency, Muchee Bhowun and the Emambara.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant Greathed ...	Directing Engineer in the attacks on Banks' house and Emambara, also on 17th, and with Major-General Sir James Outram, G. C. B., in taking the Moosa Bagh. Especially recommended for notice by Colonel Harness, R. E.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant Gulliver, Commanding Punjab Sappers.	Attack on the D. Bungalow.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant Maunsell, Commanding Bengal Sappers.	Attack on the Begum's Palace.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant Medley ...	Occupied the Kuddum Rasool with Lieutenants Lang and Carnegie, one non-commissioned officer and four privates; held the Shah Nujeeff with Lieutenant Champain and 50 Punjab Sappers, all other troops being withdrawn on the night of the 8th within 200 yards of the enemy. Prominently engaged in attacks on Emambara, Kaiser Bagh, and Moosa Bagh.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant Hovenden ...	Very highly mentioned by Major Nicholson, R. E., for services rendered in siege operations across the Goomti.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant Brownlow, (since dead from a powder explosion.)	Prominently engaged in attacks on Emambara, on which occasion he led a party across the main road and drove the enemy out of a house important to hold, but was forced to retire owing to the heavy musketry fire of the enemy; particularly useful in the attacks on the Residency Bridges, Muchee Bhowun and Emambara.

*Roll of officers who have served under Brigadier R. NAPIER, Commanding Engineer Brigade, during the operations at Lucknow in March 1858, and who are deemed deserving of honourable mention—(Concl'd.)*

Corps or detachment.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
Bengal Engineers	Lieutenant Lang ...	Commanded a Sapper party in attack on the Martinière and canal entrenchment, into which he accompanied the advance of the Highlanders.  With Lieutenant Medley when he occupied the Kuddam Russool with his small party, engaged in the attacks on the Emambara, and with the foremost party of Sikhs in the Kaiser Bagh.
Ditto	Lieutenant Humphrey ..	Adjutant, Bengal Engineers.
Ditto	Lieutenant Champain, Adjutant, Bengal Sappers.	With Lieutenant Medley when he held the Shah Nujeeff on night of 8th with 50 Sappers.  Exceedingly useful in the attacks on the Residency Bridges, Machee Bhowun and Emambara.
Ditto	Lieutenant Pemberton...	Director of the Park, the duties of which important position he has fulfilled to my entire satisfaction.
Ditto	Ditto Carnegie ...	One of the three officers and four men who occupied the Kuddam Russool.
Madras Engineers	Ditto Scott ...	Actively engaged in all attacks on the Begum's Palace and Kaiser Bagh.
Madras Native Infantry with Madras Sappers.	Ensign Ogilvy ...	Engaged in attack on the Emambara and Kaiser Bagh, in the taking of the latter he accompanied the most advanced party of Her Majesty's 10th Foot under Captain Norman, assisted in the defence of their post, and went through a heavy fire to bring up reinforcements, which he did, remaining with them until severely wounded.  Captain Norman publicly thanks Ensign Ogilvy for his services.
Bengal Native Infantry.	Lieutenant A. Tulloch, doing duty with detachment.	Orderly Officer to Brigadier Napier. Attended me on all occasions, and was particularly active and useful.

(True copy.)

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Maj.*,  
*Depy. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.*

(Sd.) R. NAPIER, *Brigr.*,  
*Chief Engineer.*



*Roll of officers who have served under Brigadier-General Sir EDWARD LUGARD, K.C.B., Commanding 2nd Infantry Division, during the operations at Lucknow in March 1858, and who are deemed deserving of honourable mention.*

Corps or detachment.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
93rd Highlanders	Brigadier Hon'ble A. Hope.	Merits especial notice, has given me most valuable aid, and was actively engaged throughout.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant-Colonel Leith Hay.	Commanded the 93rd Highlanders on every occasion.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon.	Commanded the advance on the 11th and 21st. A most excellent and gallant officer.
Ditto ...	Captain Middleton	} Senior Captains, who led the advance companies on the 11th instant.
Ditto ...	Captain Clarke	
Ditto ...	Lieutenant and Adjutant McBean.	Displayed great personal bravery on the 11th. A gallant, good officer.
42nd Highlanders	Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron.	Commanded the 42nd Highlanders, and well worthy of mention.
Ditto ...	Major Priestly ...	A most zealous officer and did good service.
Ditto ...	Captain Drysdale ...	} Senior Captains, conspicuous for good service.
Ditto ...	Captain M'Leod ...	
4th Punjab Rifles	Major Wilde ...	Commanded the regiment, conspicuous for his gallantry on every occasion, was badly wounded on the 21st.
Ditto ...	Captain Hood ...	Second-in-command, ably supported Major Wilde, was also badly wounded on 21st.
53rd Foot ...	Lieutenant-Colonel English, c.s.	} Commanding { Though not so actively engaged as the 4th Brigade, deserve honourable mention for seizing and holding Secundra Bagh on the 11th.
Ditto ...	Major Payne ...	
35th Foot, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.	Captain Stewart ...	Was wounded on the 9th instant, gave me satisfaction in the performance of his duties.
1st Native Infantry, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.	" Dawson ...	Acted for Captain Stewart from 10th to 23rd instant, gave me satisfaction in the performance of his duties.
29th Foot, Aide-de-Camp.	" Middleton ...	One of the most gallant and intelligent officers I have ever had under me, he accompanied the advance at every attack.

*Roll of officers who have served under Brigadier-General Sir EDWARD LUGARD, K.C.B., Commanding 2nd Infantry Division, during the operations at Lucknow in March 1858, and who are deemed deserving of honourable mention—(Contd.)*

Corps or detachment.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
9th Lancers, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General.	Lieutenant Scott ...	Has done his work well, and given me great assistance.
12th Native Infantry, Aide-de-Camp.	Lieutenant McNeill ...	A most intelligent and meritorious officer, has given me great aid.
Bengal Engineers	Major Taylor ...	Accompanied the advance on the 11th when he was wounded.
Royal Engineers...	Lieutenant-Colonel Haraess.	Accompanied the advance on the 11th, and continued Major Taylor's duties, was indefatigable throughout.
10th Foot, on special duty.	Lieutenant-Colonel Longden.	Has given me valuable aid throughout, and accompanied the advance on the 11th.
Royal Engineers	Lieutenant Scratchley.	} Accompanied the advance party on the 11th with powder bags and ladders.
Madras Sappers...	Lieutenant Scott	
75th Foot, Brigade-Major.	Captain Cox	} Strongly recommended by Brigadier Hope and equally so by me.
93rd Highlanders, Orderly Officer.	Lieutenant Butler	
Naval Brigade ...	Conductor Vaughan	} Rendered most important service throughout, especially in breaching the works on the 11th and subsequent days, and bringing the guns to the front after the assault.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant Young	
Bengal Native Infantry.	Captain Miles	} In charge of Gurkhas who joined the attack on the 11th instant.
Ditto ...	" W. Smith	
5th Fusiliers ...	Brigadier Guy ...	Commanding 3rd Brigade.
53rd Foot, Brigade-Major.	Captain Fendall ...	Brigade-Major.
34th Foot ...	Lieutenant-Colonel R. D. Kelly ...	Commanding regiment.
		} Merit my best thanks for their exertions throughout the operations.



*Roll of officers who have served under Brigadier-General Sir EDWARD LUGARD, K.C.B., Commanding 2nd Infantry Division, during the operations at Lucknow in March 1858, and who are deemed deserving of honourable mention.—(Concl'd.)*

Corps or detachment.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
38th Foot ...	Lieutenant-Colonel J. Sparks, c. n.	Commanding regiment.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant-Colonel T. C. Kelly.	Ditto when Lieutenant-Colonel Sparks was otherwise engaged.

Merit my best thanks for their exertions throughout the operations.

The medical officers of the division merit great praise for their admirable arrangements for the wounded.

HEAD-QUARTERS,  
2ND DIVISION;  
The 24th March 1858. }

(Sd.) E. LUGARD, *Brigr.-Genl.,*  
*Comdg. 2nd Infy. Divn.*

(True copy.)

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Maj.,*  
*Depty. Adj't.-Genl. of the Army.*

*Roll of officers who have served under Brigadier-General R. WALPOLE, Commanding 3rd Infantry Division, during the operations at Lucknow in March 1858, and who are deemed deserving of honourable mention.*

Corps or detachment.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
79th Regiment ...	Brigadier Douglas, c.n.	Commanded the 5th Brigade of Infantry during operations, and very much distinguished himself, especially in the actions of 9th and 11th.
3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.	Brigadier Horsford, c.n.	Commanded the 6th Brigade of Infantry during operations, and very much distinguished himself, especially in the actions of 9th and 11th.
79th Regiment ...	Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor, c.n.	Commanded his regiment and distinguished himself during the operations, including the actions of 9th and 11th.
2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.	Lieutenant-Colonel Hill.	Ditto ditto
3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.	Lieutenant-Colonel McDonnell, c.n.	Ditto ditto
23rd Regiment ...	Lieutenant-Colonel Wells.	Ditto Ditto

*Roll of officers who have served under Brigadier-General R. WALPOLE, Commanding 3rd Infantry Division, during the operations at Lucknow in March 1858, and who are deemed deserving of honourable mention—(Contd.)*

Corps or detachment.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
23rd Regiment ...	Lieutenant-Colonel Pratt.	Commanded column, consisting of 23rd Regiment and 2nd Punjab Infantry on 11th when the iron bridge was secured, and distinguished himself on this occasion.
2nd Punjab Infantry.	Brevet-Major Green	Commanded his regiment, and distinguished himself during the operations, including the actions of 9th and 11th.
1st Bengal Fusiliers.	Captain Hume ...	Commanded his regiment, and distinguished himself during the operations subsequent to the 9th, and including the actions of 9th and 11th.
1st Bengal Fusiliers.	" Cunliffe ...	Commanded his regiment and distinguished himself in the operations prior to the 9th, when Captain Hume, his senior officer, superseded him (including attack on camp on 7th.)
17th Regiment, Native Infantry.	" Carey, Deputy Quarter-master-General, 3rd Division.	These officers particularly distinguished themselves during the recent operations, and are specially recommended for their intelligence, zeal, and usefulness on all occasions.
71st Regiment, Native Infantry.	Captain Barwell, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, 3rd Division.	
7th Regiment, Light Cavalry.	Captain Warner, Aide-de-Camp.	Distinguished himself very much by his intelligence and exertions during recent operations.
2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.	Lieutenant Eccles ..	Served as Orderly Officer to the Brigadier-General, and was very active and useful.
78th Regiment ...	Captain McPherson, Brigade-Major, 5th Brigade.	Recommended by Brigadier Commanding 5th Brigade as having been very active and useful.
75th " ...	Captain and Brevet-Major Mollan, Brigade-Major, 6th Brigade.	Recommended by Brigadier Commanding 6th Brigade as having been very active and useful.
3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.	Captain and Brevet-Major Ross.	Served as Orderly Officer to Brigadier Commanding 6th Brigade, and recommended as having been active and useful.
Ditto	Captain Lindsay ...	Commanded a company for the protection of a heavy battery, on which occasion he succeeded in silencing a battery of the enemy's the fire from which was very galling.



*Roll of officers who have served under Brigadier-General R. WALPOLE, Commanding 3rd Infantry Division, during the operations at Lucknow in March 1858, and who are deemed deserving of honourable mention—(Concl'd.)*

Corps or detachment.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
23rd Regiment ...	Captain Duff ...	Recommended by Lieutenant-Colonel Wells, Commanding 23rd Regiment, for having distinguished themselves in the advance on the iron bridge on the 11th instant.
23rd " ...	" Prevost ...	
Royal Artillery ...	" Gibbon ...	
2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.	" Nixon ...	Commanded Field Battery, and distinguished himself during recent operations, including actions of 9th and 11th.
3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.	" and Brevet-Major Warren.	Distinguished himself in command of his company in action of the 9th while skirmishing, and is most active and forward in the field and zealous in his duty on all occasions.
Ditto	Captain Willmot ...	Commanded a company on 11th instant in attack on iron bridge, when he behaved most gallantly in defeating a large force of the enemy.
2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.	Lieutenant Grey ...	Especially distinguished himself in saving a wounded soldier of his company from falling into the hands of the enemy, by repeatedly returning their fire while they were pressing on him, the only other two soldiers present being engaged in carrying the wounded man to the rear.
79th Regiment ...	Captain Maitland ...	Commanded a company on 11th instant in attack on iron bridge when he behaved most gallantly in defeating a large force of the enemy.
Ditto	" Stevenson ...	Recommended by Brigadier Douglas, c.n., Commanding 5th Brigade, for having distinguished himself generally during recent operations.
1st Bengal Fusiliers.	Captain Salisbury ...	Distinguished himself in command of advanced picket on night of 9th when attacked by a considerable force of the enemy.
79th Regiment ...	Lieutenant Walker ...	Distinguished himself during recent operations and is highly spoken of by his commanding officer.
48th Native Infantry, doing duty 2nd Punjab Infantry ...	Captain Green ...	Served as Orderly Officer to Brigadier Commanding 5th Brigade and recommended as having been active and useful.
2nd Punjab Infantry.	Lieutenant and Adjutant Fisher.	Distinguished himself on picket near iron bridge on 11th instant and again on 16th, when the enemy attacked the pickets in considerable force and were repulsed.
		Distinguished himself generally during recent operations, and highly spoken of by his commanding officer.

LOCKNOW, }  
The 25th March 1858. }

(Sd.) R. WALPOLE, *Brigr.-Genl.*,

*Comdg. 3rd Divn.*

*Roll of officers who have served under Major-General Sir A. WILSON, Baronet, K. C. B., Commanding Artillery Division, during the operations at Lucknow in March 1858, and who are deemed deserving of honourable mention.*

Corps or detachment.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
Naval Brigade, H. M.'s Ship <i>Shannon</i> .	Captain Sir W. Peel, K.C.B.	Wounded. Thanked for his admirable arrangements in command of the Naval Brigade.
Ditto ..	Commander J. W. Vaughan.	Succeeded to command of Naval Brigade on Captain Peel being wounded. Prominently noticed.
Ditto ...	Captain, T. C. Gray ...	Commanding Royal Marine Light Infantry.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant W. C. F. Wilson.	
Ditto ...	Lieutenant W. R. Wratislaw, (super-numerary).	
Royal Horse Artillery.	Brigadier D. E. Wood, C.B., Commanding Field Artillery.	Thanked for the great and ready assistance afforded to Sir A. Wilson.
Royal Artillery ...	Brigadier G. Barker, C.B., Commanding Siege Artillery.	Thanked for his invaluable assistance and untiring zeal and energy.
Bengal " ...	Lieutenant-Colonel C. Hogge, Director of Ordnance.	Most zealous and indefatigable.
Royal " ...	Lieutenant-Colonel C. J. B. Riddell.	Thanked for his excellent services. Commanded the Siege Artillery on the left bank of the Goomti.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant-Colonel E. Maberly.	Thanked for energetic assistance.
Royal Horse Artillery ...	Lieutenant-Colonel C. L. D'Aguilar, C.B.	Commanded Royal Horse Artillery.
Bengal Horse Artillery.	Lieutenant-Colonel B. Tombs, C.B.	Commanding a Troop, Bengal Horse Artillery.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant-Colonel F. Turner.	Ditto Bengal Horse Artillery.



*Roll of officers who have served under Major-General Sir A. WILSON, Baronet, K.C.B., Commanding Artillery Division, during the operations at Lucknow in March 1858, and who are deemed deserving of honourable mention.—(Contd.)*

Corps or detach- ment.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
Bengal Artillery...	Lieutenant-Colonel E. B. Johnson, Assistant Adjutant-General of Artillery.	Thanked for unwearied and indefatigable exertions.
Madras „ ...	Major G. S. Cotter ...	Commanding a field battery.
Royal Horse Ar- tillery.	Major J. R. Anderson, c.B.	Ditto Troop, Royal Horse Artillery.
Ditto ...	Major H. P. Yates ...	Ditto ditto ditto.
Royal Artillery ...	Major J. F. Pennywick.	
Ditto ...	Major W. W. Barry ...	Severely injured by an explosion while endeavouring to prevent accidents from the loose powder in the Kaiser Bagh.
Ditto ...	Major W. G. Le Mesurier.	
Bengal Artillery...	Major H. A. Carleton.	Senior officer of Bengal Foot Artillery. Thanked for his energetic assistance.
Royal „ ...	Major N. O. S. Turner.	
Ditto ...	Major F. C. Maude.	
Bengal Horse Ar- tillery.	Major F. F. Remington.	Commanding a troop.
20th Regt., Bengal Native Infantry.	Major C. H. Barchard.	Aid-de-Camp to Sir A. Wilson. Thanked for indefatigable exertions.
Royal Artillery ...	Captain W. A. Middleton.	Commanding a field battery.
Ditto ...	Captain J. R. Gibbon.	Ditto ditto.
Ditto ...	„ C. Waller.	
Bengal Artillery...	„ G. Moir.	
Royal „ ...	„ J. E. Thring.	
Ditto ...	„ C. F. Young.	
Ditto „	„ H. L. Talbot.	
Ditto ...	„ J. M. Campbell.	Orderly Officer to Brigadier Barker. Thanked for his very valuable assistance.

*Roll of officers who have served under Major-General Sir A. WILSON, Baronet, K.C.B., Commanding Artillery Division, during the operations at Lucknow, in March 1858, and who are deemed deserving of honourable mention.—(Concl'd.)*

Corps or detachment.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
Bengal Artillery...	Captain W. A. Mackinnon.	Commanding a troop.
Royal ditto ...	Captain W. H. Goodenough.	
Ditto ...	Captain A. C. Johnson.	
Bengal Artillery...	Ditto A. Pearson.	
„ Horse Artillery.	Lieutenant A. Bunny.	Brigade-Major of Siege Artillery. Particularly thanked.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant H. P. Bishop.	Commanding a troop.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant J. S. Frith.	Brigade-Major of Field Artillery. Particularly thanked.
Bengal Artillery...	Lieutenant E. Simeon.	
Ditto ...	Lieutenant W. Tod Brown.	Commissary of Ordnance. Highly praised for his admirable arrangements of the immense park.
Royal Artillery ...	Lieutenant T. G. E. Warren.	
Ditto ...	Lieutenant H. C. S. Dyer.	
Ditto ...	Lieutenant M. H. FitzMaurice.	
Ditto ...	Lieutenant R. Bidāulph.	Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General. Thanked for unwearied and indefatigable exertions.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant E. C. Cuthbert.	Distinguished by gallant conduct on the 13th.
Her Majesty's 60th Rifles.	Lieutenant H. G. Deedes.	Extra Aide-de-Camp. Thanked for indefatigable exertions.
Royal Artillery ...	Lieutenant J. C. Kyle.	

Names extracted from Sir A. Wilson's report, that officer having left Lucknow and a roll not being obtainable.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,  
HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP,  
LUCKNOW;  
The 26th March 1858.

(Sd.)

H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,

Depty. Adj't.-Genl. of the Army.



*Nominal roll of officers of H. M.'s Ship "Shannon's" Brigade serving under Captain Sir WILLIAM PEEL, K.C.B., who are deemed worthy of promotion or of honourable mention for their services during the campaign and in the capture of Lucknow, March 1858.*

Lieutenant Thomas J. Young (Gunnery Officer of H. M.'s Ship *Shannon*).—This officer has been distinguished in every engagement by his cool courage and admirable skill as a gunnery officer: has been specially employed on all critical occasions, and has been named for the Victoria Cross. Recommended for promotion.

Lieutenant Nowell Salmon.—An excellent officer; distinguished himself in the *Shannon's* Brigade at the relief of Lucknow, was severely wounded, and named for the Victoria Cross. Recommended for promotion.

Mr. Edmund H. Verney, Senior Acting Mate, zealous and well conducted. Recommended for promotion.

*Officers not eligible for promotion, but worthy of honourable mention.*

Lord Walter T. Kerr, Midshipman. Has had an independent command: is very highly recommended.

Lord A. P. Clinton, and } Midshipmen.—Have behaved admirably, and are very promising officers.  
Mr. E. J. Church, }

LUCKNOW; } (Sd.) W. PEEL, Capt., R.N.,  
The 31st March 1858. } Comdg. "Shannon's" Naval Brigade.

*Roll of officers who have served under Brigadier W. CAMPBELL, Commanding 2nd Cavalry Brigade, during the operations at Lucknow in March 1858, and who are deemed deserving of honourable mention.*

Corps or Detachment.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
Bengal Horse Artillery.	Lieutenant-Colonel Tombs, c.n.	Commanded 2nd Troop, 1st Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery.
Her Majesty's 7th Queen's Own Hussars.	" " Hagart ...	This officer commanding cavalry on March 19th, dashed into the midst of a number of the enemy in the attempt to rescue Cornet Banks, who was on the ground wounded.
Ditto ditto ...	Major Sir W. Russell, Baronet.	Commanded the rear-guard on the 19th March, and the regiment on the 20th and 21st instant.

*Roll of officers who have served under Brigadier W. CAMPBELL, Commanding 2nd Cavalry Brigade during the operations at Lucknow in March 1858, and who are deemed deserving of honourable mention.—(Concl'd.)*

Corps or detachment.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
Her Majesty's 7th Queen's Own Hussars.	Captain Slade ...	This officer on 19th March gallantly led his troop against a party of the enemy who attacked the guns. He was wounded.
Ditto ditto ...	Lieutenant Wilkins ...	This officer on 19th March made a brave attempt to rescue Cornet Banks, who was surrounded by the enemy and was wounded.
Ditto ditto ...	Cornet Banks ...	This officer, when his Captain was wounded on 19th March, gallantly led on the troop against the enemy who were advancing upon the guns, killed 3, and received 11 wounds.
Ditto ditto ...	Lieutenant Topham ...	This officer, when acting as Orderly Officer to Brigadier Campbell rode over a difficult country exposed to the enemy's fire, and brought to the front a party of Irregular Horse.
Bengal Artillery ...	Major Olpherts ...	Commanded No. 12 Light Field Battery.
78th Highlanders ...	Brigadier Stisted ...	Commanded Brigade of Infantry.
Brigade-Major ...	Major Bouverie ...	
78th Highlanders ...	Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton ...	Commanded 78th Highlanders.
5th Fusiliers ...	Major Master ...	Do. 5th Fusiliers.
1st Sikh Irregular Cavalry.	Captain Wale ...	This officer showed on all occasions great zeal in command of his regiment, and on 21st March led it most successfully in pursuit of the enemy till he was shot.
1st Sikh Irregular Cavalry.	Lieutenant the Hon'ble A. Chichester.	This officer distinguished himself in leading his regiment in pursuit of the enemy after the death of Captain Wale.
Hodson's Horse ...	Major Daly, c.n. ...	This officer by his activity and zeal, added to his knowledge of Indian warfare, has been of great service to the Brigadier he served under.
Brigade-Major ...	Captain Forbes ...	} Afforded every assistance.
Deputy Assistant Quarter-master- General.	Lieutenant Wilkinson ...	
Deputy Assistant Commissary-Gen- eral.	Captain Bridge ...	
Orderly Officer.	Lieutenant R. F. Campbell, 5th Madras Cavalry.	

CAMP NEAR LUCKNOW; }  
The 26th March 1858. }

(Sd.)

W. CAMPBELL, *Brigr,*  
*Comdg. 2nd Cav. Brigade.*

(Examined.)

(Sd.) H. FORBES, *Capt.,**Bde.-Maj., 2nd Cav. Brigade.*



*List of officers who have served under Brigadier-General T. H. FRANKS, C. B., and who are honourably mentioned in his report.*

Corps or detachment.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
4th Division Staff...	Major Sir H. M. Havelock, Baronet, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.	Highly thanked for gallantry and merit.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant H. Henderson, Her Majesty's 10th Regiment, Aid-de-Camp to Brigadier-General Franks.	
Ditto ...	Lieutenant S. Cary, 37th Native Infantry, Orderly Officer to Brigadier-General Franks.	Mentioned for intrepidity.
2nd Infantry Brigade Staff.	Brigadier D. Russell, Commanding.	Thanked for his zealous and able support throughout, and particularly in the capture of the Kaiser Bagh, &c.
Ditto ...	Captain Spurgin, 1st Madras Fusiliers, Major of Brigade.	
Her Majesty's 38th Regiment.	Lieutenant-Colonel J. P. Sparks ...	Commanding.
Her Majesty's 84th Regiment.	Captain T. Lightfoot ...	Ditto.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant F. Hardy ...	Orderly Officer.
Her Majesty's 90th Regiment.	Lieutenant-Colonel W. P. Purnell...	Commanding.
Regiment of Ferozepore.	Major J. Brasyer (Unattached) ...	Commanding, mentioned for distinguished gallantry.
7th Infantry Brigade Brigade Staff ...	Brigadier F. C. Eveleigh, C.B., Commanding.	Particularly thanked.
Ditto ...	Captain A. B. Johnson, (5th Native Infantry) Major of Brigade.	
Ditto ...	Ensign C. T. Burne, Her Majesty's 20th Regiment, Brigade-Quartermaster.	
Her Majesty's 10th Regiment.	Lieutenant-Colonel W. Fenwick ...	Commanding.
Ditto ...	" " H. R. Longden, attached to Gurkha Force.	Rendered most valuable assistance.
Ditto ...	Captain H. R. Norman ...	Held a gate of the palace with a sub-division against repeated attempts of the enemy to re-take it.
Her Majesty's 10th Regiment.	Captain T. F. C. Aonesly ...	Highly distinguished.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant Percy Beale ...	
Her Majesty's 20th Regiment.	Lieutenant-Colonel G. M. Lys ...	
Ditto ...	Major W. P. Radcliffe ...	Wounded in a personal encounter.
Her Majesty's 97th Regiment.	Lieutenant-Colonel G. C. Legh.	
Uncovenanted Civil Service.	Pat. Carnegie, Esq. ...	Intelligence Department.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE;  
HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP,  
LUCKNOW;  
The 26th March 1858.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Maj.,  
Depty. Adj. Genl. of the Army.

*Roll of officers who have served under Brigadier-General Sir J. HOPE GRANT, K.C.B., Commanding the Cavalry Division, during the operations at Lucknow in March 1858, and who are deemed deserving of honourable mention.*

Corps or detachment.	Rank and Names.	Remarks.
Brigadier Commanding 1st Cavalry Brigade.	Colonel C. Hagart, 7th Hussars...	Colonel Hagart showed much zeal and paid great attention to his brigade.
Commanding Her Majesty's 2nd Dragoon Guards.	Lieutenant-Colonel H. Brisco ...	Colonel Brisco commanded his regiment.
Commanding Troop, Royal Horse Artillery.	Lieutenant-Colonel C. L. D'Aguilar, C.B.	Colonel D'Aguilar commanded his troop with great zeal and ability.
Commanding 2nd Troop, 3rd Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery.	Captain W. A. Mackinnon ...	Both excellent officers, and were of great use to the Cavalry Brigade.
Commanding 1st Troop, 1st Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery.	Captain and Brevet-Major F. P. Beaumington.	
Commanding outposts.	Major H. R. Keene, 2nd Dragoon Guards.	Major Keene was most useful in taking charge of the outposts.
Commanding Her Majesty's 18th Lancers.	Major the Hon'ble C. Powys ...	Major Powys commanded his regiment, which behaved most gallantly.
Commanding 2nd Regiment, Punjab Cavalry.	Captain S. J. Brown ...	Nothing could be better than the conduct of Captain Brown and his regiment.
Commanding Squadron, 1st Punjab Cavalry.	Lieutenant J. Watson ..	I cannot speak too highly of Captain Watson.
Ditto ditto	" J. P. Cosserrat ...	Captain Cosserrat is a most excellent officer, and performed his duty on this occasion well.
Commanding Detachment, 8th Punjab Cavalry.	" G. W. C. Plowden ...	Captain Plowden promises to be an excellent officer, and commanded his regiment well.
Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.	Captain and Brevet-Major W. Hamilton, 9th Lancers.	Major Hamilton was most useful.
Aide-de-Camp to Brigadier-General Sir J. Hope Grant, K.C.B.	Captain A. H. A. Anson, 84th Regiment.	Captain Anson was also most useful.
Extra Aide-de-Camp to Brigadier-General Sir J. Hope Grant, K.C.B.	Captain C. P. Johnson, 9th Lancers	No one could be more zealous or useful than Captain Johnson.
Brigade-Major, 1st Cavalry Brigade.	" H. A. Sarel, 17th Lancers	Captain Sarel performed his duties to the entire satisfaction of Brigadier Hagart.
Deputy Assistant Quarter-master-General.	Lieutenant F. S. Roberts, Bengal Horse Artillery.	Lieutenant Roberts was most useful to me as Deputy Assistant Quarter-master-General.
Orderly Officer to Brigadier-General Sir J. Hope Grant, K.C.B.	Lieutenant C. W. Havelock, 12th Irregular Cavalry.	Lieutenant Havelock was very useful.
Orderly Officer to Brigadier Hagart.	Lieutenant A. P. W. Gore, 7th Hussars.	Captain Gore was also very useful to Brigadier Hagart.

CAMP, LUCKNOW CASTONMESTA,  
The 30th March 1858.

(sd.) J. HOPE GRANT, *Brig.-Genl.*,  
Comdg. Cav. Divn.



OFFICERS UNDER MAJOR-GENERAL SIR J. OUTRAM HONOURABLY MENTIONED 569

*Roll of officers who have served under Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, G.C.B., Commanding the 1st Infantry Division, during the operations at Lucknow in March 1858, and who are deemed deserving of honourable mention.*

Corps or detachment.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
Commanding 3rd Division.	Brigadier-General Walpole.	Afforded me the most cordial support, and most ably carried out the operations which fell to his share.
Commanding Cavalry Division.	Brigadier-General Sir J. Hope Grant.	The Brigadier was unceasing in the vigilance and activity with which he carried on his most onerous duties, and I derived much valuable assistance from him.
Commanding Engineers	Brigadier Napier ...	Afforded me his able professional advice, and most zealously aided me.
Ditto Field Artillery.	Brigadier Wood, C.B.	Commanded Field Artillery, and carried on the duties to my entire satisfaction.
Commanding 5th Brigade.	Brigadier Douglas ..	Commanded his brigade throughout all the operations, and carried out his instructions with signal ability and success.
Commanding 6th Brigade.	Brigadier Horsford ...	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier-General Walpole, and ably commanded his brigade.
Military Secretary to Chief Commissioner in Oudh.	Colonel Berkeley, Her Majesty's 32nd Foot.	I have on several occasions expressed the opinion I have formed of Colonel Berkeley's services, and the assistance I have derived from him during the course of these operations is an additional obligation I am under to this most deserving officer.
Royal Artillery ...	Lieutenant-Colonel Riddell.	Commanded siege-train much to my satisfaction.
Ditto H. A. ...	Lieutenant-Colonel D'Aguilar.	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier Wood, C.B.
Bengal Artillery ...	Lieutenant-Colonel Turner.	Temporarily attached to the artillery on the north side of the river. The services of this most excellent officer were of the highest value to me.
Commanding 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.	Lieutenant-Colonel Hill.	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier-General Walpole.
Commanding Her Majesty's 23rd Regiment.	Lieutenant-Colonel Wells.	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier-General Walpole.
Her Majesty's 23rd Regiment.	Lieutenant-Colonel Pratt.	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier-General Walpole and Brigadier Douglas; commanded left column of attack on the 11th.

*Roll of officers who have served under Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, G.C.B., Commanding the 1st Infantry Division, during the operations at Lucknow, in March 1858, and who are deemed deserving of honourable mention—(Contd.)*

Corps or detachment.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
Her Majesty's 23rd Regiment.	Lieutenant-Colonel Bell.	Commanded two companies of the 23rd Fusiliers, who captured a gun at the iron bridge.
79th Regiment ...	Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor, C.B.	Commanded the 79th during the operations on both sides of the river, very much to my satisfaction on all occasions.
Commanding 3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.	Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, C.B.	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier-General Walpole.
Commanding Royal Engineers.	Major Nicholson ...	Was indefatigable in his exertions to prepare the batteries, in doing which he was constantly exposed to a very heavy fire.
Commanding 20th Regiment.	Captain Bennett ...	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier Douglas.
Commanding 1st Bengal Fusiliers.	„ Cunliffe ...	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier-General Walpole.
Ditto ditto ...	„ Hume ...	Commanded the 1st Bengal Fusiliers during the greater part of the operations on both sides of the river, and much to my satisfaction.
1st Bengal Fusiliers ...	Lieutenant Butler ...	Swam across the Goomti and by standing on the parapet notified to our troops that the line of entrenchment was abandoned by the enemy. In doing this he exposed himself most fearlessly.
Commanding Regiment of Ferozepore.	Major Brasyer ...	Has always distinguished himself most highly in command of his regiment.
Commanding two squadrons, 9th Lancers.	Captain Coles ...	Commanded two squadrons of the 9th Lancers in the attack on the Moosa Bagh. These squadrons captured six guns, and Captain Coles conducted the pursuit most gallantly.
Punjab Rifles ...	Major Green ...	Commanded his regiment all through the operations much to my satisfaction.
Royal Artillery ...	„ Yates ...	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier Wood, C.B.
Ditto ...	Brevet-Major Pennywick.	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier Wood, C.B.
Ditto ...	Captain Gibbon ...	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier Wood, C.B., and by Brigadier-General Walpole.



OFFICERS UNDER MAJOR-GENERAL SIR J. OUTRAM HONOURABLY 571  
MENTIONED.

*Roll of officers who have served under Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, G.C.B., Commanding the 1st Infantry Division, during the operations at Lucknow in March 1858, and who are deemed deserving of honourable mention—(Contd.)*

Corps or detachment.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
Royal Artillery ...	Captain Middleton ...	Captain Middleton's battery was engaged throughout, and did excellent service.
Ditto ...	" Johnson ...	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier Wood, C.B.
Ditto ...	" Thring ...	Favourably mentioned by Lieutenant-Colonel Riddell, Commanding siege-train.
Ditto ...	" Goodenough ..	Ditto ditto ditto.
Ditto ...	" Waller ...	Ditto ditto ditto.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant Cuthbert	Particularly distinguished himself by putting out a fire in front of his battery, in a very exposed and dangerous position.
Ditto ...	" Fitz-Maurice.	Favourably mentioned by Lieutenant-Colonel Riddell.
Royal Engineers ...	Lieutenant Malcolm...	Favourably mentioned by Major Nicholson, R.E., Commanding Engineers.
Ditto ...	" Wynne ...	Behaved with very great coolness and gallantry in removing a breastwork from across the iron bridge in the face of a heavy and continued fire.
Ditto ...	" Swetenham	Favourably mentioned by Major Nicholson, R.E.
Ditto ...	" Keith ...	Ditto ditto ditto.
Ditto ...	Sergeant Paul ...	Assisted Lieutenant Wynne in the removal of the breastwork, and deserves equal praise for his coolness and gallantry.
Bengal Artillery ...	Captain Remington	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier Wood, C.B.
Ditto ...	" Mackinnon ...	Ditto ditto ditto.
Ditto ...	" Pearson ...	Favourably mentioned by Lieutenant-Colonel Riddell.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant Simeon ..	Ditto ditto ditto.
Bengal Engineers ...	" Watson ...	Favourably mentioned by Major Nicholson, R.E.
Ditto ...	" Tennant ..	Ditto ditto ditto.

*Roll of officers who have served under Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, G.C.B., Commanding the 1st Infantry Division, during the operations at Lucknow in March 1858, and who are deemed deserving of honourable mention—(Contd.)*

Corps or detachment.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
Bengal Engineers ...	Lieutenant Nuthall ...	Favourably mentioned by Major Nicholson, R.E.
Ditto ...	" Hovenden	Ditto ditto ditto.
Ditto ...	" Greathed	Was attached to me during the attack on the Moosa Bagh, and rendered most valuable service.
Her Majesty's 23rd Regiment.	Major Bruce ...	Favourably mentioned by Lieutenant-Colonel Wells, Commanding Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers.
Ditto ...	Captain Prevost ...	Ditto ditto ditto.
Ditto ...	" Daff ...	Ditto ditto ditto.
Ditto ...	" Norton ...	Ditto ditto ditto.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant Utterton	Orderly Officer to Brigadier Douglas, and favourably mentioned by him.
Her Majesty's 79th ..	" Everest ..	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier Douglas for leading the storming party on All Nuckee Khan's house.
Rifle Brigade ...	Brevet-Major Warren	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier-General Walpole for his conduct during the advance to the iron bridge on the 11th.
Ditto ...	Captain Willmot ...	Ditto ditto ditto.
.....	Lieutenant Grey ..	Ditto ditto ditto.
20th Regiment Foot...	" Gordon ..	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier Douglas for clearing a house much to his satisfaction.
65th Regiment, Native Infantry.	Captain G. Weston ...	Displayed much spirit and gallantry on several occasions, and his services were of much use to me.
Unattached ...	" Orr ...	Of the Intelligence Department; performed his duties with much ability; the information furnished by him was of much value.
Ditto ...	" Bunbury ...	Assisted Captain Orr, and I am likewise indebted to him for service in the field.
34th Regiment, Native Infantry, and Aid-de-Camp to Sir James Outram, G.C.B.	" Chamier	These officers worked with the unremitting zeal and activity which has characterized their conduct in all the operations in which I have been engaged since I left Allahabad in September last. Captain Hargood's horse was shot under him at the Moosa Bagh.
1st Madras Fusiliers, and Aid-de-Camp to Sir James Outram, G.C.B.	" Hargood	
Aid-de-Camp to Brigadier-General Walpole.	Lieutenant Warner ...	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier-General Walpole.
Her Majesty's 79th, Aid-de-Camp to Brigadier Douglas.	" Walker...	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier Douglas.



OFFICERS UNDER MAJOR-GENERAL SIR J. OUTRAM HONOURABLY 573  
MENTIONED

*Roll of officers who have served under Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, G.C.B., Commanding the 1st Infantry Division, during the operations at Lucknow in March 1858, and who are deemed deserving of honourable mention.—(Concl'd.)*

Corps or detachment.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, 1st Division.	Captain Dodson,* 30th Native Infantry.	Joined from Alumbagh in time for the attack on the Moosa Bagh, and gave me every assistance.
Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, 1st Division.	Lieutenant Barker, 78th Highlanders.	Ditto ditto ditto.
Deputy Judge Advocate-General, 1st Division.	Captain Gordon, 6th Native Infantry.	Ditto ditto ditto.
Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, 3rd Division.	Captain Barwell, 71st Native Infantry.	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier-General Walpole.
Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, 3rd Division.	Captain Cary,† 17th Native Infantry.	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier-General Walpole, and was of much service to me on several occasions.
Brigade-Major, Artillery	Captain Frith ...	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier Wood, C.B.
Officiating Brigade-Major, 5th Brigade.	„ Stevenson ...	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier Douglas.
Brigade-Major, Engineers.	„ Hutchinsonson ..	Rendered excellent service in the attack on the Iron bridge, and capture of the Muckee Bhowan.
Brigade-Major, 5th Brigade.	„ Macpherson, 78th Highlanders.	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier Douglas.
Her Majesty's 75th Foot, Brigade-Major, 6th Brigade.	Brevet-Major Mollan, 75th.	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier Horsford.
Staff Artillery ...	Major Turner ...	Favourably mentioned by Lieutenant-Colonel Riddell, Commanding siege train.
Ditto ...	Captain Young ...	Ditto ditto ditto.
Orderly Officer to Brigadier Horsford.	Brevet-Major Ross ...	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier Horsford.
Orderly Officer to Sir James Outram, G.C.B.	Lieutenant Hewitt, 41st Native Infantry.	Joined from Alumbagh in time for the attack on Moosa Bagh, and was useful as Orderly Officer.
Orderly Officer to Brigadier-General Walpole.	Lieutenant Eccles ...	Favourably mentioned by Brigadier-General Walpole.
58th Regiment, Native Infantry, Assistant Field Engineer.	„ Tulloch ...	Was very active in the discharge of his duties as Field Engineer, and was of much use.
Assistant Field Engineer.	Mr. May ...	From his knowledge of the localities was of much service to me in the advance on Ali Nuckee Khan's house.

(Sd.) J. OUTRAM, Maj.-Genl.

\* Sic in original. Captain D. S. Dodgson.

† Sic in original. Captain T. A. Carey.





## APPENDIX A

### NARRATIVE OF THE MUTINY AT CAWNPORE.

It is purposed in the following narrative to give a complete but succinct account of the occurrences connected with the mutiny of the native regiments at Cawnpore, and the disastrous consequences that ensued to the European inhabitants of the station.

It will not be an object to account in any way for the origin of the mutiny, or to investigate the causes that prompted native troops, on whom every reliance had been placed, to raise so formidable a rebellion.

Neither will it be, perhaps, desirable to enter into a detailed account of cases of individual suffering, a record of which may be placed more appropriately in an appendix to the narrative, where also may be found the records of survivors and others from which the information now furnished is gathered.

It is necessary, however, to describe the position of the rebel who, if he did not from the first foster the mutiny, soon placed himself at the head, and, by his intelligence and importance, gave a plan and system to the revolt.

Nana Dhoondoopunt was the adopted son of Bajee Rao, ex-Peshwa of Poona, a pensioner of the British Government, who died in December 1852.

The pension of the ex-Peshwa, amounting to eight lacs of rupees per annum, was not continued to the Nana, and this appears to have been his principal, if not sole, grievance, though he invariably maintained friendly relations with the European residents, and indeed on many occasions treated them with apparently cordial hospitality. His residence was at Bithoor, situated ten miles west of Cawnpore, where he owned an estate left him by his patron, the ex-Peshwa. He

was allowed a retinue of 200 infantry and cavalry, with three guns of small calibre, and these troops were, of course, entirely independent of European authority.

Cawnpore, the head-quarters of a division of the army, is a large station some five miles in length situated on the right bank of the Ganges; and though it was formerly occupied by a strong force of Europeans, a number of these had lately been reduced.

At the time of the revolt the European force, including the reinforcements they received, consisted of:—

Artillery, 1 Co. 59 men, and 6 guns.

Infantry, 60 men of Her Majesty's 84th.

70 men of Her Majesty's 32nd, invalids, and sick.

15 men of 1st Madras Fusiliers.

The native troops consisted of the 2nd Regiment, Light Cavalry, the 1st, 53rd, and 56th Regiments Infantry, and the Golundauze, or native gunners attached to the battery.

General Sir Hugh Wheeler commanded the division, and a list of his staff and other officers will be found elsewhere.\*

There were a large number of Europeans resident in cantonments many of whom were individuals connected with the civil, railway, canal, and other departments. There were also nearly the whole of the soldiers' wives of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, which was stationed at Lucknow. The whole number of the European population, therefore, in Cawnpore, men, women, and children, could not have amounted to less than 750 lives.

News of the outbreak at Meerut and Delhi reached Cawnpore on the 14th May, and though the mistrust prevailing more or less throughout the Bengal Presidency was felt at Cawnpore, and with more especial reference to the cavalry and the 1st Regiment, Native Infantry, who had been cantoned together for years, and whose seditious feelings had been pretty openly expressed, no precautionary measures were adopted beyond that the artillery were moved up to the European barracks, and this movement was caused by a supposed incendiary fire which occurred in the lines of the 1st Regiment, Native Infantry, on the night of the 16th May. The ladies and merchants also about this time sought refuge in the barracks. A company of Her Majesty's 32nd arrived from Lucknow, and officers of all corps were ordered to sleep in the lines of their regiments. Further cause of alarm was given by

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\* Not received.



rumours having been circulated in the city that objectionable cartridges were to be served out on the 23rd May, and that the artillery were to act against all who refused them. A good deal of excitement prevailed, and on the 24th May, the Queen's birthday, it was not considered advisable to fire the usual salute.

The Nana had offered to protect the treasury in case of an outbreak, and on the 26th May, at the request of the Collector, he brought two guns and 200 nujeebs (armed retainers), and placed them on guard over the treasury, which was also guarded by a company of the 53rd Native Infantry. The 2nd Regiment, Oudh Cavalry, under the command of Lieutenant Barbor, 20th Native Infantry, marched into cantonments, and furnished patrols, together with a picquet of the 2nd Cavalry.

A few days after their arrival the Oudh Irregulars were suspected, and were accordingly marched out towards Futtehghur, Captain Hayes, 62nd Native Infantry, Military Secretary to Sir H. Lawrence, Commissioner of Oudh, and Captain Carey, 17th Native Infantry, accompanying them; and they were followed a day or two later by Lieutenant Ashe with a half battery of Oudh Horse Artillery. A few marches from the station the cavalry regiment mutinied, and succeeded in murdering all the officers who were with them. Some Sikhs, however, in the regiment returned towards Cawnpore, and met and brought back Lieutenant Ashe and the guns. General Wheeler dismissed the Sikhs and commenced entrenching the barracks of the depôt of Her Majesty's 32nd, to which all the Europeans at the station were ordered to repair.

On the 2nd June the first reinforcement arrived, consisting of two companies of Her Majesty's 84th, and fifteen men of the Madras Fusiliers. One company of the former, together with the company of Her Majesty's 32nd, which had arrived a few days before, were sent on to Lucknow.

On the 4th June provisions for a month had been stored, and one lac of rupees was removed within the entrenchment, but nine lacs still remained in the treasury, and no steps were taken to remove or secure the ammunition and stores which were lying in large quantities both in the ordnance and regimental magazines. It is necessary to mention this fact to show not only that full confidence was placed in the Nana, but that no very serious view was taken of matters in general. The officers of the 2nd Cavalry, and 1st and 56th Regiments, Native Infantry, were ordered to discontinue sleeping in their lines.

The mutiny commenced on the morning of the 6th, at 2 A.M., when the 2nd Cavalry and 1st Regiment, Native Infantry, left their lines, without, however, molesting their officers, who, on the first alarm, had proceeded to their lines. The insurgents proceeded first to the treasury and the magazine, which were situated in the civil lines at the western end of the station. Of both of these buildings they obtained possession without opposition from the guards placed over them; they then entered the jail, set the prisoners at liberty, and burnt all the adjacent public offices and records. They then marched out to Kullianpore, the first halting place on the road to Delhi, and there encamped, and were joined before noon of the same day by the 53rd and 56th Regiments, Native Infantry.

Seizing the opportunity of the revolt, the Nana possessed himself of a great portion of the treasure, and, repairing to the rebel camp, persuaded them to return to Cawnpore, to destroy all the houses situated therein, annihilate the British officers and soldiers and every Christian resident, and then go on to Delhi or Lucknow, leaving a garrison behind to retain possession of the city and district of Cawnpore.

Acting on his advice, and placing themselves under his orders, the rebels returned to Cawnpore the same evening, and the Nana at once informed General Wheeler that he had returned to attack him.

Intimidating all natives of any standing or importance, plundering everything in his way, and murdering every European that fell into his hands, the Nana soon made good his word by bringing into position two of his own guns, and two heavy guns which he had procured from the magazine. The cannonade from these guns commenced about 10 A.M., on the morning of the 7th June.

It is necessary, in order to render evident the situation of the besieged, to give a short account of the unfortunate position that had been selected by General Wheeler, and of the inadequate means that had been taken to secure it.

The depôt of Her Majesty's 32nd, consisting of the sick, invalids, women, and children of the regiment was located in two long barracks in an extensive plain at the eastern end of the station. These barracks were single-storied buildings, intended each for the accommodation of a company of 100 men. One of them was thatched, and both were surrounded by a flat-roofed arcade or verandah; the walls were of brick  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick; a well, and the usual out-offices, were attached to the buildings.



Around these barracks a trench was dug, and the earth thrown up on the outside, so as to form a parapet, which might have been five feet high but not even bullet-proof at the crest. Open spaces were likewise left for the guns, which were thus entirely unprotected, and it may be imagined what slight cover an entrenchment of this kind would furnish either for the barracks or for men in the trenches; and there was plenty of cover both for musketry and guns within a short distance of the barracks, of which the mutineers soon availed themselves.

To enclose the barracks, a parapet some        feet in length was required, and it is supposed that scarcity of labour and the stiffness of the soil, which at the close of the hot season was nearly as hard as rock, were the causes which prevented the construction of more solid defences.

The cannonade commenced from the four guns before mentioned, but the enemy's artillery was soon strengthened from the ordnance magazine, and in a few hours they brought a fire on the barracks on all sides from fourteen guns\* and mortars placed in position.

At first the besieged replied briskly to the fire of the rebels, but without any signal success, for the guns in the entrenchment were field guns, and the enemy had not as yet advanced within 1,000 yards from the barracks. Their fire, also, had little or no effect, but on the second day of the siege they adopted more energetic measures; the Mahomedan flag was raised in the city, all true Mussulmans were directed to join, and those who demurred were threatened, insulted, or fined. The Nana's force was soon augmented by large numbers, and reinforced daily. Having at his command a magazine stored with every description of ammunition and ordnance, with his treasury full, and the city bazar in his hands, it is not to be wondered at that he soon rendered the situation of the Europeans next to hopeless. An incessant fire of musketry was poured into the entrenchment from the nearest buildings; guns of large calibre, drawing gradually closer and closer, sent their shot and shell without intermission against the brick walls of the barracks; carcasses fired the thatched building in which numbers of sick and helpless women and wounded men were huddled together, many of whom were burnt alive; the hospital stores were lost or destroyed, and all were crowded now into one building. Without

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\*—24-pounders, —18-pounders, seven 9-pounders, two 6-pounders.

medicines, the sick and wounded died without relief; with the greater portion of their ammunition spent, the besieged were forced to slacken their fire, and their position was rendered hopeless and helpless in the extreme; and all this before the firing had lasted for half a week.

There was a nullah or ditch some distance in front of the entrenchment, from which the enemy pushed on a sap towards the barracks, and from this they poured in a near and deadly fire.

And on the west of the besieged an entirely new range of barracks had been in the course of construction, and behind the unfinished wall the rebels posted their matchlockmen, who, however, were dislodged by sortie after sortie, and at length two of the barracks were held by picquets from the garrison. But the strength of the garrison was insufficient to prevent the rebels from placing their matchlockmen on other sides. Communication between the barracks became difficult, no one could move out of cover for one instant without drawing on himself the fire of twenty pieces; water was at first drawn under shelter of a parapet on the edge of the well, but the parapet was knocked down, and soon not a drop could be obtained save at the risk of almost certain destruction. The half destroyed walls of the barracks, or the temporary expedient of piling up tents and casks, was the precarious but only shelter that could be obtained; food could not be carried from post to post by day; and the dead were removed at night and thrown into an adjacent well without the decency of burial. Relief was expected on the 14th June, but day after day brought no succour; round shot and disease were doing their work, provisions ran short, and the misery endured by all can hardly be imagined.

Yet the besieged, in successful sallies, took and spiked the nearest guns, driving away the mutineers, and retiring to the trenches with little if any loss; but the guns were either repaired or replaced by others from the arsenal, and though the position in the barracks was quite untenable, the mutineers never mustered the courage to assault it.

Nor were the Europeans in the trenches the only sufferers. Besides several Europeans captured in the city, many of the natives suspected of aiding or serving the British force were put to death. A list was made of all the bankers, who were mulet of their wealth, and property of every description was plundered or wantonly destroyed.

Up to the 26th June the British force held their own; their loss in killed alone was upwards of a hundred, and the ladies and others were maddened by suffering. It can scarcely be wondered at, then, that



when on that morning the Nana offered to treat, his proposition was listened to. It was worded as follows :—

"All soldiers and others unconnected with the acts of Lord Dalhousie, who will lay down their arms and give themselves up, shall be spared and sent to Allahabad."

Captain Moore, commanding the detachment of Her Majesty's 32nd, who had from the first directed the energies of the besieged, and invariably led their sallies, seeing the reduced state of the besieged, and relying on the word of the Nana, obtained permission to sign the paper, and, contrary to the advice and remonstrances of many other officers, the treaty was agreed to.

Boats were immediately provided for the conveyance of the remains of the garrison to Allahabad, and to these boats they proceeded on the morning of the 27th June.

And now followed the most dastardly piece of treachery that has, perhaps, ever been enacted. Hardly had the party taken their places in the boats when, by previous arrangement, the boatmen set the thatched awnings of the boats on fire, and rushed to the bank, and a heavy fire of grape and musketry was opened on the Europeans. Out of thirty boats two only managed to start; one of these was shortly swamped by round shot, but its passengers were enabled to reach the leading boat. Of those on board the other twenty-eight boats some were killed, some drowned, and the rest brought back prisoners.

The surviving boat had fifty of the refugees on board, and proceeded down the river, followed by the rebels, who kept up an incessant fire from both banks. At the distance of six miles the boat grounded and its passengers remained passive until night, when the darkness enabled them to shove her off, and they pursued their way without interruption till the boat grounded again at Mussupghur, eight miles lower down. Here again the rebels attacked the boat, killing many of the passengers, but they were driven off, and retired to Cawnpore, when the Nana immediately despatched two complete regiments in pursuit. At night a violent storm, fortunately, freed the boat from the sandbank, but from ignorance of the channel the boat again grounded towards dawn, and when daylight came it showed the unhappy fugitives that their remorseless enemy had followed them up, and was on the bank. They had now reached Seorajpore, thirty miles from Cawnpore.

As it was found impracticable to move the boat, a party of fourteen landed to drive back their assailants, which they did most effectually, but proceeding too far inland the small band was surrounded, and in making their way back to the river lost all sight of the boat. They accordingly followed the bank for about a mile when, being hotly pressed, they were forced to take refuge and breathing time in a small temple. At the door of the temple one of the party was killed, the remaining thirteen, after attempting a parley in vain, had recourse to their firelocks and several of the enemy were soon killed or put *hors de combat*. The rebels then, fearing even to attack this small band of Englishmen, brought a gun to bear on the temple, but finding that it made no impression, they had recourse to heaping up firewood before the doorway. Unfortunately the temple was round, so that the party within could not prevent their pushing the wood round to the front. The fire, however, did not have the desired effect; some handfuls of powder were therefore thrown upon it, and the smoke from this nearly suffocated the fugitives, who determined to sally and take to the river. On their charging out of the temple, the enemy fled in all directions. Six of the party (it is supposed because they could not swim) ran into the crowd, and sold their lives as dearly as they could; the remaining seven threw themselves into the Ganges. Two of these were shot ere long; a third, resting himself by swimming on his back, unwittingly approached too close to the bank, and was cut up; and the other four swam six miles down the river, three of them being wounded, till at last the leader was hailed by two or three sepoys belonging to a friendly rajah, who eventually proved to be Maharajah Dig Bijah Sing, Rajah of Baiswarrah in Oudh. Exhausted by a three-days' fast, and conceiving, from the freedom from pursuit that they had experienced on the last half mile of their flight that they were safe, the fugitives at once went to the rajah, who protected and fed them from the 29th June to 28th July, and ultimately provided for their escort to the camp of a detachment of Europeans proceeding from Allahabad to Cawnpore to join the force under the command of Brigadier-General Havelock.

Of those who were unfortunately captured from the boats, many were killed at once; others, the wives and children of the European officers and soldiers, were placed as prisoners in a house in the cantonments of Cawnpore; some of these were released from their sufferings by death; others, reserved for a more horrible fate, were killed in



batches as the news of each successive victory of the Allahabad avenging column reached Cawnpore.

When General Havelock's force reached Cawnpore, that morning his victory had sealed the fate of the last of the survivors. When the British force marched into cantonments the marks of butchery and bloodshed were still fresh; the floor of the house in which the prisoners were confined was foul with clotted blood and tangled masses of hair; the well close by was filled with mangled corpses; and sadly and sorrowfully fell the reflection on every heart that they had arrived, alas! too late.

Out of 750 living souls in the strength and vigour of life one short month before, but four escaped to tell the tale of the mutiny at Cawnpore.

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*Translation of the diary of the NUNNA NAWAB, a native gentleman residing in Cawnpore, containing an account of the occurrences there from June 5th to July 2nd 1857.*

On the morning of the 5th June last, say about 3 A.M., the 2nd Light Cavalry and the 1st Regiment of Native Infantry broke out into open rebellion and proceeded towards Nawabgunge, burning every bungalow that fell in their way. Just at about six o'clock they liberated the jail prisoners, plundered the treasury, and afterwards set fire to the bungalows occupied by Messrs. Hillersdon and Mackillop, and the Dewany and Foujdary Courts. They then left Cawnpore, with the evident intention of joining the mutineers at Delhi, and halted at Kullianpore, taking what money they could of the Government treasury, amounting perhaps to some ten lacs of rupees, and leaving the rest to be plundered by the ryots. Nana availed himself of the opportunity and sent, as the report goes, three or four hackery loads of money to his mansion at Bithoor. He then caused sentries of his own to be placed over the magazine, and repaired in person to the rebel sepoys at Kullianpore, and induced them by every means he could devise to come back the following day, and attack the Europeans in the entrenchment, having previously got four guns, two small ones from the ringleader Nana, and two 18-pounders from the Government magazine. On their way they intended to attack Auzim Ulee Khan's house, but the old gentleman came out in the most humiliating manner and bought their friendship by payment of some money, though here I ought to observe that it was against the will of their ringleader Nana.

I could well see, with a telescope from the top of my house, Nana with his two brothers and other relatives, coming forward with all the pomp of a newly created king; the troopers, in groups of eights or tens, of the 2nd Light Cavalry, setting fire in the meanwhile to all the bungalows, and causing them to be plundered.

2. When they reached near Mirza Hajee's bungalow, some six or eight troopers were despatched to take me to the Nana, but I not answering their first call, again a party of about 100 troopers was sent, and, effecting their entrance by forcing open the backdoor, made me their prisoner. I, of course, mounted my horse with a few of my followers, and went to the Nana, surrounded by mutineer troopers, who threatened to take my life if I should decline compliance with their wishes.

3. I was first taken before Nana's younger brother, Bala Saheb, who ordered me to be disarmed, and my followers to be plundered of the silver and other valuable things they had with them. When I approached the ringleader Nana, I was commanded by his moonshee, Jawalapershaud, to dismount my horse, which he took for himself. There were at the time about 500 arms raised at me, but Nana dissuaded them from their purpose, and ordered me to be imprisoned, and placed on an elephant, as if any one is led through the streets in ignominious show, putting me in charge of two sentries. While thus confined, I received information from my men that they fired at my house six or seven guns, plundered it of all its property, amounting to ten lacs of rupees, and had my lady not saved herself by going upstairs of a room three-storied, by means of a wooden ladder, and drawing the ladder up, they would have much ill-treated her. I heard also from creditable authorities that in this spoil the city people and most of my own servants shared. The pretence made for forcing entrance into my house was that I had concealed eight or nine Europeans therein. I was so miserably plundered that there was not a particle of my property left, one of my servants actually obliged to prepare *khitchree* for my evening meal at his own expense.

4. On reaching near Mr. Jacobie's bungalow they began firing at the entrenchment from near the canal, butchering every European, East Indian or native Christian who unfortunately fell in with them. Now it was that I saw my two brothers, Nizam-ood-dowlah and Ameen-ood-dowlah, were violently taken to the field surrounded by troopers who led them to the Nana.



5. Meanwhile it was reported that some Europeans had taken refuge in the Mogul's serai, and guns were fired at it, which hurtled along an Udhar Sing (*sic*), a subadar of the 2nd Light Cavalry, who had been foremost in causing my house to be plundered, and two or three rebel sepoys. Some East Indians were seized from the serai and killed.

6. In the afternoon Nana took up his quarters at Mr. David Duncan's bungalow, firing being carried on by parties during the time without intermission. In the evening I obtained permission with great difficulty of the Nana to return home, but as I had no conveyance, I asked him to give me back my horse, instead of which I got a mere tattoo belonging to a servant of my brother. I was fortunate enough to fall in with a man who had my horse, and I induced the two troopers in whose charge I was, by flattery and promises of bribe, to get me back my horse. These two troopers kept guard over my house for a few days. Firing continued during the night. During the whole day and night of the 7th, guns continued to be fired at the entrenchment from two directions, *viz.*, from the side of the Grand Trunk Road, and from that of Mr. David Duncan's bungalow, and butchering of the Europeans falling in the hands of the insurgents continued.

7. On the 8th July, rebellious *Ishtihar* published, Mahomedee Jhunda raised, and proclamations tom-tomed through the bazars, inviting all the Mahomedans to join in the insurrection; disobedience to be met with death. Uzeemoolah is said to have first proposed the raising of the Jhunda, and he induced the following leading men to join under the same, *viz.*

[Names omitted in original.]

As I had not joined with the men of the Jhunda, two troopers were sent by the Nana to fetch me, saying that they have waited long for me, how it was that I did not join the Jhunda, it appears that I was not a Mahomedan but a Christian (an expression of contempt), I had better soon attend the Nana's Court, or they have orders to take my head to the Nana: so saying, they took me along with them before the Nana, where Teeka Sing, Subadar-Major Bahadur of the 2nd Light Cavalry, heaped abuses on me, and threatened to have me tied to a tree and there mangled, as I appeared to be averse to the Jhunda. He caused me to be seated just close to their guns placed near the Saint John's Chapel, purposely to have me killed, as shots from the entrenchment were unceasingly fired at it, and I had very narrow escapes, shots passing over my head, sides, ears, &c.

8. While thus seated, I saw Buldeo Sing, zemindar of Mouzah Seesamow, coming with 200 armed men. By entreaties I prevailed on him to intercede for me with Teeka Sing, Subadar. Partly at his intercession, but more likely at the present of a pair of bracelets, valued about 2,000 rupees, which my lady a little before this had made him over through my brother-in-law, I got my release in the evening, though not without the precaution of having been placed under guard of two sowars, Jumal-ood-deen, a trooper, and Shere Khan, a havildar. The first named was one of the most atrocious villains that I have ever seen. He would scarcely leave my side even for his own necessities. There were in the chapel some Company's sepoy, and about 30 or 40 sepoy of some native rajah firing at the entrenchment. One Mr. Maling, his son, with two or three East Indians more, as well as about 20 or 25 coolies suspected to have been employed in supplying victuals to the Europeans, were seized, and Mr. DeGama, a resident merchant, killed. Firing continued during the whole day and night.

9. The morning of the 9th brought me the tidings of the Nana's having feasted his eyes with the slaughter of the above prisoners. The poor men were first fired at and subsequently cut in pieces with swords. Five ladies were seized this day, three of whom were killed and two saved, one styling herself Mrs. Lowther and her sister. The Nana removed his quarters to the subadar's kootee with his treasure amounting to 2,10,000 rupees. Some of the shops in the bazar plundered. Hoolass Sing, thannahdar of Sirsoul, who was kotwal of the city some years previously, was appointed kotwal, and it was rumoured that some sepoy were proposing to storm the entrenchment, but they did not dare make the attempt. Firing continued during night and day as usual.

10. On the 10th firing continued as usual, with occasional plundering of a few of the bazar shops. Nothing more remarkable happened that came to my knowledge.

11. On the 11th, bazars ordered to be opened by tom-tom, saying, "Khuluk Khoda ka, Moolk Padsha ka, Hookm Nana Saheb and Fouj Bahadoor ka, that whoever will not yield compliance to it shall subject himself to severe punishment." Quazee Wasseecooddeen ordered to supply rations to the mutineer sepoy, and accordingly he got shops established along the canal, and made the supply for about two days, but the shops being plundered, the shopkeepers gradually disappeared. It was on the night of this day, that some ten or fifteen Europeans came to the guns placed near the chapel (one of them being a 24-pounder, one 18-pounder, and the other a mortar), dismounted them



from their wheels, set fire to the wheels, spiked them, and when beset by a great number of sepoy, returned to their entrenchment; about three of these were killed, one being an officer. Mines were ordered to be dug from the practice ground of the 2nd Light Cavalry, and led to the entrenchment. Three boats full of Europeans, &c., men, women, and children, were coming down the river, whether from Farruckabad, Meerut, or elsewhere, I don't know, when one of them was fired at and drowned near the Oudh side of the river, but ultimately the passengers were obliged to yield at discretion and brought before the Nana. Reports vary about the number imprisoned; some say they were 128, others 135, 20 or 25 females, and the rest males. The difference between the numbers of gentlemen and soldiers, &c., could not be discovered. These were all kept this day under severe confinement. Firing continued till 2 o'clock A.M. of the 12th.

12. The morning of the 12th sealed the fate of the wretched prisoners seized the day before. First they were ordered to be shot and then mangled with swords, and thrown into the river. Firing continued as usual.

13. On the 13th, two sowars were sent to take me before Teeka Sing. I was first led under their and of those two troopers' charge who stood guard over me at my house, before him whom I saw was shaving himself sitting on a chair. He ordered me to sit on a piece of board, then commanded me to go to Nana, to whom I went, but could not get access. For sometime I remained standing. After a while, I saw Hoolass Sing, kotwal, who gave me a *morah* to sit on. I remained sitting in the heat of the sun for three hours, when Uzeemoollah, coming from Nana, said that the ringleader had no doubt called me, but he no longer requires me, and I had leave to return home under guard of the same two troopers who stood sentry over me. Firing continued as usual. I saw present in Nana's Court one of the sons of Auzim Ulee Khan and other city people.

14. On the 14th, it was reported the zemindar of Bunthur, in Oudh, brought three Europeans to Nana. He had alighted in some mahajun's shop. I cannot say exactly when proclamation was made by Nana for the sepoy attending his camp, one and all, on pain of severe penalty, as the entrenchment was to be stormed. An attempt was made indeed on the entrenchment by Nana himself, but Teeka Sing, Subadar, counselling him to remain back on ground of all being spoiled at his fall, he came back, and the soldiers were now-a-days as cruel and inhuman as Chungeykhan Hulakoo, a notorious murderer,

15. On the 15th, some two or three troopers, with eleven or twelve sepoy, were killed of shots from the entrenchment. Uzeemoollah Khan issued ordinary orders in the Kotwalee, and openly used ill language towards the British. Firing continued as usual.

16. On the 16th, it was reported that some twenty or twenty-five boats full of European soldiers were coming; on which Teeka Sing, Subadar, with a troop of sowars, some infantry, and two guns, went to Jaugmow Ghaut to oppose their landing. Firing continued as usual. One regiment of Oudh Local Infantry, surnamed "Ukhturee," came from Lucknow. Its soldiers said to Nana that they have killed three of their officers, which pleased him much.

17. On the 17th June an attempt to storming the entrenchment was made by order of Nana. The loss of the mutineers amounted to some 50 men in killed and wounded. Every sepoy had a good deal of money with him, amounting from 500 to 5,000 rupees. The report of the previous day was partly true, for eleven boats did really come, but they were loaded with magazine stores, four soldiers, and two non-commissioned officers. Two more Europeans of the Ganges Canal Department were observed stopping the canal at a place eight or ten miles distant hence. They said they were doing so at the command of their superior. Firing continued as usual. Many of the sepoy returned to their homes with the plunder. The zemindars pillaged them on the road, and killed those who offered resistance to them. The mutineers were preparing *ral ka gola* (a kind of cannon ball) in Mr. David Duncan's bungalow, when a spark of fire falling from their *chelum* blew up three men and wounded seven. Four or five petitions were received by the Nana from Oudh from the following individuals, *viz.*, Kusmut Ullee Chowdree, Munsul Ullee Chowdree, and two or three others, saying that they have taken possession of the part of the country they each lived; the native English troops were ripe for insurrection, and that everybody was anxiously waiting for his arrival to break out openly; that he shall have every assistance he needs. Three or four companies of a Sikh regiment arrived from the side of Allahabad. Two butchers' hands cut off for slaughtering cows, which was unpopular among the Mahomedans. Firing guns on the entrenchment was hotter.

18. On the 18th, fifteen or thereabout of sepoy of an Oudh Local Infantry, named "Ukhturee," were killed by the Europeans in the entrenchment. A list of the wealthy mahajuns drawn out; two of them called before the Nana, and Ishreepersaud menaced out of 75,000 rupees. One of the golundauzes found on the Ganges side a European



girl of about five or six years, wounded on one of her arms and a thigh with sword or shots received on the 12th, still living, and taking pity on her took her to Teeka Sing, Subadar, and asked his permission to adopt her as his own, he being issueless, but the subadar imprisoned him, saying that European children were not intended to be saved. A subadar of an Irregular Cavalry ordered for seizing all the baboos (only the natives of Bengal) on a charge of serving as spies to the British in the entrenchment; some forty or fifty of them got hold of and kept imprisoned in the kotwalee; the rest escaped and concealed themselves. The next day they were liberated. Firing on the entrenchment as usual.

19. The 19th.—One coolie observed collecting gun shots, with the intention of taking to the entrenchment. He was caught and asked why he took shots to it; he replied that he got money. His hands were ordered to be cut off. The principal Sidder Ameen called before the Nana. Two or three European soldiers fell in the engagement, and six or seven mutineer sepoys and four troopers, and one trooper wounded in the leg. An Irregular Cavalry came from Oudh. A light seen during the night in the entrenchment, from which it was supposed that the Europeans had set fire to their baggage with the intention of baulking the sepoys in their hopes of plunder. Firing as usual.

20. On the 20th rumours for storming the entrenchment heard in the morning, but the time being pronounced inauspicious by the pundit Dabeedeen, the assault was not made. The troopers, jealous of the wealth Teeka Sing, Subadar, had amassed, put him under arrest in his own tent, and a guard was placed to watch his movements. Firing on the entrenchment continued as usual.

21. On the 21st June an unsuccessful attack on the entrenchment was made, the mutineers were obliged to retreat with the loss of five or six sepoys and two or three troopers. It was also heard that two European soldiers fell in this attack. Two troops of the 7th Light Cavalry came here and sent to Bithoor with a company of Native Infantry for guarding it. Proclamations for exchanging all sorts of rupees at the rate of 64 pice per rupee tom-tomed in the bazar. Sheikh Panchoo and Huneef enlisted a good number of sowars with the intention of raising a regiment of cavalry each under them. These carried on depredations, extorted money, and oppressed the people much; once on plundering Nabobgunge, they were ordered to be confined. Firing continued as usual.

22. On the 22nd, one Oudh Local Infantry, surnamed "Nadree," came from Lucknow. Engagement as usual.

23. On the 23rd June one Irregular Cavalry arrived and encamped across the Ganges. It was ordered to remain there. Two or

three spectators killed from shots from the entrenchment. Firing continued night and day incessantly and hotter than usual. The troopers who stood guard over me extorted from me 100 rupees.

24. On the 24th, another cavalry came from Oudh. Yaseen Khan, Moonshee, of the 2nd Light Cavalry, proposed to be sent to the Emperor of Delhi. Firing as usual.

25. On the 25th, an attempt on the entrenchment made. A subadar of the 1st Native Infantry, Radhay Sing, whose star was pronounced then by Pundit Dabeedeen to be very ominous, was first killed, and the mutineers all belonging to the 1st Native Infantry obliged to retreat with the loss of at least 25 men. Plundered property discovered in a man's house. His hands were ordered to be cut off. Proclamations tom-tomed through the bazar ordering the delivery of all pillaged property people may have, non-compliance to be met with severe punishment. Contract for the sale of opium given; proclamation prohibiting illicit sale of the drug, and ordering the restoration of the plundered part of the same published. Exchange rate of gold mohur raised in the market, so much so that those worth of 14 rupees were disposed at 19 or 20, and those valued at 16 at 27 or 28 rupees. Firing continued as usual.

26. On the 26th, reports were prevalent that one regiment of cavalry and one troop of horse artillery were coming from Nowgong and a party of twelve troopers, commanded by a Native officer, was despatched to lead them to the ringleader. Bombardment on the entrenchment continued till 3 P.M., after which proposals of peace offered through Mrs. Greenway, who took along with her Uzeemoollah and Jowalapersaud, Ressaldar, into the entrenchment. They returned thence with Colonel Ewart of the 1st Regiment, Native Infantry, accompanied by five European soldiers with their arms; the subject matter of their communion is unknown. It was rumoured that the mutineer sepoys offered peace on terms of the Europeans giving up their arms; the sun having set, the peace deferred till morning. Firing agreed to be discontinued by both parties; some twelve golundauzes, a non-commissioned officer of artillery, Uzeemoollah Khan, and Jowalapersaud, were taken into the entrenchment to bring up the guns and kept there for the night, under pretence of night having advanced too far. The terms of truce were observed on the part of Europeans, though the 1st Regiment of Native Infantry disregarded them. I had heard previously to this from a sepoy who came to the guard which was over me at about mid-day, and appeared to me by his manner and language to be disaffected with Nana, that they intended to beguile the Europeans out of their entrenchment and then take them by surprise and kill them. I



satisfied myself about the truth of the information, and tried to apprise the same to the Major-General of impending danger, but I am sorry I could not do so on any account. I imagine I would have succeeded in sending a man to the entrenchment with the news of the intended treachery, but the sepoys besieged it on all sides to the extent of a mile, and would not allow anybody to pass through them. Besides, the two troopers who stood guard over me watched my movements.

27. On the 27th, peace concluded in the morning, and boats got ready for the conveyance of the Europeans to Allahabad. The British were proceeding towards the Ganges, having made over the guns, when the mutineers encircled them. The British General is said to have remarked that he was duped. Part of his party had embarked, part were on the bank of the river, some were on the way, when the mutineers attacked him. The 1st Regiment, Native Infantry, first fired, then the assault became general. The troopers rushed with their horses into the river to have their swords soaked in European blood. Three boats escaped notwithstanding about 150 gun shots were fired at them; others were set fire to; nearly 125 Europeans captured alive, consisting of twelve or fifteen males and the rest females, and confined in the subadar's kotee. They were kept one whole day and night starving. There were but few among them who were uninjured. Boats were sent in pursuit of the three boats which had escaped. Nana was highly pleased at the way in which he got possession of the entrenchment. He extolled much Uzeemoollah Khan and Jowalapersaud, Ressaldar, saying that it was to their wisdom that so easy a conquest was owing. In consideration of this signal service, the last-named was appointed Brigadier. The Europeans who were taken alive were shot at and killed before the Nana, a salute of twenty-one guns were given him for the victory.

28. On the 28th an order issued for the troops to get ready for the inspection of the Nana at 5 P.M. I also went with the rest of the spectators to the spot and saw 2nd Light Cavalry, with other irregular cavalries, standing towards north, 1st Native Infantry, with artillery behind it, towards the east, and other native infantries and some militia which Nana had raised, towards the south. First the Brigadier Jowalapersaud came with his body-guard from behind the troops, and commenced reviewing, beginning with 2nd Light Cavalry, him followed Boleh Saheb, a younger brother of the Nana, who had a salute of 17 guns given him. After these had returned, Nana himself came, and a salute of 21 guns was fired, and inspected after the manner described above. He at the same time expressed to grant a prize of a lac of rupees to the mutineers, and applauded their courageous conduct.

and returned to his tent; a salute of 21 guns was also given. As I was returning home, I met Row Saheb, (Nana's nephew,) preceded by about 50 Mahratta sowars, and followed by nearly the same number of Native troopers of 7th Light Cavalry, near the bridge of Ramnarain's Bazar. When I had reached home, I heard first a salute of 17 guns each given to Row Saheb and Baba Bhut, then of 11 to Bala, after which 11 each to Jowala and Tanteeah.

29. Nothing remarkable happened on the 29th June.

30. June 30th. Three companies of the 1st Native Infantry which were on command duty at Banda, came up here bringing with them 1,50,000 rupees from Government treasury, Tanteeah Bakshee and Khirma, Khidmutgar of Newab Alli Bahadoor of Banda, and an "urzee" from the nabob, the purport of which I could not learn. Five hundred hackeries ordered to be got ready by the kotwal for the conveyance of mutineers to Allahabad; the hackeries were collected by Kanye Chowdry and others. Baba Bhut was appointed superintendent. Nana rumoured to intend to go to Lucknow. Insurrection reported to have broken out in Lucknow. Ramlohl, Deputy Collector of Cawnpore, was engaged by order of Nana to collect the balance of revenues from zemindars.

31. July 1st. One of the sepoy, who had been in the entrenchment and was seized and confined on the 27th June, had a son in the 2nd Light Cavalry, who first went to Baba Bhut, and menacing to kill him in case of non-compliance with his request, he was referred to Nana, to whom he went and repeated his request in the same threatening manner. Nana immediately liberated both his father and his comrades. Some Europeans captured and killed. Golundauzes dissatisfied with Nana at the attempt of causing their houses to be searched with the intention of discovering plundered property, and levelled their guns at him. Orders for search revoked.

32. 2nd July. About 130 male and female Europeans who had escaped on board of boats on the 27th June captured at Futtehpore, and sent up. Males were ordered by Nana to be killed at 5 P.M., and ladies to be confined. Nana went to Bithoor about the same hour, it being pronounced ominous by Dabeedeen, Pundit, who had a present from him of 500 rupees and a horse. A salute of 21 guns fired at Nana's departure. It is said that one European lady was also killed. She stood amongst the males with her child and was ordered to come out, but she said she would remain where her countrymen were. The child was asked of her, but she refused to give. This provoked the mutineers and she got the fate she sought.



*Narrative of events attending the outbreak of disturbances and the restoration of authority in the district of Cawnpore in 1857-58.*

From C. B. THORNHILL, Esq., *Officiating Commissioner, Allahabad Division, to the Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces,—No. 268, dated Allahabad, the 28th April 1859.*

IN continuation of the narrative\* of my predecessor, I have the honour now to forward the reports which have been received from Messrs. Sherer and Freeling of the events connected with the mutiny in the stations of Cawnpore and Humeerpore.

2. CAWNPORE.—I will not attempt to epitomise Mr. Sherer's clear and graphic description of deeds and sufferings which have stirred every English heart. He has given an historical sketch of Cawnpore from the commencement of open mutiny on the 6th June 1857 to the final restoration of order in the following May, when Calpee fell before Sir Hugh Rose, and British supremacy was re-established throughout the Doab.

3. With the knowledge we now possess, we may imagine that had a different policy been pursued by the authorities the subsequent catastrophe might have been avoided. We have not, however, the means of fully ascertaining the grounds upon which they decided, and we know that the course adopted by many natives was such as to render all previous experience and knowledge of their character of little use in anticipating their tactics. We have seen men, who apparently had strong inducements to take part with the rebels, maintain an undeviating fidelity to the British Government; while others, who were certain to be heavy losers by a change of rulers, and had no reasonable grounds for anticipating any personal advantage from the subversion of our dominion, became our most virulent antagonists.

4. General Wheeler acted upon the supposition that the regiments would mutiny and at once leave for Delhi, the great centre of revolt, and that the Nana would not take an actively hostile part against us.

5. To a certain extent his anticipations were justified by the event. The regiments did move off at once towards Delhi; and up to the time of their doing so, the Nana does not appear to have had any idea of the position he would hold in a few short days.

6. Had any understanding existed between the Nana and the troops, there would have been no object in the march they made on the Delhi road. It was not until they had gone that the Nana seems to have finally determined on embarking in an enterprise in which he staked his life on the chance of gaining a throne as the founder of a new Mabratta dynasty.

7. How he brought over the troops to his interests; how he endeavoured, with his newly-acquired army, aided by vast stores of artillery and munitions of war contained in the abandoned magazine, to annihilate the handful of Europeans in the so-called intrenchments; how, when force could not conquer that devoted band, they were deceived and betrayed by treachery of unparalleled baseness; how the dastardly traitors dare not even approach their unarmed victims, until from a safe distance they had poured deadly discharges of grape into the unsuspecting and helpless crowd; how the crowning atrocity of slaughtering helpless women and infants was perpetrated almost within hearing of the victorious shouts of Havelock's conquering army;—are best told in Mr. Sherer's own words. I would only here observe that the more searching the investigation into the details of those horrible events, the greater has become the assurance that the rumours of atrocious indignities upon the persons of our countrywomen, which at one time were so rife, are almost without foundation.

8. It is not to be denied that one or two exceptional cases may have occurred, but, as a general rule, the extirpation of our race in India was the object by which these murderers were actuated; and in the prosecution of this design, they were awayed by no passion short of the thirst of blood.

9. The investigations recently completed by Colonel Williams appear to place this long-vexed question beyond a doubt; and the hearts of those who have been so tortured with the thoughts of what their dearest relatives may have suffered before death, can now accept with confidence the no small consolation which the result of these searching enquiries has offered them.

10. HUMERPORE.—This district has been transferred to the Jhansie Division since the mutiny.

11. The details furnished by Mr. Freeling comprise all the information which has been obtained of the occurrences at the station.

12. The conduct of Mr. Loyd, the Collector, and of Mr. Donald Grant, the Joint Magistrate, claims the highest admiration. From



private letters written by Mr. Loyd, and forwarded to Banda, he evidently saw that certain death awaited him if he remained at his post; yet he felt it his duty to do so, and his colleague would not leave him. As a high-minded Christian gentleman, whose heart overflowed with the warmest love for his fellow-creatures, his memory is preserved in the affections of all who knew him; and the slaughter of such a man, in a place where he was known only as the benefactor of all, is one of the worst of the many black crimes which polluted the rebellion.

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*Some accounts of the mutiny and subsequent events at Cawnpore.*

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[N.B.—The paragraphs within the brackets are verbatim from Lieutenant G. WATSON'S narrative.]

At the time of the revolt at Cawnpore, the European force, including the reinforcements they had received, consisted of—

Artillery, one Company, 59 men and 6 guns.

Infantry, 60 men of Her Majesty's 84th.

„ 30 men of Her Majesty's 32nd, invalids and sick.

„ 15 men of 1st Madras Fusiliers.

The Native troops consisted of the 2nd Regiment of Light Cavalry, the 1st, 53rd, and 54th Regiments of Infantry, and the Golundauze or Native gunners attached to the battery. General Sir Hugh Wheeler commanded the Division. There was a large number of Europeans resident in cantonments, many of whom were individuals connected with the Civil, Railway, Canal and other Departments; there were also nearly the whole of the soldiers' wives of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment which was stationed at Lucknow. The whole number of the European population therefore in Cawnpore—men, women and children—could not have amounted to less than 750 souls. News of the outbreak at Meerut and Delhi reached Cawnpore on the 14th of May, and though the mistrust prevailing, more or less, throughout the Bengal Presidency was felt at Cawnpore, more especially with reference to the cavalry and the 1st Regiment, Native Infantry, who had been cantoned together for one year, and whose seditious feeling had been pretty openly expressed, no precautionary measures were adopted, except that the Artillery was moved up to the European barracks; and this movement was caused by a supposed incendiary fire which occurred in the lines of the 1st Regiment, Native Infantry, on the night of the 16th of May.

The ladies, and merchants also, about this time sought refuge in the barracks. A company of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment arrived from Lucknow, and officers of all corps were ordered to sleep in the lines of their regiments.

Further cause of alarm was given by rumours having been circulated in the city that the objectionable cartridges were to be served out on the 23rd of May, and that the artillery were to act against all who refused them. A good deal of excitement prevailed, and on the 24th of May, the Queen's birthday, it was not considered advisable to fire the usual salute.

There was at this time residing at Bithoor, which is a sacred village on the Ganges and much resorted to by pilgrims, a Hindoo of rank, named Doondhoo Punth, but commonly called Nana Sahib—a title frequently occurring amongst Mahrattas. He was the adopted son of Bajee Rao, and inherited his houses, landed property, jewels, &c., but did not succeed to his large pension, which, in default of heirs of his body, lapsed to the Government in 1852.

The Nana lived in comfortable circumstances at Bithoor, in a large mansion not far from the Ganges, with stabling and elephant sheds, and large gardens surrounding, and a massive temple near at hand, which Bajee Rao had built at a considerable expense. Here he was surrounded by a band of wily Mahrattas, some relations and some friends, who, living up to the time of the mutiny in complete obscurity, have since become perfectly well known wherever English newspapers are read, and their names are now familiar in our mouths as household words.

There were his two brothers, Bala Rao and Baba Bhut, the latter said to be the most influential man in the household; Rao Sahib, his nephew; Azimollah, a young man of low origin, who had had the dubious advantages in his case of a trip to London and Paris, but who was undoubtedly talented; and last, but not least, the Nana's faithful servant Tantia Topce, the present Abdool Kadir of Central India. The Nana was a man of no capacity and of debauched tastes, a fair specimen of the Indian Prince badly brought up, with ample leisure and ample means, strong passions, and no principles to control them. He was known to consider himself aggrieved by being denied Bajee Rao's pension, as well as to have resented the reduction of the five per cents.; but he maintained outward relations of civility with the Europeans, and invited them occasionally to entertainments at his house. As matters grew doubtful and dark at Cawnpore, the Nana



put himself in frequent communication with the Magistrate, Mr. Hillersdon, and proffered offers of assistance in case of an outbreak. He was allowed by Government a retinue of 500 Cavalry and Infantry, with three guns of small calibre, which were entirely under his own control.

On the 26th of May, therefore, the Magistrate thought it advisable to call in his aid, and he was put in charge of the treasury, which was near the Nana's own house in Nawabgunge. To the treasury he brought two guns and 200 armed retainers, and there was there also a company of the 53rd Native Infantry.

(Shortly after, the 2nd Regiment, Oudh Cavalry, under the command of Lieutenant Barbor, 30th Native Infantry, marched into cantonments and furnished patrols, together with a picquet of the 2nd Cavalry.)

A few days after their arrival the Oudh Irregulars were suspected and were accordingly marched out towards Futtehgarh. Captain Hayes, 42nd Native Infantry, Military Secretary to Sir H. Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of Oudh, and Captain Carey, 17th Native Infantry, accompanying them; and they were followed a day or two later by Lieutenant Ashe, with a half battery of Oudh Horse Artillery.

A few marches from the station the Cavalry regiment mutinied and succeeded in murdering all the officers who were with them. Some Seikhs in the regiment, however, returned towards Cawnpore, and met and brought back Lieutenant Ashe and the guns. General Wheeler dismissed the Seikhs and commenced intrenching the barracks of the depôt of Her Majesty's 32nd, to which all the Europeans at the station were ordered to repair.

On the 4th of June provisions for a month had been stored, and one lakh of rupees was removed within the intrenchments; but nine lakhs still remained in the treasury. No steps were taken to remove or secure the ammunition and stores which were lying in large quantities both in the Ordnance and Regimental magazines. It is necessary to mention this fact to show, not only that full confidence was placed in the Nana, but that no very serious view was taken of matters in general. The officers of the 2nd company, and 1st and 56th Regiments, Native Infantry, were ordered to discontinue sleeping in their lines.

The mutiny commenced on the morning of the 6th at 2 A. M., when the 2nd Cavalry and 1st Regiment, Native Infantry, left their lines, without, however, molesting their officers, who on the first alarm

had proceeded to their lines. The insurgents proceeded first to the treasury, which was situated in the civil lines at the western end of the station; they obtained possession of this building without any opposition from the guards placed over it. They then entered the jail, set the prisoners at liberty, and burnt all the adjacent public offices and the records in them. They afterwards marched out to Kulyanpore, the first halting place on the road to Delhi, and there encamped, being joined before noon of the same day by the 53rd and 56th Regiments, Native Infantry.

Seizing the opportunity of the revolt, the Nana possessed himself of a great portion of the treasury; then repairing to the rebel camp, he persuaded them to return to Cawnpore, to destroy the houses situated therein, and annihilate the British officers and soldiers and every Christian resident, and then proceed to Delhi or Lucknow, leaving a garrison behind to retain possession of the city and district of Cawnpore.

Acting on his advice, and placing themselves under his orders, the rebels returned to Cawnpore the same evening. The Nana at once informed General Wheeler that he had returned to attack him.

Intimidating all natives of any standing or importance, plundering everything in his way, and murdering every European who fell into his hands, the Nana soon made good his words by bringing into position two of his own guns, and two heavy guns which he had procured from the magazine.

The cannonade from these guns commenced about 10 A. M. on the morning of the 7th June.)

It is necessary, in order to render evident the situation of the besieged, to give a short account of the position that had been selected by General Wheeler, and of such means as had been taken to secure it.

(The depôt of H. M.'s 32nd Regiment, consisting of the sick, invalids, women and children of the regiment, was located in two long barracks in an extensive plain at the eastern end of the station. These barracks were single-storied buildings, intended each for the accommodation of a company of 100 men; one of them was thatched, and both were surrounded by a flat roof, arcade, or verandah; the walls were of bricks, one-and-a-half foot thick. A well and the usual out-offices were attached to the buildings. Around these barracks a trench was dug, and the earth thrown up on the outside, so as to form a parapet which might have been five feet high, but it was not even bullet proof



at the crest: open spaces were likewise left for the guns, which were thus entirely unprotected. It may be imagined what slight cover an intrenchment of this kind would furnish, either for the barracks or for men in the trenches, while there was plenty of cover, both for musketry and guns, within a short distance of the barracks, of which the mutineers soon availed themselves.

To enclose the barracks a parapet was required; and it is supposed that scarcity of labour and the stiffness of the soil, which at the close of the hot season was nearly as hard as rock, were the causes which prevented the construction of more solid defences.)

This position has been made the subject of much criticism. Without venturing to offer an opinion upon a scientific military subject, I may be allowed to say so much, that I think we must guard against *post-facto* wisdom and beware lest our experience bias our judgment.

It is clear to me, that General Wheeler considered two things certain—first, that the Nana was not in league with our native soldiery; and secondly, that our native soldiery, if they did break out, would make off at once to join the insurgents at Delhi. He apparently considered, therefore, that the only danger to be dreaded was what might occur in the sudden fury of an outbreak. So long therefore as he was sufficiently on his guard against this, all would be well, and the outbreak over, he might choose a strong position. Events showed that he was right in every respect. He weathered the outbreak in safety, the mutineers *did* make off for Delhi, and the Nana was clearly not in league previously with the native soldiery, or it would not have been necessary for him to pursue them down the road and entreat them, with lavish promises, to return. The treachery of the Nana disturbed all calculations. Now that we know what the Nana was, it may seem very blind and credulous to have relied upon him at all. But have we not relied on the Nawab of Rampore? Have we not relied on the Rajah of Chirkaree, and not been deceived? It has been well said there are prophets of the past as well as the future. There is a danger, surely, to be avoided here. But to return.

The cannonade commenced from the four guns before mentioned, but the enemy's artillery was soon strengthened from the Ordnance Magazine, and in a few hours they brought a fire on the barracks on all sides from fourteen guns and mortars in position.

At first the besieged replied briskly to the fire of the rebels, but without any signal success; for the guns in the intrenchments were field guns, and the enemy had not as yet advanced within 1,000 yards

from the barracks. The fire of the rebels also had little or no effect, but on the second day of the siege they adopted more energetic measures; the Mahomedan flag was raised in the city; all true Muslims were directed to join, and those who demurred were threatened, insulted, or fined. The Nana's force was soon augmented by large numbers and reinforced daily.

Having at his command a magazine stored with every description of ammunition and ordnance, a treasury full, and the city bazar in his hands, it is not to be wondered at that he soon rendered the situation of the Europeans next to hopeless. An incessant fire of musketry was poured into the intrenchments from the nearest buildings, guns of large calibre, drawing gradually closer and closer, sent their shot and shell, without intermission, against the brick walls of the barracks; and carcasses fired the thatched buildings, in which numbers of sick and helpless women and wounded men were huddled together, many of whom were burnt alive.

The hospital stores were lost or destroyed, and all being now crowded into one building, without medicine, the sick and wounded died without relief. With the greater portion of their ammunition spent, the besieged were also forced to slacken their fire. In short their position was rendered hopeless and helpless in the extreme; and all this before the firing had lasted for half a week.

There was a nullah or ditch some distance in front of the intrenchments, by which the enemy pushed on a sap towards the barracks, and from this they poured in a near and deadly fire.

On the west of the besieged an entirely new range of barracks had been in the course of construction, and behind the unfinished walls the rebels posted their matchlock men. They were, however, dislodged by sortie after sortie, and at length two of the barracks were held by picquets from the garrison. But the strength of the garrison was insufficient to prevent the rebels from placing their matchlock men on the other side. Communications between the barracks became difficult, no one could move out of cover for an instant without drawing on himself the fire of twenty pieces. Water was at last drawn under shelter of the parapet at the edge of the wall; but the parapet was knocked over, and soon not a drop could be obtained, save at the risk of almost certain destruction.

The half-destroyed walls of the barracks, or the temporary expedient of piling up tents and casks, formed the precarious but only shelter that could be obtained. Food could only be carried from post to



post by day, and the dead were removed at night and thrown into an adjacent well without the decency of burial. Relief was expected on the 14th June; but day after day brought no succour. Round shot and disease were doing their work, provisions ran short, and the misery endured by all can hardly be imagined.

Yet the besieged in successful sallies took and spiked the nearest guns, driving away the mutineers and retiring with little, if any, loss to the trenches; but the guns were either repaired or replaced by others from the Arsenal. Still, though the position in the barracks was quite untenable, the mutineers never mustered the courage to assault it.

Nor were the Europeans in the trenches the only sufferers. Besides several Europeans captured in the city, many of the Natives suspected of aiding or serving the British Force were put to death. A list was made of all the bankers who were mulcted of their wealth, and property of every description was plundered or wantonly destroyed by the rebels. Up to the 26th June, however, the British Force held their own, though their loss in killed alone was upwards of 100, and the ladies and others were maddened by suffering. It can scarcely be wondered at that when, on that morning, the Nana offered to treat, his proposition was listened to. It was worded as follows:—

"All soldiers and others unconnected with the acts of Lord Dalhousie, who will lay down their arms and give themselves up, shall be spared and sent to Allahabad."

Captain Moore, commanding the detachment of H. M.'s 32nd, who had from the first directed the energies of the besieged, and invariably led their sallies, seeing the reduced state of the besieged, and relying on the word of the Nana, obtained permission to sign the paper; and, contrary to the advice and remonstrances of many other officers, the treaty was agreed to.

Boats were immediately provided for the conveyance of the remains of the garrison to Allahabad, and to these boats they proceeded on the morning of the 27th of June. And now followed the most dastardly piece of treachery that has perhaps ever been perpetrated. Only a portion of the party had taken their places in the boats, when, by previous arrangement, the boatmen set the awnings of the boats on fire and rushed on to the bank. A heavy fire of grape and musketry was then opened on the Europeans. Out of thirty boats two only managed to start; one of these was shortly swamped by round shot, but its passengers were enabled to reach the leading boat. Of those

on board the other twenty-eight boats, some were killed, some drowned, and the rest brought back prisoners.

The remaining boat, having fifty of the fugitives on board, proceeded down the river followed by the rebels, who kept up an incessant fire from both banks. At the distance of six miles the boat grounded; its passengers remained passive until night, when the darkness enabled them to shove her off. They pursued their way without interruption till the boat again grounded at Nujajgurh, eight miles lower down. Here again the rebels attacked the boat, killing many of the passengers; but the assailants were driven off and retired to Cawnpore. The Nana then immediately despatched two complete regiments in pursuit. At night a violent storm fortunately forced the boat from the sand bank, but from ignorance of the channel the boat was again allowed to ground further down. When daylight came, it showed the unhappy fugitives that their remorseless enemies had followed them up and were on the bank. They had now reached Secrajpore, thirty miles from Cawnpore.

As it was found impracticable to move the boat, a party of fourteen landed to drive back their assailants, which they did most effectually; but proceeding too far inland, they were surrounded, and on their making their way back to the river, lost all sight of the boat. They accordingly followed the bank for about a mile; when, being hotly pressed, they were forced to take refuge and breathing time in a small temple.

At the door of the temple one of the party was killed; the remaining thirteen, after attempting a parley in vain, had recourse to their firelocks, and several of the enemy were killed, or put *hors-de-combat*. The rebels fearing even to attack this small band of Englishmen, brought a gun to bear on the temple; but finding that it made no impression, they had recourse to heaping up firewood before the doorway. Unfortunately the temple was round, so that the party within could not prevent their pushing the wood round to the front. The fire, however, did not have the desired effect; some handfuls of powder were therefore thrown on it, the smoke of which nearly suffocated the fugitives, who determined to sally out and take to the river. On their charging out of the temple the enemy fled in all directions. Six or seven of the party who, it was supposed, could not swim, ran into the crowd and sold their lives as dearly as they could, the remaining seven threw themselves into the Ganges, two of these were shot ere long,



a third, resting himself by swimming on his back, unwittingly approached too near the bank and was cut up; and the other four swam six miles down the river, three of them being wounded. At last the leader was hailed by two or three sepoy's belonging to a friendly Rajah, who eventually proved to be Maharajah Deg Bejah Singh, a Baiswarra Chief in Oudh.

Exhausted by a three days' fast, and fancying from their not having been pursued for the last half mile of the flight that they were safe, the fugitives at once went to the Rajah, who protected and fed them from the 29th June to the 28th of July. He ultimately provided for their escort to the Camp by a detachment of Europeans proceeding from Allahabad to Cawnpore to join the force under the command of Brigadier-General Havelock.)

Meantime at the Cawnpore ghat, after the partial escape of the two boats, the massacre continued. Musketry was kept up from behind neighbouring garden walls, and sowars made attacks on the helpless crowd by riding in amongst them and slashing in all directions with their tulwars. There is an old half-caste woman now alive in Calcutta, named Murray, who in this tremendous moment was dropt full length on the sand by a ghastly sword-cut on her back. At last some person in authority, who, there is some reason to suppose, was either Bala Rao, or the Rao Sahib, gave orders for the slaughter to cease, and those who were still uninjured were all collected together and carried off towards a large house called "Salavadar" or Savada Kotee, in the south-east corner of the parade ground. Here it seems likely the men were at once selected from amongst the women and children and there slaughtered.

The women were all huddled together into an apartment and kept close prisoners.

The boat which, as we have seen before, ran aground at Seorajpore ghat, remained immovable. All those who were still in her were made prisoners and brought on shore, and were afterwards put on country carts and taken back to Cawnpore. There appears to have been delay in procuring this carriage, for the party was seen at Aherwan by one named Thomas, himself a prisoner, some four or five days, as he says, after the massacre at the boats. Thomas estimates the number of ladies and gentlemen about 80. This witness also tells me that when he reached Cawnpore he found the Nana in Savada Kotee, and large bodies of the rebel soldiery encamped between that and the

Railway. I suspect the males of the Seorajpore party were killed on arrival, and the women and children added to those already in confinement. About the 7th of July there appears to have been a general move towards the town. The Nana occupied the then hotel, and the women and children were located in a small house badly built, partly on a native plan, which was called "Beebeegurh," from having been erected by an officer some years ago for an Indian mistress. Here common matting was provided for them, and chuppatees and water were supplied them. They seem to have been suffering fearfully from disease, if we may judge from a memorandum found in the house of deaths during a very few days, kept apparently by a Bengalee Native Doctor. I remember one entry striking me as very touching.

In the "name" column—"ek bebee"—a baby.

In the "disease" column—"ap se"—of itself.

Here then they remained till the fatal 15th. Before narrating what occurred on that day, I would just touch on two points: First, with regard to the Futtehgurh fugitives, I can only, with distinctness, make out the arrival of two batches; but I have no doubt the Futtehgurh narrative will throw light on the subject. There was the party with whom the Missionaries were. This seems to have arrived before the capitulation, and I think none escaped. They were all at once murdered.

The second, which was a larger party, got to Cawnpore early in July. My reason for thinking this is that in the list found in the Beebeegurh, apparently written by some guard on taking over charge, after all the other names he puts in, "from Futtehgurh," and then occur about 70 names more.

The other subject I would briefly mention is the much-disputed question of the treatment of those who suffered death or imprisonment. I entirely disavow any desire to make out a case, or to take one side of the question, or indeed do anything but speak the truth. The alleged occurrences appear to be torture, mutilation, and dishonour.

*1st.*—With regard to torture, I simply say I have not heard of a case. Tell me of a case, and I will investigate the evidence and report on it.

*2nd.*—Mutilation. With regard to this, there appears to have been a great deal of intentional prevarication. If by mutilation is meant cutting off the hands and feet of corpses, it is well known to be a common practice; and though I do not remember to have seen any



dead body at this place in that plight, most undoubtedly they have been so seen in other stations. The other mutilation, viz., that of cutting off the extremities of living persons, is also practised by natives. There are at least fifteen mutilated natives at this moment in the Cawnpore district. A mutilated European in this sense, I have never seen, nor have I heard of an authenticated case of one having been seen by any one else.

*3rd.*—Dishonour. It is surely most heartless to the friends of those who have perished to argue whether this is a circumstance *likely* to have occurred or not. The point is, what evidence have we? If the story of the girl in Calcutta brought forward by Dr. Knighton in the *Times* is authentic, this is clearly one case. With regard to poor Miss W—, if the drummer's evidence that he saw her at Futtehgarh be true, the other story of her drowning herself in a well here must be false, and *vice versa*. This case is not as yet so clear. I have not heard of any others.

But we have now to narrate the last scene in the Nana's rule at Cawnpore.

The battle of Aoung was fought early in the forenoon of the 15th, and the Pandoo Nuddee was forced to the best of my recollection by about 11 o'clock the same day. There was therefore ample time for news of the repulse and the steady advance of the British troops to have reached Cawnpore early in the afternoon. There is every reason therefore to suppose that the fate of the unhappy captives was immediately made the subject of discussion. The decision arrived at is now known and execrated throughout the civilized world. It was decided that the captives should be put to death. The order was carried into execution about sun-down. There were four gentlemen, three of them of the Futtehgarh party, who by some mischance, or for some special reason, had been reserved from the fate which had already fallen upon their male companions. These were first taken out of the Beebeegurh and murdered on the high road. Then the general massacre commenced. It seems probable that volleys were first fired into the doors and windows, and then that executioners were sent in to do the rest with swords. If the work was anything like completed, it must have taken a considerable time. At length the doors were closed, and night fell upon what had happened. The hotel where the Nana had his quarters was within fifty yards of this house, and I am credibly informed that he ordered a *naulch* and passed the evening with singing and

dancing. Early next morning orders were given for the Beebeegurh to be cleared. There must have been near upon 200 corpses. So many, I do not think, could have been thrown into the well. It seems probable that a portion were dragged down to the Ganges. Considering the smallness of the house, and the crowded condition of the captives, it is next to impossible that all can have been slaughtered the previous night. It is exercising, therefore, no morbid imagination, and pandering to no prurient curiosity, to say that I hold no doubt some of the living met a more terrible death than assassination, even by being plunged with their dead companions into the tainted waters of the well.

The small but determined band under General Havelock, who were destined (I may say, surely without profanity) by God's aid to avenge the scenes described above, left Allahabad on the afternoon of 6th July. The rain fell with almost tropical violence for some hours. We pitched the first night, only a few miles out of cantonments, in a sea of mud. The next morning, however, was dry and clear, and the men soon getting into the motion of the march, all spirits rose again, and every heart beat high with the prospect of the work that had to be done. The force consisted of about 1,200 Europeans, 150 Sikhs, and 20 or 25 Volunteer Cavalry. The marches were at first only from one encamping ground to another. Throughout the Allahabad district we found the ruined Burdast Khanas well supplied, and the Thannahdars and Tehseeldars at their posts. But many of the villages had been burnt by the wayside, and human beings there were none to be seen. A more desolate scene than the country we passed through can scarcely be imagined. The swamps on either side of the road; the blackened ruins of huts now further defaced by weather stains and mould; the utter absence of all sound that could indicate the presence of human life or the employments of human industry (such sounds being usurped by the croaking of frogs, the shrill pipe of the cicada, and the under-hum of the thousand-winged insects engendered by the damp and heat); the offensive odour of the neem trees; the occasional taint in the air from suspended bodies, upon which, before our very eyes, the loathsome pig of the country was engaged in feasting; all these things appealing to our different senses, contributed to call up such images of desolation, and blackness, and woe, as few, I should think, who were present, will ever forget. We were at Khaga, in the Futtehpore district, on the 11th. The village was almost entirely deserted. We experienced no difficulty, however, in obtaining supplies. The munsiff of



Hutgaon, Salamut Alee, was in attendance and gave every assistance. A Thannahdar was appointed, and a Thannah established, which has never been relinquished since. I presume the General heard during the day that the rebel force was advancing on Futtehpore, for at midnight we marched to catch up Major Renaud, who with 400 Europeans and about as many Sikhs, two field pieces, and 80 Irregular Cavalry, had preceded our General by a few days, and was then a short march ahead.

The two Forces were amalgamated in the middle of the night, and marching on together reached Belanda, about four miles on the Allahabad side of Futtehpore, by, I suppose, 7 o'clock in the morning. Here, too, we had no difficulties about supplies; Munnoo Lall, the faithful merchant and zemindar, Hunscoa, and Zoolfikar Khan, an old cavalry soldier of the same place, who had made their village the headquarters of all those well affected to the British Government, were in attendance and proffered every aid. Aid at Belanda, however, as it turned out, was not necessary, for a reconnoitring party soon brought word that the enemy were advancing in force down the road; and whilst we were yet drinking our morning tea, under the shade of some trees, their guns opened and behold a battle had commenced. Here the enemy advanced their guns in rows of two or three at a time in a perfectly infatuated manner down the Trunk Road. How Maude's well-directed shrapnel from the flank drove them in such confusion back into Futtehpore, that they scarcely attempted to hold the strong posts afforded by the garden walls and thick trees in its environs; how the misbehaviour of our Irregular Cavalry nearly allowed the enemy's horse temporarily to turn our right, has all been described by persons qualified to judge of military movements. I need therefore say no more than that by twelve o'clock we found ourselves lying under trees a mile and half on the Cawnpore side of Futtehpore, waiting for our camp to come up from Belanda, the town ours, and the enemy miles away.

On that day Futtehpore was given up to plunder, the country people had the boldness to come in in crowds and assist in carrying off property, making themselves our ayces and grass-cutters when interrogated by the soldiers. The inhabitants had fled to a man, so the shops and houses were ransacked without remonstrance, and next morning, when we marched away, the Sikhs were left behind to set the town on fire in several places at once. On the 14th we were

encamped near Kullianpore, and on the evening of the same day the Irregular Cavalry were dismounted and disarmed. Early on the 15th we marched on towards Aoung, where the General had been led to suppose he should meet with considerable resistance. His information was perfectly correct,—the village was occupied in strength.

The enemy had intrenched themselves across the road, not indeed in a very formidable manner, but the village offered great cover in the walled gardens, thickly grown with trees, which flanked it on either side. From this shelter a steady fire of musketry was kept up for a considerable time. It was in this engagement that the enemy's cavalry made more than one attempt to get round our force and cut off the baggage. Once or twice they regularly charged, but as soon as the bullets of the baggage guard began to fly amongst them, they pulled up and galloped away in quite a ludicrous fashion. After a struggle of some little endurance the village of Aoung was taken, and as it was supposed the enemy would try and injure the bridge over the Pandoo Nuddee, the General pushed on. The rebels had placed two heavy guns on the bank on the opposite side of the Pandoo,—one a 12-pounder, and the other an old carronade, I think, of large calibre.

These were fired straight down the high road, but Enfield riflemen were sent on through the fields to the river bank, and from that position very soon dislodged the gunners, and the whole body then made off, leaving the guns. Some miserable attempts had been made to blow up the bridge, but quite ineffectual in their nature, and our troops marched across with perfect ease and occupied the opposite bank. There we remained for the rest of the 15th, but by sunrise the next morning we were again on our march. In passing through the village of Sirsoul, the zemindars came out to receive us, and promised to send on supplies after us to Aheriwan, which they faithfully did. We reached Aheriwan by noon; it was the hottest day I have ever been out of doors in a clear blue sky, with small patches of dazzling white cloud, which seemed to serve only to reflect the heat more intensely. Nothing but the excitement could have supported the troops under such exposure. The baggage was all collected into a grove and a body of guards left to protect it, with four guns to be worked by some men of the line who had learned the rudiments of Artillery practice. The troops having rested for a couple of hours and taken refreshments started about half-past two for the last battle, which was to decide the fate of the Nana's rule. The particulars of the battle are well known.



To us who remained in the grove it was naturally a time of great interest and excitement. I remember we could not possibly account for the altered sound of one of the heavy guns. The fact was afterwards explained to be that the enemy had moved round one of their 24-pounders towards the Grand Trunk Road to meet the attack on their left, by which they were finally overcome.

It was dark before the firing ceased, but no one returned, and the last firing had been the most distant; this we knew indicated advance, and therefore victory, and so we fell to sleep assured, though we had no communication whatever with the main body till the summons came next morning for the camp to advance.

In obedience to this summons we were proceeding along the road when suddenly, in the direction of Cawnpore, a gigantic tongue of flame leapt up as it were to lick the sky, followed by a large cloud of smoke, which, preserving somewhat the shape of a balloon, ascended swiftly; we looked at each other, and that moment experienced a slight shock, like a weak electric current, and then the mighty thunder broke in the distance, and seemed to roll towards us and around us. The powder magazine had been exploded.

That day the army was encamped on the parade ground, and we for the first time saw the deserted intrenchment which Wheeler had occupied scarcely three weeks before.

That scene of matchless desolation, the monument at once of astounding cowardice on the part of the enemy, and of incredible courage and endurance on the part of those besieged, has been already often described. I will only observe that the cry in all mouths was in such a position, and against such odds to have held out a couple of days, seems almost a miracle. The next morning (the 18th) the troops were ordered to march by the Trunk Road to the Mission premises, the most distant buildings to the west in Cawnpore, and situated close by where the Cantonment and Grand Trunk roads join. This wise movement not only protected the station in the direction of Bithoor, but also preserved the soldiers from the temptations of liquor, as well from any desire to take vengeance into their own hands. That day, with the General's permission, I rode with two of the Volunteer Cavalry into the city, having the re-establishment of the British power proclaimed in several places, and meeting almost the whole mercantile population at the Cotwalee, where they professed (I cannot say with what sincerity) the greatest delight at our return. We had also the great pleasure

of liberating one or two half-caste Christians who were concealed in remote lanes and alleys. From the city we proceeded to the hotel, which we found just as the Nana had left it. He slept on one side, and on the opposite had rooms for pooja and cooking, keeping two large centre apartments for Darbar purposes. Thence we were directed to the Beebeegurh and well. And then broke upon our sight that dreadful spectacle, over the very idea of which there are still broken spirits and widowed hearts mourning terror-stricken in distant England. I have no more details to add to what is already too well known, and must dismiss the sad subject with one or two brief remarks. The stories of children found suspended on the trees, and of mutilated dead bodies lying in the enclosure, are entirely fabrications. There were no dead bodies except in the well. The well was narrow and deep, and on looking down you could only see a tangled mass of human limbs entirely without clothing. To the best of my belief there was not a word written on the walls. I searched myself, and I know that others did so too, but without discovering any intelligible marks.

The only documents I ever heard of being found were—

- 1st—A list in Hindoo, giving the names of all the prisoners received apparently on the 7th of July, and made over to some other guardian on the 11th. This list I took possession of, but careful copies of it have been taken, and it forms the basis of all lists which have been published.
- 2nd—A list of sick and memorandum of deaths in the Beebeegurh, for two or three days kept apparently by a Bengalee Native Doctor. This was in the possession at one time of Major Gordon, of the late 6th Native Infantry, and was published in the *Phoenix* newspaper, August 1857.
- 3rd—A skeleton diary, believed to have been kept by one of the Lindsay family, made over, I fancy long since, to survivors.

On the 19th, Major Stevenson of the Madras Fusiliers commanded a party which went out to Bithoor. This place was occupied without the least resistance, and thirteen guns removed from it, besides a great deal of valuable property. The Nana's palace was destroyed, which was a pity, as any chance of finding treasure has been rendered far more remote. The Nana himself was far away. To the best of my information he left Bithoor on the evening of the 17th. He found it impossible



to get any of the soldiers to rally round him; they had thrown off restraint and abused him and Baba Bhut in open terms, clamouring with threatening gestures for money, and so off, helter-skelter, for Futtehghurh. That evening he embarked himself and the ladies of his family on a large boat. He had given notice that he should drown himself, I suppose as a blind to prevent pursuit, and it was understood the signal was to be, when the light was put out. The Gungapootras were watching on the shore. About mid-stream the light was extinguished, and with a yell that must have reached the boat, the mendicant Brahmins rushed up to the palace and commenced plundering all they could lay their hands on. The crafty Nana was disembarking in the darkness on the other side; but if in so callous a heart any bitter reflections could arise, the ingratitude of his adherents and the falseness of those he had cherished might well have induced them.

General Neill arrived with some 400 men, I think on the 20th, and the next day we all moved down to Permit ghat, from whence the embarkation was commenced to Oudh. This took some days; meantime every exertion was made to render the new intrenchment (which had been chosen by General Havelock on the 19th) capable of defence when the Forces intended to relieve Lucknow had all crossed. General Neill was left with a garrison of less than two hundred men to hold Cawnpore. The day I entered the city (*viz.*, the 18th) I appointed a Cotwal and city police, and a day or two afterwards I sent out a Thannahdar to Sirsoul with a band of burkundazes. This Thannah is on the Allahabad road and has never been given up since. I was very anxious also to get outposts to the south and west, that we might, as it were, have police pickets on all sides of us. Two men readily volunteered to go out as Thannahdars,—one to Suchendee, about ten miles down the Calpee road; and the other to Sheorajpore, a village on the Grand Trunk Road towards Delhi. They both went out, attended by as many men as could be collected together. This was a most unfortunate undertaking. The 42nd Regiment of Native Infantry (than which no corps showed more courage or greater ferocity) having mutinied at Saugor, crossed the Jumna at Calpee, accompanied by some Irregular Horse, and marched direct upon Akberpore. Here it was supposed they would turn off towards Bithoor; before doing so, however, they sent a considerable body of men to destroy the temporary bridge over the Pandoo, and these men advancing rapidly, surprised the Thannah of Suchendee, and capturing

the Thannahdar put him to death, under circumstances of great cruelty. The main body afterwards marching on Sheorajpore, surrounded the Thannah there also, and the Thannahdar, a young Mussulman of considerable personal courage, was shot, and his body hung with the head downwards from a tree. General Neill, who on taking command of the intrenchment, told me that as the occupation of Cawnpore was wholly military, he considered it of great importance that the city police should be in the hands of a military man, that they might be made to co-operate with military movements, had already appointed Captain Bruce of the Bombay Army Superintendent of Police, with (as I understood the General to say) the express approbation of Government. The serious gathering at Bithoor, which shortly after the departure of General Havelock began to draw all our attention for a while, postponed any further attempts to re-establish provincial police stations. The 42nd Native Infantry, which after leaving Sheorajpore had occupied Bithoor, were soon joined there by men of the 17th and other Regiments, and by sowars of the 2nd Cavalry and 3rd Infantry. General Neill was all activity, constantly marching out in the environs of the town, with a couple of guns and all his available men; keeping the steamer moving up and down the river (it made two warlike visits to Bithoor), and in every way showing that he was on the alert and prepared for emergencies. It is certainly untrue, though it has been often repeated, that the Nana recrossed to Bithoor at this juncture; he has never, since he first left Bithoor, revisited this bank; nor do I think, as I have seen it stated, that Cawnpore was at this time in any particular danger. The enemy were numerous, but they had only two small pieces of artillery, and though their sowars did occasionally by night ride into the suburbs, it was mostly, I fancy, for the sake of bravado. However, General Havelock considered it his first duty on returning from Oudh, to turn its rebel occupants out of Bithoor. Accordingly, on the 16th August, a large party, commanded by General Havelock in person, marched on Bithoor, and after an hour's cannonading entirely cleared the town. During the presence of General Havelock's force in Cawnpore, of course we had a stronger hold on the neighbourhood, and I was commencing an attempt at again establishing police posts, when I received a very kind letter from General Neill, of which the following are extracts:—  
"Attempting to establish your police is not only useless, but risking the lives of men well disposed to the State to no purpose. The



capture and murder of your men at Sheorajpore and Bithoor prove this." And again, "Having no soldiers to send out, the common police under military rule Bruce is getting together is the best substitute." Then after very highly praising the police on the Allahabad road for having kept open communication so well, he adds: "When the sanction of the Government is requested, the reason why, must be fully stated as above; most certainly the grounds for sending the request will not be the inefficient state of the present police." The posts therefore of Bithoor, Sheorajpore and Suchendee passed into General Neill's hands, and were garrisoned by degrees under Captain Bruce's orders with what was then called the 'Mahter police.' About the same time General Neill also nominated Captain Young of the 4th Native Infantry to be Superintendent of the Grand Trunk Road for aiding the transit of troops. Both these appointments were sanctioned, and Commissions for administering the Penal Acts were sent me by Mr. Chester for Captains Bruce and Young. I being already on the Commission, swore them both in. I merely mention this to show that my partial supersession (of which I have no wish to complain in the least, for I think it was quite proper under the circumstances) was not only known to, but acquiesced in by, the Government under whose immediate orders I was then acting. Had we been strong enough then to have thoroughly occupied the district, I make no doubt most of the zemindars would have at once given in their adherence, and things would have quieted down. As it was, several large zemindars, amongst them Doorga Pershad of Suchendee, began to feel their way and to make inquiries as to whether by-gones stood any chance of being considered by-gones. To these we could only guarantee a fair trial. But this did not meet their views. Gradually as it became seen that Cawnpore was only a garrison, when it was clearly known that the troops collecting at Cawnpore had not for their immediate object the pacification of the Doab, but were intended to cross the river, this desire to conciliate died away, and the disaffected began to look towards Gwalior as affording them some hope of a second subversion of the British power, and this time with a more permanent success. The active part taken by Doorga Pershad and Rajah Sutte Pershad, of Sheorajpore, heads as they were of the Chundel Rajpoots, naturally influenced the conduct of most of the higher class of Thakoors. I am afraid the most I can say of the better specimens is that they were neutral. The infidelity also of

the Omlah, doubtless, had a very bad influence in the district. To a man almost, with the Deputy Collector at their head, they quietly changed sides and acquiesced in the new administration. Ram Lall, the Deputy Collector, took a very active part in attempting to organize the Nana's Government. This marked treachery,—a treachery which ruined the whole body of officials,—I punished with death on my first arrival. At the time then that Sir James Outram arrived with reinforcements, the state of the district was this: first, as regards Police: Captain Bruce held the city, Bithoor, Suchendee and Sheorajpore; had a slight hold on Belhour, and had established one or two smaller posts in the neighbourhood, so that Cawnpore was well surrounded by a series of police pickets. In Police I had the Thannah at Sirsoul, and a Thannah at Ghatumpore, and for awhile one also at Bhogneepore. These three pergunnahs were under Mr. Griffiths, both in Revenue and Police. There were no Tehseeldars appointed, but he had two Peshkars under him at Sarh Sulem and at Ghatumpore. The Pandit, Umar Nauth, was appointed Sudder Tehseeldar. We collected in the Huzoor Tehseel and Bithoor, and got a little money in from Russoolabad and Sheorajpore. When the Force left us on the 19th of October for the relief of Oudh, and when many days passed without any intelligence being received from Lucknow, considerable anxiety was naturally felt in the town; but the glorious news of the capture of Delhi raised our prestige again, and the large preparations which were being made for carriage and commissariat stores reassured the people that the *Gorah log* were not so completely run out of soldiers as ill disposed agitators had tried to lead them to believe. No material change took place in our position. We could not strengthen our hold on the district; Bhogneepore and Secundra and Akberpore were very much under the influence of the trans-Jumna rebels, whilst the large clan of Mew Thakoors were to a man in open rebellion, and two malcontents, the Rajah Bhao, and Kalundur Gir Gossain, managed to keep the whole of that part of the district in a disturbed state. In Russoolabad there was a strong party, headed by Pem Singh and Duriao Singh (since hung at Gwalior), against us, and connected with a rebel party in Etawah; but there were some influential men for us. Sheelee and Sheorajpore were subject to inroads from sowars connected with the Nana and Nurput Singh, and were kept in constant disturbance and excitement. Bithoor was strengthened by the proximity of Cawnpore, but still on the Dusseerah, the enemy from



the other bank managed to surprise Captain Bruce's police, and killed a considerable number of them, including the Superintendent. A party from Akberpore also attacked Suchendee about the same time, and killed the Thannahdar and several burkundazes. The capture of Delhi drove the fugitive rebels down the country, and the large party (diminished though I fancy on the road) which crossed at Muttra, under Bukt Khan, advanced into this district as far as Sheorajpore. Brigadier Wilson, however, went out to meet him on 19th October with 600 Infantry and several field pieces. There was scarcely an engagement, as after firing a few shots the enemy made off; but although little harm was done to him then, there is reason to suppose the check received at Sheorajpore threw back into the jaws of Greathed's column that body of rebels that were annihilated on the morning of the 23rd October near Kanouj. Soon after this brush in upon us, full of life and vigour, and flushed with victory, part of the glorious band that had expelled the rebel from his fastness, had upraised again the British flag in the deserted halls of Timoor, the 'pursuing column,' as it was called, first commanded by Greathed and afterwards by Grant, arrived on the 26th of October, and doubtless the sight of so large a body of men would have tended entirely to pacify the district, had not ominous whispers from the south-west told us of the advance of the large force and powerful Artillery that was to introduce another disturbing element into all plans. But days passed on, the 'pursuing column' crossed the river; Infantry and Cavalry and guns came up and crossed and disappeared, and at last the Commander-in-Chief himself made a start, and the relief of Lucknow commenced.

What occurred during his absence has been often related. Time fails me to give more than the merest outline. Taking advantage of the comparatively unprotected state of Cawnpore, the Gwalior Contingent, after many hesitations, at length crossed the Jumna and marched upon the station. On the 26th November, General Windham went out to meet them at Bhoutee, about ten miles down the Calpee road, gave them a very decided repulse, and brought in one of their 10-inch howitzers in which they placed such reliance. The next morning the enemy again advanced, and turning off the Calpee road crossed by Rawutpore to the Grand Trunk Road, where, being joined by a considerable force of rebels which had crossed from Oudh at Sheorajpore, made a joint attack on Cawnpore.

The endeavours to keep them off were not that day, as is well known, altogether successful, and the troops slept at night inside the

intrenchment. A sally, however, was made on the 28th, and with considerable success on the left. But the advantage gained could not be sustained with the force available, and when Sir Colin rode into Cawnpore, on the evening of the 28th, he found the entire force within its intrenchments, and the enemy in possession of the whole city and station. It was on the 1st December that Captain Bruce received a staff appointment, and wishing to be at once relieved of his police duties, he wrote to ask me to take over charge. I went over to his house, which formed part of the intrenchments; I think the enemy had got some idea that the Commander-in-Chief was staying there; but however that may be, they selected this wretched house for a target, and I wrote my letters with round shot whizzing over our heads. Fortunately the enemy were not very good shots, but they carried away part of the balustrade of the roof twice. I should not think it has happened before for a Magistrate to take charge of a district, a few hundred square yards only of which were then in British possession, and to sign the usual papers under a heavy cannonade playing on his predecessor's house.

Here as Captain Bruce's administration ended, let me venture to bear my tribute to its vigour and its justice. Much has been said, I understand, about the executions at this place. All I can testify is that I believe the executions to have been far less numerous here than at most other places which the rebels had had possession of. Fair and careful trials were always accorded, and I never heard the natives complain of the result of any, except that of Azim Alee Khan. In that case Captain Bruce asked my opinion, and it confirmed his own, that the Khan Sahib was guilty. As for myself, I trust I was of some use in collecting commissariat stores, building carts, &c., and keeping up a *lilliputian* correspondence with Agra. I also attempted, not wholly without success, to keep order in the Futtehpoore district, and when Mr. Probyn was made Magistrate in October, he found all the Thanuahs and Tehselees restored. But I draw to the close of my narrative. On the 6th of December Sir Colin arose in his strength and scattered the Gwalior Contingent in every direction, taking all their guns. The delusion was over, the district saw that British supremacy was inevitable; and sick of misrule and confusion and disorder, it finally succumbed. The Column under Brigadier Walpole, which marched on the 18th December, was received with apparent pleasure by the people. Captain Bouchier writes:—"The whole population flocked to see us." The ousted zemindars began to see that their dream of getting rid of auction purchasers was over, and they must submit to their fate. These



men were made our enemies by circumstances. We ruined them to be sure but it was in our attempt to benefit them; and if our desire to liberate them from the yoke of the Talookdar had subjected them to the ten-times more disastrous yoke of the Borah, still the consummation was one we never contemplated. The selling up of estates, however, was doubtless one of the principal causes that gave the rebellion that popular phase it gradually assumed. Bacon has remarked with rare sagacity that "it is certain so many overthrown estates, so many votes for troubles." This must be remembered with regard to confiscated estates too, as well as those the Civil Court has laid its hand upon.

Opportunity was taken of Brigadier Walpole's column to re-establish Thannahs and Tehseelees at Akberpore, Russoolabad and Derapore, which have stood ever since. Mr. Griffiths re-established his Thannahs at Sirsoul and Ghatumpore, and when the Chief advanced towards Futtehgurh, Sheorajpore and Belour had their establishments restored, which have never since been disturbed. Bhogneepore and Secundra, continuing under the influence of Calpee, although they were kept out of active mischief by the moveable column under Colonel Maxwell at Akberpore, were too disturbed to admit of Government servants being located there, and it was not till the fall of Calpee in May that by their complete subjugation, I was enabled to report to the Commissioner *ubique pax*.

That peace, with God's blessing, I hope we shall be able not only to maintain by armed force, but to ensure gradually on a much firmer ground, by pressing upon the people the conviction that a Christian rule is synonymous with a wise and just one.

I do not think I have omitted anything of importance bearing on the general aspects of the rebellion in this district. I recall the burning of Russoolabad Tehseelee by the fugitives after the battle of Khujwa in Futtehpore. I recall a raid of Rao Sahib from the Ganges to the Jumna, and an attack on Russoolabad by Etawah zemindars; but these were detached incidents, scarcely calling for notice in a narrative of this kind. I followed but the other day close upon the retreating footsteps of Feroze Shah, but I found the ploughman in the field; the boy singing at the well as he urged the bullocks down the slope; the old woman sitting at her door twisting her little cotton gin (I fear with scarcely velocity enough to compete with the New World) and her daughters grinding the millet, all supremely unconscious of

the descendant of Timoor, who with somewhat unseemly haste had made but yesterday a royal progress through their fields and villages.

The taste for misrule has clearly for the time departed. The people have seen that neither Rajah nor Nawab can construct a practicable administration, and the old rule seems better than none.

I trust experience may teach us to amend those parts of our administration which may be oppressive or distasteful to the people, so that they may accept our rule, not only as inevitable, but also as that with which they are best satisfied.

JOHN WALTER SHERER,

13th January 1859.

Magistrate of Cawnpore.

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*MEMORANDUM by Lieutenant-Colonel WILLIAMS, Military Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces.*

The investigations regarding the outbreak at Cawnpore in June 1857 have been temporarily closed.

Forty-two depositions from individuals of all classes and creeds—Christians, Mahomedans and Hindoos—have been recorded, and valuable evidence obtained from respectable and influential residents in the city. These depositions, together with the native journal of a city resident, have been translated, and relate at first attempts made by the Nana to tamper with the troops, his ready success, the earliest meeting held by the conspirators, and their proceedings on and subsequent to their mutiny from the 1st of June to the advance of the British force in July.

It is proposed to have these printed; and from them to draw up a report cast in the form of a Narrative, showing all that the evidence contained in them proves.

The evidence shows the Nana's brother, Bala Sahib, to have taken as (if not more) active and prominent part as even the Nana himself.

There are no traces of any conspiracy prior to the arrival of the Nana at Cawnpore on the 22nd May 1857, with two guns, and 300 horse and foot, for the avowed purpose of aiding in the maintenance of order. But about that time, it would seem, that two sowars, the one named Raheem Khan, of Bishenpore, near Bithoor, the other Muddut Alee, of Banda, and in the service of the Nana, were employed by Bala Sahib, to corrupt the fidelity of the troops. The 2nd Cavalry, already ripe for mutiny, needed but little persuasion. Soobadar Teeka Sing, Havildar-Major Gopal Singh, and Sowars Shumsh-ood-deen Khan,



Shaik Boolakie, Sirdar Beg, and Rai Singh, are said to have taken the lead amongst them; and at dusk on the evening of the 1st of June met the Nana and Bala Sahib at Manjee ghat, where they had a consultation in a boat that lasted two hours.

Upon this fact being brought to the notice of the Magistrate, the Nana plausibly accounted for it, by stating it to have been held for the adoption of measures, that should keep the troops firm and loyal; whereas on the succeeding day, sowar Shumsh-ood-deen Khan, with two or three others of the 2nd Cavalry, whilst drinking in the house of a prostitute named Azeezun, informed her that in a few days the Peshwa's rule would be proclaimed, and the Nana paramount at Cawnpore, when they would fill her house not with rupees merely, but goldmohurs.

The depositions of those attached to the 53rd and 56th Native Infantry give a clear account of the outbreak on the 4th June, and the events in the intrenchments.

After the mutiny of the 2nd Cavalry and 1st Native Infantry, on the morning of the 5th of June, a sowar of the former, and a native officer of the latter corps, were sent to the Nana, to offer him the alternative of a kingdom if he joined their (the rebel) party, or death if he cast in his lot with the British.

His decision was promptly accorded, the ready reply being, "What have I to do with the British. I am with you." He then laying his hand on the heads of the mutineers, swore to be their Chief, and to lead them to Delhi; after which they were dismissed with orders to carry the Government treasure to Kulliaspore. A consultation was then held by the Nana, Bala Sahib, and Azeemoollah. The latter pointed out the folly of proceeding to Delhi, where their individual power and influence would necessarily cease; and recommended the Nana's recalling the mutineers, taking possession of Cawnpore, and extending his authority as far as he could to the eastward; adding, that he was thoroughly acquainted with the resources of the British, that the number of Europeans in India was scarce one-fourth that of the Native army, and that the latter having mutinied, the former were powerless.

This being agreed to, as the soundest policy, was accordingly carried out; the mutineers were ordered back, and the siege of the intrenchment commenced. The evidence of some of the beleaguered parties, chiefly belonging to the 53rd and 56th Regiments, with that of the city people, gave a vivid picture of the state of affairs during that

ever memorable period. The mutineers, it would appear, were more intent on plunder and murder, than on fair and open fight, whilst in the city and elsewhere, a reign of terror was established.

The Nana was assisted by neighbouring zemindars, and the insurgent populace; finding it, after repeated attempts, impossible to take the intrenchments by fair fighting, a full council was held, and recourse to treachery resolved upon, though some of the mutineers present are said to have deprecated the adoption of foul means; whether this be true or not, one fact is clear, none gave warning of the base impending treachery, involving, though it did, the murder of helpless women and innocent children, but all joined unflinchingly in its perpetration.

The evidence regarding the massacre at the Suttie Chowra Ghat, on the morning of the 27th June 1857, is clear and conclusive. A plan will be annexed, showing the positions of the guns and rebel troops, held in ambush, but which were withdrawn from their places of concealment when the deputed officers went to examine the boats at the ghat. Nigh ten thousand spectators assembled from the city and neighbouring villages to witness the departure of that gallant little garrison from the intrenchments, amongst whom were many respectable city people, such as bankers, &c., some doubtless came to view the truly novel sight of their late rulers led forth as captives by those they had but a short time previously commanded. Some few may have been actuated by a better and kinder motive to pay their parting respects to those they had known in happier days; for the more respectable portion of the native community, though prepared for treachery, were not aware the British would be attacked at the ghat, ere yet they had embarked, but imagined it would be lower down the river.

Even before that doomed little band had reached the fatal spot, the real intentions of the mutineers were revealed by some, unable to restrain their malignant ardour, until the stated time and spot were reached. The depositions give a painful account of the murder of Colonel Ewart, who commanded the late 1st Native Infantry, by some four sepoys of his corps, who cut him down with bitter taunts, regarding the spectacle before him being a fine parade. His poor wife also meeting with a similar fate, almost immediately after. Of the fearful scenes that ensued at the ghat, the evidence of the manjees who supplied the boats, with that of many who were spectators, gives a clear account,



The most active in carrying out the arrangements, and urging on the slaughter was Teekum, a sowar of the 2nd Cavalry, who having been made a Rissaldar by the Nana, was doubtless anxious thus to exhibit his zeal and devotion in the cause of his benefactor. On a carpet spread on the chubootra of the temple, near the ghat, were seated Bala Sahib, Azeemollah, Brigadier Jowala Pershad, and Tantia Topee, a captain of the Nana's guard. The first shots were fired from the Oudh bank of the river, where the mutinous 17th Native Infantry were posted with some guns; three more being stationed with a large force on the right bank; on the boats being set on fire by the former party, many of their occupants leaped into the water on the offside, and notwithstanding the murderous fire poured upon them, some 84 or 85 women and children effected their escape from present death, only alas! to meet a worse fate hereafter. The wives of drummers, and children, from three to ten years old, passed unscathed not only through the siege, but even this terrible massacre also.

A man of great influence in the city, and a Government official, has related a circumstance that is strange, if true; viz., that whilst the massacre was being carried on at the ghat, a trooper of the 2nd Cavalry, reported to the Nana, then at Savada house, that his enemies, their wives, and children, were exterminated. Some one present remarked, "Yes, it was true, for an infant of a month old was seen floating down the stream." On hearing which, the Nana replied, that "for the destruction of women and children, there was no necessity," and directed the sowar to return with an order to stay their slaughter.

Reliable evidence, as far as it was procurable, regarding the massacre of the helpless captives in the slaughter-house, has been recorded, from which the following facts have been gleaned: That the mutinous troops refused to carry out the order of their destruction, though one random volley by some was, it would seem, fired; that the real perpetrators of the diabolical deed were chiefly men of the Nana's own guard; and that the cause of their destruction was fear of betrayal should any survive, and be recovered by their countrymen; that on the steady and continued advance of the British, and after the second action, in which Bala Sahib was severely wounded in the right shoulder, a hurried council was held; that fear and consternation filled the rebel camp; and dismay, the hearts of all; that this meeting was attended by many, who by loans of money, and aid in various other ways accorded to the Nana, had implicated themselves in the revolt; that many and

various were the projects suggested for checking the advance of the British, and securing their own safety; some of the most timid proposing the abandonment of Cawnpore, the falling back on Futtehghurh, and the conjunction of their force with that of the rebel Nawab there; some suggested making a stand at Bithoor, while others either more courageous or desperate, advised the casting all "on a die" and fighting it out at Cawnpore. Yet, notwithstanding that all felt their hour had well nigh come, and that shortly a stern retribution would be exacted for the innocent blood, already so wantonly shed, such was the fear of detection, (by the many who had aided and abetted their Chief,) through their recognition by the prisoners, particularly such of them as Mrs. Greenway and other old residents of Cawnpore, that no fear of consequences could stay them from further imbruing their hands in blood, and that of women and children, deeming that thus they secured themselves from further detection; especially those who had even at that early stage resolved, should things continue to go against the rebel faction, they would change sides, and if the evidence recorded be true, many of those present at that council are now again in Government employ. Much valuable evidence yet remains untaken. A careful investigation of all procurable would, I think, beyond doubt, implicate many at present supposed to be free from the stain of mutiny.

Adla, by birth and profession a courtesan, born at Mugrasa, resided with the Nana from 1850, and from receiving Rs. 200 per month, becoming a favourite, was, it is said, endowed with the jewels belonging to the widows of the late Peshwa, valued at Rs. 50,000. On the Nana's flight from Bithoor, she was sent in a boat some distance up the river; but returning to Cawnpore in August 1857, was secreted in a house in the Butcher-khana, went from thence to Misreepore, Zillah Humeerpore, and is now said to be at Mugrasa, near Cawnpore, under the care of a man named Mundhoo; having promised, she states, to await one year at Cawnpore, the return of the Nana to that station.

The sister of Mundhoo, named Kareena, resides with Oojagur Dobey, of Dahabey, Zillah Cawnpore, and the jewels are said to be secreted in his house.

The girl, called the Begum, who attended on the prisoners, is one of four slave girls bought by the Peshwa, and named Hossanee Khanum. She, it is said, carried the order for the massacre of the

A female spy has been sent to the Nana's Camp to trace this girl.



prisoners to the sepoy guard placed over them; and on their refusing to execute it, returned and fetched five men of the Nana's own guard; one of whom was her lover, Sirdar Khan.

There is evidence also of the wife of the Toll-keeper at Sheorajpore, who was spared at the intercession of the widows of Bajee Rao, and was delivered of a child at Bithoor, being alive on the 17th of July, two days subsequent to the murder of the prisoners. On the Nana's flight however from Bithoor, on the afternoon of the 17th, he ordered her and the child to be killed.

A man has been sent to Rampore, the residence of the sowar who carried off Miss W.—, as he is said to have returned to his home.

*Names of Witnesses who have given evidence regarding the Cawnpore Outbreak.*

Drummer John Fitchett, 6th Native Infantry.	Sepoy Rambuksh, 23rd Native Infantry.
Drummer William Clarke, 6th Native Infantry.	Sepoy Gobind Singh, 56th Native Infantry.
Drummer William Thomas, 6th Native Infantry.	Badree Nath, Commissariat Gomashta, Cawnpore.
Isabella Spiers, 53rd Native Infantry.	Adjoodia Pershad, Mahajun, Cawnpore.
Elizabeth Spiers, 53rd Native Infantry.	Shunker Dass, Mahajun, Cawnpore.
Eliza Bradshaw, 56th Native Infantry.	Choonnee Lall, Mahajun, Cawnpore.
Elizabeth Letts, 56th Native Infantry.	Nannuck Chund, Mahajun, Cawnpore.
Thomas Farnon, Railway Department.	Kunhaie Pershad, Mahajun, Cawnpore.
Edward Williams, Shopkeeper.	Shew Pershad Pande, Cawnpore.
Thomas Maling, Native Christian, Jemadar, Cantonment Police.	Bajee Lall, Brahmin, Cawnpore.
Sowar Awuz Alee Khan, 2nd Light Cavalry.	Shew Churn Dass Gosain, Cawnpore.
Naick Boolund Khan, 53rd Native Infantry.	Kalka Pershad, Moonshee, in the employ of Greenway and Co., Cawnpore.
Sepoy Gous Mahomed, 56th Native Infantry.	Permanund, Jemadar of Sir H. Wheeler, Cawnpore.
Musician Elahie Buksh, 56th Native Infantry.	

*Names of Witnesses who have given evidence regarding the Cawnpore  
Outbreak.—(Coneld.)*

Lahorie, Abkary Darogah, Cantonment, Cawnpore.	Golah Singh, Thakoor of Jumrie.
Kulloo, Abkary Chuprassie, Cawnpore.	Dhurm Dass, Kaith of Badurka.
Goordial, Chowdry for Boats of Ghat Sutta Chowra, Cawnpore.	Appa Shastree, Mahratta of Bithoor.
Booddoo, Contractor for Boats of Ghat Sutta Chowra, Cawnpore.	Nana Upbhi Unkur, Mahratta of Bithoor.
Futteh Singh, Lumberdar of Mouzah Bingwan.	Appa Jie Luchmun, Mahratta of Bithoor.
Buggie Singh, Thakoor of Mhow.	Mungna, of Mouzah Mallen.
CAMP CAWNPORE; } (Signed)	Maun, of ditto ditto.
The 29th March 1859. }	Chirunjie, Brahmin, Resident of Oojoo, in Oudh.
	Punchum, peon.
	G. W. WILLIAMS, <i>Lieut.-Col.,</i>
	<i>Mily. Secy. and Commr. of Police,</i>
	<i>N.-W. Provinces.</i>

*Depositions taken at Cawnpore, under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel G. W. WILLIAMS, Commissioner of Military Police, North-Western Provinces.*

*No. 1.—Deposition of John Fitchett, Drummer, late 6th Native Infantry.*—I was born at Arcot; my father was a farrier in the 1st cavalry; my cousin, Mr. McGuire, was the bandmaster of the 6th regiment, in which corps I enlisted as drummer in 1846 or 1847. I was in the 3rd company of that regiment when it mutinied at Allahabad. A few days previous to the mutiny, two Mahomedans from the city came into the lines of the regiment to incite the men to mutiny; they spoke to a sepoy of the light company, and he told Gunga Pershad, 8th company, what he had heard. These sepoys seized the two men; they resisted, when drummer Peters and I aided in securing them, for which we each received a reward of 50 rupees, while the two sepoys were promoted. The Mahomedans in the corps were displeased at the men being seized, and some of them remarked to me that the sin of arresting them, especially on an *Eed* day, would rest on my head. On the day of the mutiny (6th June) I was attending Henry Myrack, a drummer of the 1st company, sick in hospital. Myrack's father was in confinement for theft. Two companies of the 6th regiment were on duty at the ghat with two guns to prevent the mutineers from Benares crossing over. I afterwards heard that a sepoy named Jankie, of the



Grenadier company, came in from the ghat to the lines a little before 9 P.M. and told the sepoys that the Europeans were coming to disarm them, and they must be prepared.

The first shots were fired as the drummers were beating off. I was in the hospital when the pay havildar of the 3rd company, Munna Lall, came with orders from Lieutenant Hawes that I was to join my company, which I did. On being dressed and taking my sword and bugle, I found about 30 men assembled. I saw havildar Munna Lall and the drill naick Mipal Singh, but none of the native officers. Quartermaster-Sergeant Watkins was also present; he asked Lieutenant Hawes for a musket, who told the sergeant and myself to take arms. The sepoys, in reply to Lieutenant Hawes's question "why the men were firing," said, the Europeans were in the bungalows and had come to disarm them. Lieutenant Hawes assured them that there were no Europeans coming to disarm them, and that, if there were any enemies, he would lead them, and ordered the men to follow him. He had got about 100 paces from the Grenadier lines when we heard the noise of men and guns approaching; he halted his men and challenged, whether friends or foe. One of the native officers replied that they were the two companies returning from the ghat in consequence of the European officers leaving them to go to the fort. Just then Quartermaster-Sergeant Watkins came up to make some report to Lieutenant Hawes, who had his revolver in his hand, one barrel went off and shot the Quartermaster-Sergeant in the breast; on this a sepoy of 3rd company fired and shot Lieutenant Hawes.

*Question*—How far were you from Lieutenant Hawes when the Quartermaster-Sergeant was shot?

*Answer*—Close to him.

*Question*—How do you know that a sepoy of the 3rd company shot Lieutenant Hawes, and do you know his name?

*Answer*—I do not know his name, but the shot came from the 3rd company, not from the companies advancing from the ghat. I afterwards heard that Lieutenant Hawes was killed on the spot; but the Quartermaster-Sergeant being alive, was subsequently killed by a ball through the head.

*Question*—Who did you hear this from?

*Answer*—Whilst in confinement near the bells of arms, I heard the sepoys talking about it.

I fled on seeing Lieutenant Hawes killed. Whilst passing between the 1st and 2nd company lines, I heard some sepoy call out "there is the one who received Rs. 50 reward now flying, kill him." I therefore passed the 3rd company lines to the 8th, and got into the house of drummer Peters. I told him to fly, and we tried to get to the parade; but Lieutenant Currie, officer of the day, who was galloping through the lines, ordered us back to our houses; we remained a few minutes, and then got to the parade ground. I saw Colonel Simpson, Captain Plunkett, Adjutant Stewart, Lieutenant Pringle, and I think four or five young officers who were doing duty with the corps. The men were between the lines and bells of arms. The two guns and companies from the ghat were a few paces in advance of the bells of arms of the Grenadier company. The Adjutant ordered Nubbee Buksh, who was the orderly bugler, to sound the "assembly," which was not done. As I was coming forward, a havildar pushed me back, and just then a volley was fired from the 4th and 5th companies. I do not know how many officers fell. Adjutant Stewart was wounded, ran towards the quarter-guard, and was there killed, as also Captain Plunkett before he entered the gate of his compound. I heard that a havildar was wounded. Three young officers who were doing duty got into the quarter-guard; the sentry threatened to shoot them if they did not put down their pistols; they shut the door. In the guard there were two prisoners—one a Mahomedan (I do not know his name), the other Ram Lall of the 5th company; they were got out and the sepoy then commenced firing inside; one of the young officers attempted to get away, but was immediately killed, and the other two I believe were shot inside the quarter-guard. I had followed the Adjutant, Lieutenant Stewart. A sepoy of the 3rd company, named Pirthee, came up to me, saying I must be killed, as I was one of them. Naick Mipal Singh and a sepoy of the 3rd company (I think he was a recruit, as I do not know his name) saved me, and made me sit under the tree in front of the bells of arms of the 3rd company; the sentry there would not let me move, but when he left his post, I went to drummer Peters's house. Whilst under the tree the havildar-major of the corps, Teliar Khan, came up to the sepoy assembled near the 4th and 5th companies' lines and said, "What have you all done; but whatever was ordained has happened, it now cannot be helped; take my advice, secure the treasure, and march for Delhi, for the Europeans from the fort will attack us at daybreak." A number



shouted "We will go to Delhi and serve the King." The sepoy of the 3rd company, hearing a report that Captain Gordon was concealed in the hut of two sepoy of the Grenadier company (I forget their names), went to search for him, saying that their officers had been killed, and therefore they would not spare the officers of the Grenadier company, but they could not find him.

*7th June.*—Whilst at Peters's house I heard the roll call, and again just after daybreak, when the men all assembled, ammunition was served out from the magazine, and they marched to the treasury at sunrise. About 8 o'clock, three hackeries sent from the town by the moulvie, took away all that remained in the magazine. Some few of the sepoy who had their families returned to the lines and remained.

*Question*—Who were the ringleaders?

*Answer*—Jemadar Nujjoo Khan, 3rd company, and Teliar Khan, havildar-major, persuaded the men to go to Delhi.

*Question*—Was there any plotting going on before the mutiny?

*Answer*—No, I never heard of it.

*Question*—What was the state of the corps after the mutiny?

*Answer*—I saw one or two native officers crying, and heard them say that three or four badmashes had ruined the regiment. I heard that many of the sepoy were sorry, and some of them went direct to their homes. The havildar-major was at first sorry, but said it could not be helped, and therefore persuaded the men to go to Delhi.

It was a little before daybreak when I got to Peters's house, and from thence went to the pensioners' lines; two sepoy of the 8th company accompanied us to the house of Poorun, a drummer of the 1st company, who had his family in the lines; he secreted drummer Peters, his wife, and myself, in the inner-room. In the afternoon, we heard that there were other drummers hiding in the pensioners' lines. We slept at Poorun's that night.

*Question*—Why did the drummers hide themselves, they were not touched?

*Answer*—The sepoy of each company saved their own drummers, but they would have killed the drummers of any other; and after they left we were afraid of the Mewatees.

*8th June.*—In the morning (about 8 or 9 o'clock) Peters, his wife, myself, Alexander Bross, Yates, and his family, all of the 6th regiment, with Jordon, a pensioner, left; and passing through the village near Mr. Lowther's house, were joined by William Nesbitt, drum-major; Bradshaw, and his mother; Mrs. Fowley, wife of the sergeant-major; and Mrs. Watkins, the quartermaster-sergeant's wife; Lyons Arajo, and Sahoo Arajo. We all went towards the fort, but when we got to the drivers' lines, drum-major Nesbitt and myself went on to the fort. Lieutenant Williams of my corps asked me what I wanted; I told him that I had come with the drummers, the sergeant-major and quartermaster-sergeant, with their families: he told me that not a dog of the 6th should enter the fort. The fife-major returned, but I waited about a quarter of an hour, till the gate was opened. I saw the Adjutant of the Sikh corps, and told him that I had come with the drummers, &c.; he told me to bring the sergeant-major's and quartermaster-sergeant's wives. I returned to the drivers' lines, and brought Mrs. Fowley and Mrs. Watkins. Nesbitt, the drum-major, sent Jordon, the pensioner, to plead for the drummers. We got in with Mrs. Fowley and Mrs. Watkins; I went to Colonel Simpson, told him I had brought the sergeant-major's and quartermaster-sergeant's families, and asked for a pass to bring in the drummers from the drivers' lines. He told me to wait, and at 3 o'clock sent me to Captain Gordon for a pass: on receiving it, I immediately went to the drivers' lines, but could not find the drummers. I heard from Nunhoo, a havildar of the corps, that Mann, who had formerly been drum-major, had joined the drummers in the lines on escaping from the Mewatees, when they attacked the drummers in the village near Mr. Lowther's house, and fled with them across the river.

*Question*—Did the Mewatees kill any one in the attack on this village?

*Answer*—Yes, the mother of the former fife-major, and a man called John DeCruz, who was a farrier, also the family of William Diddier of the 3rd company, but he and his son Edward escaped. These were hiding in the village, and did not accompany us, not knowing we had passed through to the fort. I went with Nunkoo some little distance in search of the drummers, but some men threatening to kill me, because I was a Christian, Nunkoo told me I had better return to the



fort, which I did about 5 or 6 o'clock, and slept there that night and the next. The day after that (the 10th) at about 5 P.M., I saw Colonel Simpson on the ramparts; he sent me to the officer of the main-guard who would give me orders, and he took me to the Adjutant of the Sikhs, who said I was the man he wanted, and made me over to a havildar and two sepoys of the Sikhs. I was taken to the water gate, and turned out of the fort and threatened that if I again approached the fort, I should be blown away from a gun. I then fled to the pensioners' lines and went to Poorun, who said the Mewatees had already searched his house for Christians, and why had I returned to risk my own life and his. I fell at his feet and prayed of him to save me. I was disguised in native clothes and secreted with his family; it was then dark, and I slept there that night. I remained there I think three days, and once a day the house was searched by the Mewatees, but I removed with the females from one room to another. Poorun, to save my life, proposed on the day after I came that I should become a Mahomedan.

*11th June.*—The moulvie of the corps read the *kulma*, which I repeated after him. I had sherbet given me, which the Mahomedans present also drank. William Clarke, Thomas Clarke and his family, William DeCruz and his family, and John Reid Clarke, and Aviet Paul, who were also secreted in the pensioners' lines, were made Mahomedans at the same time. We remained with Poorun another day, and then he took all the drummers to the city. Gunga Deen, a musician, was also with us. Poorun had hired a house, and we remained there with him two or three days. We were not allowed to go out, but Poorun and Gunga Deen told us that the Europeans would destroy the city.

*15th June.*—One morning (I am not sure of the date, it was very early,) we heard that the British were coming up in two steamers. Poorun was prepared to leave, and immediately firing was heard we started; Poorun and Gunga Deen, musicians, the sepoy Jankie, who was also living in the city, the drummers Thomas Clarke, his wife, son and daughter, nineteen and eleven years of age, William DeCruz, his wife and two children, William Diddier, 3rd company, bugler Myrack, his wife, his

son Henry Myrack, and three young children. John Reid Clarke and Aviet Paul joined us beyond Kuchpoora. At sunrise, the moulvie from Allahabad passed us; he had about 200 sowars and some sepoy of the 6th regiment. I only recognised a sepoy of the Grenadiers, named Nubbee Bux, amongst the sowars. The moulvie asked us, "where we were going," Poorun replied, "to Cawnpore." Two days from Allahabad, whilst on the march early in the morning, some eighteen or twenty sepoy of the 6th Regiment passed us; one of them, named Jumal, pulled off the chudder given me by Poorun. Poorun told them that we were all Mahomedans, that the moulvie of the regiment had made us of one faith. The sepoy replied that we must be taken to Cawnpore, so that the moulvie might verify us if we had really been made Mahomedans. Our hands were tied behind our backs, not with a rope, but with a cloth. The women and children were not tied. At Futtehpore, we put up at the seraie; we slept there two nights. The sepoy were undecided as to their plans, some sowars and sepoy of other regiments (I do not know of what corps), who were in the seraie, wished to go to Banda. The men of the 6th were willing to join them; but hearing that the Nawab was favourable to the British, and had European gentlemen with him, it was decided to go to Cawnpore and join the Nana. The moulvie of Allahabad, with his party, were also in the seraie; he left the day before we did. Thomas Clarke, his wife, son and daughter, John Reid Clarke and Aviet Paul, went with the moulvie's party at sepoy Nubbee Bux's request. We went by the regular stages. Parties of sepoy of other regiments were passing along the road; we met villagers going to Futtehpore. None travelled alone, all in bands, and even the villagers all armed. The bodies of those killed were seen here and there. I cannot tell the exact date of our arrival at Cawnpore; there was no firing from the entrenchments;\* it was about 4 or 5 o'clock in the afternoon when we were taken to the Savada house. We found there the drummers who had gone on ahead with the moulvie's party, who were encamped near the Savada house. The drummers, with their families, were all confined in a small room on the south-east side of the parade; some four or five natives, who we heard were harkaras or letter carriers, were also in confinement. There were a number of sowars and sepoy encamped about the Savada house, I do not know of what regiments, but I heard the 2d Cavalry named,

\* It must have been the 24th June.



and another was styled Gunjeera Resallah. Of the 6th Regiment, there were about 200 sepoy under the command of jemadar Yusuf Khan ; and Tabad Khan, a sepoy of the 4th company, I think, was acting havildar-major. We had a sepoy of our own corps placed as sentry over us. I do not remember the names, except of those who spoke to us. The men of the different corps were all mixed up. There were men of the 3rd company amongst them, I should say six or seven, but I am not sure. On the evening of our arrival, we heard from the sepoy that if the Europeans did not leave the entrenchments in three days, firing would commence. The day after our arrival, we heard from the sepoy that five persons from the entrenchments had made a treaty with the Nana to leave Cawnpore and go to Allahabad, if they got the means of transport ; but the sepoy said that the Nana would not perform his promise. There was no firing that day ; we were not allowed to go out. The next day we heard that hackeries were being collected, and that the guns from the entrenchments would be given up. On this night, or the previous one, there was an alarm, and the sepoy in our room ran to man the guns ; they told us that a report had been brought that the Europeans intended to leave their entrenchments at night. We heard from the sepoy that the Europeans would all be killed immediately they left the entrenchments. The night before the Europeans left the entrenchments, orders were issued to the sowars and sepoy at the Savada house to be ready early the next morning. It was about four o'clock or half-past when they assembled and left the Savada house. We had only six or seven sepoy of the 6th Regiment left with us ; they took us to the steps to the east side of the house, and there we could see the barracks and entrenchments. I saw the Europeans passing out, I could see that they were armed. I saw elephants and gharries ; the sepoy said they were taken out grandly, they went gladly, and knew not what was before them ; and then added, " now repent of all your misdeeds, and ask pardon of God." Hoossanie, the musician, was one of the party who said this. We were taken back to our room, and in about half an hour we heard heavy firing in the direction of the river ; the sepoy remarked " now they are being killed." About 11 o'clock, some sowars and sepoy came back, bringing muskets and some double-barrelled guns, which they said they had taken from the Europeans at the ghat, and killed all the men. They did not mention the women and children. Shortly afterwards we heard that the women were being brought back. The sepoy all ran out, and we stood by the steps of the

door of our room. When I first saw them, they were about 200 paces from the compound, all together, the sowars were on both sides, right and left of them, and some sepoys brought up the rear. The sepoys' things were taken out of the two large rooms next to ours, and the ladies and children placed there. I saw that many were wounded, their clothes had blood on them, two were badly wounded, and had their heads bound up with handkerchiefs.

*Question*—Were they dressed in their own clothes?

*Answer*—Yes, but some were wet, covered with mud and blood, and some had their dresses torn, but all had clothes; I saw one or two children without clothes.

*Question*—How many women and children were there?

*Answer*—I cannot tell, but I heard there were about 180.

*Question*—Were there any men amongst them?

*Answer*—No, there were boys, about 12 and 13.

*Question*—Were there any natives brought back prisoners?

*Answer*—The day after the ladies were brought back, I saw in one of the rooms four or five natives confined. I heard they wished to accompany the Europeans to Allahabad; one was a native doctor, one a musician, and I think two or three sepoys.

*Question*—Did you hear the names of any of the ladies?

*Answer*—No, and we were not allowed to speak to them.

*Question*—Of those severely wounded, did any die?

*Answer*—Yes, two or three women and children died daily; the wounds were sword cuts and by bullets, but mostly the former.

*Question*—Were they ill-treated or disgraced in any way?

*Answer*—No, they were not; they were made to sit in the veranda morning or evening for fresh air; they did not like this, as people came to look at them. I heard them say "that Europeans never thus treated their prisoners."

*Question*—Had they food regularly given to them?

*Answer*—Yes, after the first day they received dall and chuppa-tees.

*Question*—Were any of them taken away from the Savada house?

*Answer*—No, I heard that the youngest daughter of General Wheeler was taken out of the river by a sowar of the



2nd Cavalry, who took her to the city, but she was not in the Savada house. I heard sepoy Kurm Ali say that she had been made a Mahomedan, and that he had seen her in the seraie.

*Question*—When was this?

*Answer*—I am not quite sure, but it was either the first or second day after the ladies were brought back.

*Question*—Did you ever hear that a lady had killed a sowar, and jumped down a well?

*Answer*—Yes, I heard Miss Wheeler had killed the sowar, his wife and three children, and then jumped down a well.

*Question*—Do you know whether this was true?

*Answer*—It was not, for I saw the lady afterwards, when with the mutineers between Cawnpore and Futtahgurh. I heard from the sepoys that the Nana had demanded Miss Wheeler to be given up; the sowar refused to comply, and the rumour was given out that she had destroyed herself.

*Question*—Were there any other ladies taken away?

*Answer*—I only heard of this one, and that from the sepoys, so that I cannot be sure.

*Question*—Who attended on the ladies?

*Answer*—A woman came from the city with the food, she was called the Begum.

*Question*—Why called the Begum?

*Answer*—I do not know, but the ladies and natives called her Begum. She was a Mahomedan, and I heard she came from the Nana's house.

*Question*—Did any one attend to the wounds of the women and children?

*Answer*—Not whilst at the Savada house; cold water was merely applied; but after the removal, a native doctor attended for a few days.

*Question*—Who commanded at the Savada house?

*Answer*—Some relation of the Nana's; he had one of his eyes generally covered with the turban or cloth.\*

*Question*—Did the Nana ever come to the Savada house?

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\* Naraia Rao, alias Dewanjee.

placed in a room with some ladies and children ; there was a second room in which the rest of the ladies were confined. I did not see the five native prisoners in either room. The indigo planter and his family were in my room. We all slept on the floor, the ladies and children had only the bare floor. The woman, called the Begum, served out fresh clothes. Sepoys were sent to the dhobies who had the clothes of the ladies, and they were ordered to give them up. We heard that we should have meat every Sunday, but did not get it. One day, I think, milk was given to the children. After the second or third day, the woman, called the Begum, took two ladies every day to grind gram ; they were away three or four hours.

*Question*—How do you know they went to grind gram ?

*Answer*—I heard them say so, and they often brought back handfuls of ground gram, which they gave to the children.

*Question*—Were you allowed then to speak to the ladies ?

*Answer*—Yes, after we left the Savada house, we were all mixed up together, but they would never mention their names.

*Question*—Were old and young women taken ?

*Answer*—Yes, both ; the Begum told them that it was their turn that day : they were taken to the Nana's stable in the next compound. Some five or six days before the ladies and children were killed, one evening, it was about sunset, three gentlemen and some ladies and children were brought in prisoners ; the sepoy said they were from Futtehgurh, that the gentlemen were the chiefs, and that their lives had been spared by the Nana's orders, as they had promised to write and have the fort at Allahabad given up. One was the Barra Sahib, I think he was also called the Judge, and the other was a Colonel. I do not know who was the third, but the sepoy said he was a leading man. The sepoy told us that about twenty Europeans had come from Futtehgurh, who were killed at the ghat, with the exception of those



brought in prisoners. The men of the 6th said that Doctor Maltby, who had been in their corps, was killed with those at the river side, but that Mrs. Maltby was with the ladies brought in as prisoners. We were not allowed to speak to the Futtehgurh party, though they were in the same room. The two sentries at the doors prevented us from speaking to them, they were sepoys of the 6th. The men of the 1st Regiment also were on guard.

*Question*—Who attended on the ladies after leaving the Savada ?

*Answer*—The Begum used to attend morning and evening, but the wife of a bugler, a native Christian, did everything for the ladies. The three gentlemen from Futtehgurh were taken the next evening to the Nana, but I do not know what passed. We heard that the Nana had sent three regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry, to oppose the British troops advancing from Allahabad. The sepoys said that a sowar had returned from the fight, and told the Nana that there were but a handful of Europeans, that they had been beaten, but that his troops were starving, as no supplies had been sent for three days. We heard that more troops had been sent by the Nana. About 4 o'clock, or between that and 5, the three gentlemen from Futtehgurh, the indigo planter, his son or son-in-law, and a boy of 13 or 14 years of age, were taken out. They asked where they were going to; they were told to the Nana's, and as they got out of the gate they were all shot by some sepoys. Yes, I saw this, as I was standing in the compound. One or two ladies, who wished to see in what direction the gentlemen were going, were pushed back by the sepoys. In passing out of the room, just before they were shot, I saw their lips moving as if praying. About half an hour after this, the woman, called Begum, told the ladies they were to be killed by the Nana's orders. A lady went to jemadar Usuf Khan, of the 6th Regiment, who was in command of the guard over the prisoners, and said to him that she heard they were

all to be killed. I was only a few paces from him at the time; he replied that he had not received any orders, that she was not to be afraid. Sepoy Kurm Alee said to the woman Begum that her orders would not be obeyed, who was she to give orders. The Begum went to the Nana's house. The sepoy on guard, they were men of my corps, and I think some of the 1st Regiment, took counsel and decided that they would not lift their hands against women, though they would kill every man. The sepoy were told that if they did not carry out the Nana's order, the artillery would be sent against them; they afterwards told me that they intended to save the ladies, in order that their own lives might be saved. The Begum returned with five men. Usuf Khan ordered the sepoy to get the drummers of the 6th with their families out of the house, and we were all placed in a shed,\* or stable, about fifteen paces from the house. The guard with Usuf Khan were with us with the exception of some six sepoy, who went inside to plunder the women. Nubbee Buksh, the bugler, was one. I cannot recollect the names of any other. These men were ordered to fire at the ladies. I heard from Nubbee Buksh that they fired at the ceiling. I heard the reports, they only fired once; the five men then entered, they had swords, it was about sunset. The lady who spoke to the jamadar was at the door, she was first cut down. I saw her fall, but could not see further than the door; I heard fearful shrieks. This lasted half an hour or more. I did not see any of the women or children try to escape. The sowars were posted at the trees near the house. A Velaitee, a stout, short man, and fair, soon came out with his sword broken. I saw him go to the Nana's house and bring back another sword. This he also broke in a few minutes, and got a third from the Nana. I saw him go out to the next compound,

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\* Fitchett pointed out where the shed stood.



which was the Nana's, but could not see whether he went into the house. The groans lasted all night. I was only fifteen or sixteen paces from the house.

*Question*—Who were these five people?

*Answer*—There were two butchers, one Velaitee, and two villagers.

*Question*—How do you know who they were?

*Answer*—The sepoys told me.

*Question*—Did you hear any names?

*Answer*—No, I did not.

*Question*—Where did the butchers come from?

*Answer*—I do not know, I only heard the sepoys say they were butchers.

*Question*—Describe them?

*Answer*—One was pock-marked, had a small beard, of a dark complexion, a tall, stout man; the other was also a tall man, but I do not know how to describe him. The Velaitee had hair on his hands. The two villagers were, I think, Hindoos; I cannot tell what village they came from. About an hour after, William DeCruz went towards the building, but came back, as he was unable to bear the sight. We were kept at the shed all night, with the sepoys of the 6th.

At about 8 o'clock the next morning, the sweepers living in the compound, I think there were three or four, were ordered to throw the bodies into a dry well, near the house. The bodies were dragged out, most of them by the hair of the head, those whose clothes were worth taking, were stripped. Some of the women were alive, I cannot say how many, but three could speak; they prayed for the sake of God that an end might be put to their sufferings. I remarked one very stout woman, a half-caste, who was severely wounded in both arms, who entreated to be killed. She and two or three others were placed against the bank of the cut by which bullocks go down in drawing water from the well. The dead bodies were first thrown down. Application was made

to the Nana about those who were alive. Three children were also alive. I do not know what orders came, but I saw one of the children thrown in alive. I believe the other children and women, who were alive, were then thrown in.

*Question*—How far were you from the well ?

*Answer*—About 100 paces. Yes, I saw this, and I know I am on my oath.

*Question*—Were there many people present ?

*Answer*—Yes, there was a great crowd looking on; they were standing along the walls of the compound. They were principally city people and villagers. Yes, there were also sepoys.

*Question*—How old were the boys that you saw the next morning alive, and were they Europeans ?

*Answer*—Yes, they were fair children, the eldest I think must have been six or seven, and the youngest five years; it was the youngest who was thrown in by one of the sweepers. The children were running round the well, where else could they go to? and there was none to save them. No, none said a word or tried to save them.

About 9 or 10 A.M., we were taken to the city, and remained there. That day, between 4 and 5 P.M., we heard firing, and at dusk, some sepoys of the 6th Native Infantry returned from the fight, and ordered us to be taken to Bithoor; but we did not leave till 2 A.M. the next morning. I cannot tell whether the city people were glad that the mutineers had been beaten; the shopkeepers were frightened, and shut up their shops. A number of them, with their families, left with us. As we passed the Subadar's Tank, some 20 sepoys of my corps joined us. There were two companies of the 1st Regiment, with two guns posted at the Subadar's Tank. When within a mile of Bithoor, hurkaras met us and said, that as we had been beaten (our faces made black) we had better go where we pleased. We turned to the left, and went about six miles



by a kutchra road, and then encamped; there were about 200 sepoy of the 6th and 17th Regiments, and some native sowars, not the 2nd Cavalry. The next day we took the high road to Futtehghurh, and up at a seraie. Here Bhoondoo Singh, Subadar, 17th Native Infantry, took charge of the whole of the infantry and promised to pay them. He was the general. The Hindoos called him Rajah; he had elephants, a carriage and two buggies and some three or four horses, one was an Arab, said to have belonged to the colonel, of his corps; the syce had been in the colonel's employ. The sepoy said he had two hackeries laden with treasure. The 2nd Cavalry joined us in the seraie. I do not think supplies were given willingly. The usual guard for russud was always sent. The next day, we all marched in company, the 2nd Cavalry in advance, and then their wives and children; we followed. I saw a European lady with the sowars' women. She was in a native dress, silk pyjamahs and a chuddur over her head, but was riding on a side saddle. I heard it was General Wheeler's youngest daughter, the sepoy were talking about her. I saw her every day during the march to Futtehghurh. I cannot be sure it was General Wheeler's daughter, as I had never seen her before, and was not allowed to speak to her; but heard from every one that the European lady with the sowars of the 2nd Cavalry was General Wheeler's daughter. She was the only European lady in the camp I heard of. No, I did not see her at Futtehghurh. The day we marched in, the 2nd Cavalry encamped on the parade ground, but the infantry went into the city. I however saw her again when the mutineers marched for Bithoor. After remaining at Futtehghurh about six days, we heard that the Nana wished us to return, and that the men who had served him at Cawnpore would first receive all arrears of pay, and would

then have to fight. The European lady went with the sowars of the 2nd Cavalry; the wives and families of the mutineers were left in a village about five cross from Bithoor, under a guard of some 150 or 200 sepoy; I do not know of what regiments. They were all mixed. I think we remained in that village some ten or twelve days. We heard that the mutineers were making entrenchments at Bithoor. The sepoy that came every now and then from that place said that the Europeans had come in steamers, a few of them, but that they had painted figures to make others believe there were many Europeans. They said the British wanted to rob the Nana of his jewels. One evening, at sunset, some sepoy returned, and told us to get ready, and shortly afterwards we saw the mutineers flying; yes, many threw away their arms; we then fled to Futtehgurh. The first day we did three marches in one, and then by regular marches, but heard the 41st Native Infantry had determined to attack us, as we had lost two battles and fled. The sepoy were puzzled what to do; they said that if they had had guns, they would have fought the 41st Native Infantry. It was then decided that we should go to Delhi. I do not know whether Subadar Bhoondoo Singh gave the orders. A tent was pitched, where all the native officers assembled. I do not know what went on there. No, sentries were not posted in the day time, at night there were sentries, but the men often went to sleep. The sepoy did just as they liked. We went to the village, where one road goes to Allygurh, and the other to Mynpoory. Bhowgong, I think, was the name. There a message came from Mahomed Yar Khan that he would pay us, if we would come to Futtehgurh; the second day we arrived, and encamped in front of the sudder bazar. I saw the European lady with the women of the 2nd Cavalry up to this date. This was in August, I think it must have been the end of the month.



I heard the day after our arrival, that Ahmed Yar Khan had demanded the European lady; the sowars refused to give her up, they said she had been saved at the risk of her protector's life, and had become a Mahomedan. We then heard that the 41st Native Infantry, and the new levy raised at Futtehghurh, under Ahmed Yar Khan's orders, would fight the sowars, who were quite determined to defend the lady with their lives; they said they would be cut to pieces before they gave her up. The next day I saw two sowars pass our camp on the road to Cawnpore. The European lady was with them, and from that time I missed her. I do not know where she was taken to. I heard that the sowar took her to his village. I do not know the name of the village. About nine or ten days after this, the party from Cawnpore was ordered by Ahmed Yar Khan to collect revenue at Kaemgunge; whilst there, Ram Lall, sepoy of the 5th company of my regiment, spoke to Jemadar Yusuf Khan, offering to become security, if he was allowed to have me as his servant. Yusuf Khan spoke to Bhoondoo Singh, who consented, and I was then released. I had to cut grass for his pony, and to look after the bullocks of the gharee, and to grease the wheels. No, I did not drive the gharee. Ishree Singh, drill naick, brother of Ram Lall, drove it. Their families were in the gharee. I got food from them, what was left after they had finished their meals. We were at Kaemgunge some fifteen or twenty days. A deal of revenue was collected. Ahmed Yar Khan had four guns with a party of sowars (I heard they came from Saugor) and some matchlockmen. Subadar Bhoondoo Singh had ammunition and elephants, which Ahmed Yar Khan demanded from him, stating that as they belonged to the Sirkar, the subadar had no right to keep them, but he refused to give them up. On this, there was a disagreement. Bhoondoo Singh had about 500 men under his command; Ahmed Yar Khan 200 sowars and 200

matchlockmen. The next day was the Nishan Pooja. The 17th Native Infantry had their colours. Bhoondoo Singh arranged with his men that when volleys were fired in honour of the colours, they should load with ball, fire at Ahmed Yar Khan and his party, and make a rush at the four guns to capture them. The next morning before the sepoy had assembled, Ahmed Yar Khan, with his sowars, seized all the ammunition, elephants and horses belonging to Bhoondoo Singh: the sepoy then forsook him and joined in plundering the treasure. The subadar and his eldest son were made prisoners, and the sowars took away his two daughters. They were girls about 14 or 15 years of age. No, they were not disgraced; the Nawab Ahmed Yar Khan interfered, and they were given up, and with the subadar and his son, turned out of camp. Some five or six sepoy of his own corps remained faithful to him. I heard that they all returned to Futtehghurh, and lived in the Lal serai in the city. After this, two nawabs came from Shumshabad Mhow and took command. I do not know what became of Ahmed Yar Khan. We heard of the British troops being at Mynpoory. I think it was in October. The sepoy were in a great fright, for they thought the Europeans would come to Futtehghurh. Some of them and the matchlockmen ran away. We then heard that the British were going to Cawnpore; it was mentioned in camp that the 41st Native Infantry, the new levy, and sepoy of other regiments who had collected at Futtehghurh, were to attack the British at Kanouj. I do not know whether this was done. I heard that the moulvie at Kanouj, who had about 400 men, also intended to attack the British; these were the reports in camp. No, we never heard that Delhi had been taken. When I heard that the British troops were at Mynpoory, and Ahmed Yar Khan's police fled from their posts, I thought it was a good opportunity of escaping. One day I got drummer Aviet Paul's pony, saying that I would give



it a wash in a tank near at hand. I mounted it, and walked the pony to the other side of the village, and then rode as hard as I could to the Kalee Nuddee, some five or six miles; a mile on the other side I was taken prisoner by the police. In the mutineers' camp we heard that the British had employed Sikhs at their thannahs with either country-borns or Europeans as thannahdars. Seeing these to be Mahomedans I thought they belonged to the rebel party, and therefore said I was a Mahomedan; the thannahdar said I did not speak like a Mussulman, and asked me my name. I gave it as Shere Khan, and that I was going to Bhowgong to see my brother. On being asked his name, I replied Shaikh Noor Buksh, upon which the thannahdar remarked that I was Khan and my brother a Shaikh; I was therefore sent a prisoner to Bhowgong, from that I was sent into Mynpoory and taken before the Rao, the thannahdar had stated in his report that having a horse without a saddle and no property (I had nothing but a lungotee on) he thought I was a thief. Among the Rao's guards, I recognised a sepoy of my regiment, he was called Thakoor, but I do not know whether that was his name; at first he pretended not to know me, but when I called him Thakoor, he begged me not to betray that he was a sepoy. I do not know whether he had done anything wrong. I am not sure whether he was with the corps when it mutinied, but he was not at Cawnpore or with the rebel camp at Futtehgurh; many Hindoo sepoys went to their homes; those who had far to go, remained with all the Mahomedan sepoys. Thakoor told me that the Rao was true to the British. I then confessed I was a Christian, and a drummer; I was kept there some twelve or fifteen days waiting for an escort, and was at last sent into Agra. I was appointed by Captain Glover to battery No. 1 in the fort. I was afterwards confined as a deserter. Captain Hallett, the officiating Brigade-Major, investigated the case, and I was

acquitted. I left in the rebel camp at Kaemgunge, Thomas Clarke, his wife, his son Charles, and a daughter ten or eleven years old; William DeCruz, his wife, and two young children; bugler Myrack, his wife, the eldest son Henry Myrack, and four young children; Aviet Paul, J. Reid Clarke, William Diddier, they were Christian drummers of the 6th Regiment Native Infantry. Of the Mahomedan drummers, there were bugler Nubbee Buksh Hoosainee, Perioa, Mousaddeen, Poorun and Gunga Deen, dhanooks. Of the 17th Native Infantry, there were four drummers; I heard they were Christians, but am only sure of one, who spoke to us; I do not remember his name; he had his wife with him; the other three drummers were of one family, and one of the daughters was married to a sowar in camp, I do not know of what corps.

The sowars had nautches every night, not dancing women but buffoons. No, the British were not ridiculed at these nautches; one man would show how stiff the European soldiers were; every one was afraid to mention the British. At Shumshabad Mhow, it was said that a man's mouth became impure forty days by naming the Kafirs. The sepoys sometimes abused us, but did not otherwise ill-treat us; bugler Myrack was twice taken out to be shot, but his wife fell at Usef Khan's feet, and through the entreaties of Gunga Deen and Poorun he was spared; he got very drunk, he used to go into the villages and plunder, and thus get liquor. The sepoys allowed liquor in the villages, for they intended when attacked by Europeans to place the liquor in their way. I heard them once settling this plan amongst themselves; this was at Kaemgunge. All that I have stated is perfectly true, and any of the Christian drummers that were with me will corroborate all I have said.

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No. 2.—*Deposition of William Clarke, Musician, late 6th Native Infantry.*—On the 6th June 1857, the regiment I was in



(6th Native Infantry) mutinied at Allahabad during the night. I took refuge amongst the pensioners, and remained with them all that night, also the next day. I heard that many Christians were massacred, amongst whom were the Sergeant-Major, William Diddier's wife, William Nesbitt's grandmother, and DeCruze, a farrier. John Fitchett came and told me that he had gone to the fort, but was turned away by the people in it, and that the Mewatees had surrounded the pensioners' lines. On that day, Futteh Jung, a musician, asked us to turn Mussulman, to save ourselves from being massacred. Through fear I and my family, together with William Thomas DeCruze, Aviet Paul, and Mrs. DeCruze (the farrier's wife) turned Mussulmen, and went to the city. Aviet Paul had Hindoostanee clothes, in which all of us dressed and put up in a Mussulman's house in the city, whose name I do not know. On the next day about 150 sepoy came to the city, and took me away with them; my parents and William Thomas DeCruze and his family accompanied me. When we had proceeded about twelve or thirteen miles on the Cawnpore road, I met John Fitchett and several other Christians, whose names I do not remember; I also saw William Diddier and Myrack and his family; all of us went on by stages to Futtehpora, where some more sepoy joined us, and we proceeded to Cawnpore; reaching which place, the mutineers encamped on a plain about a mile to the east of the Savada house, and there found a number of sepoy collected. The Europeans were in the entrenchments, and the fight was going on: the Nana's rule was predominant. Two or three days after this, my father fell out with me, and I left the tent; he proceeded in search of me to the serais in the city, where the bhuttecaras took hold of him, saying that he was a Christian, and carried him away to the thannah, from whence he was taken to the Nana, who ordered him to be put to death; but somehow or other the sepoy of my regiment heard of this, and went and had my father released. This account was related to me by my father, when he returned to the tent.

*Question*—State how long the fight lasted, and what occurrences you observed when the Europeans left the entrenchment?

*Answer*—The fight lasted for about ten or twelve days, after which I heard it stated by the sepoy that the Nana had taken an oath to see all the Europeans sent off safely by boats to Allahabad, and that therefore the fight had ceased. Two or three days after this I was told that the Europeans had left the entrenchments for

the boats; shortly after firing of cannon was heard, the sepoys of my regiment came to their tents, and stated that all the Europeans were massacred at the ghat, and that a great many ladies were being brought to the Savada house; hearing this the sepoys and a great crowd of people proceeded to the Savada house; I accompanied them, and placing myself in the verandah of the house, saw that several of the ladies and children were wounded, some were unhurt, but had very dirty and torn clothing; there were about 80 or 90 of them altogether. I did not recognise any of them, and left the place immediately after seeing them.

*Question*—Did William Thomas DeCruze and John Fitchett accompany you to the Savada house?

*Answer*—They did not go along with me, but I saw them there.

*Question*—Was any order received the night previous to the massacre, by the sepoys of your regiment, at their encamping ground, to be present at the place of execution?

*Answer*—I did not hear of any order being received during the night, but in the morning some sepoys of my regiment went with their arms to the ghat, and on their return stated that guns were placed at the ghat by the Nana's orders, that troops were also assembled, and that the Europeans were massacred.

*Question*—When these sepoys returned from the ghat, did they bring any arms or property belonging to the Europeans massacred there?

*Answer*—I did not see any such things brought by them.

*Question*—Did you see or hear of any sowars carrying off any ladies on that day?

*Answer*—I saw two sowars carrying away a lady on horseback. I did not hear of or see any other.

*Question*—Did you hear who this lady was, and how was she dressed?

*Answer*—She wore a chintz gown, which appeared to be wet; she seemed to be eighteen or nineteen years of age. It was rumoured that a sowar had carried away a lady, the wife of some indigo planter.



*Question*—After this occurrence, did you ever visit the Savada house? and if so, in what state did you see its inmates?

*Answer*—I did go to the Savada house once or twice, and saw the ladies dressed in very dirty clothes; they slept on the bare ground, and were fed on dal and atta cakes. A woman, named Begum, used to distribute this food to the ladies. I did not see them molested by any one. A guard, consisting of sepoy of my regiment, was over them, and Eusuf Khan, jemadar, was in charge of the guard. After a few days, the ladies were removed from the Savada house to another small bungalow, which I visited once or twice, and saw them in the same state as before.

*Question*—Did you hear of which place, the woman, called Begum, was resident? and can you give a description of her?

*Answer*—She was stated to be in the Nana's employ, and was of a fair complexion, tall stature, had a few grey hairs, and was about thirty years of age.

*Question*—Did you see or hear that the woman called Begum ever took any of the ladies to the Nana's stables to grind gram?

*Answer*—I did not hear anything concerning this.

*Question*—After the Europeans had left the entrenchments or prior to it, during the time you were at Cawnpore, how many times were Europeans arriving from other places, massacred at that station?

*Answer*—I only once saw five or six gentlemen shot by the sepoy, in a bungalow opposite the one in which the ladies were; of these gentlemen, two or three were indigo planters, and three were stated to be of some note, who had come from Furruckabad. I heard the sepoy say that the latter promised them to have the fort of Allahabad vacated if their lives were spared.

*Question*—Can you state to which regiment the sepoy belonged, who murdered the three gentlemen from Furruckabad?

*Answer*—They belonged to the volunteer regiment; I do not know their names; there were about ten or twelve sepoy concerned in the murder.

*Question*—Did you hear of any sowar having carried away Major-General Wheeler's daughter?

*Answer*—I only heard a rumour to this effect, but did not witness the occurrence.

*Question*—When you accompanied the mutineers from Cawnpore to Futtehgurh, did you ever see in company with the sowars' women, any lady dressed in native clothes?

*Answer*—No, I did not see or hear of any lady being with the sowars' women.

*Question*—Did you ever hear how and where Major-General Wheeler was massacred?

*Answer*—I did not hear anything regarding this.

*Question*—State how the ladies were massacred, who were confined in the Savada house, and subsequently removed to another bungalow?

*Answer*—A day previous to leaving Cawnpore, one evening I heard it stated in camp that the ladies were to be put to death; and on going to the bungalow in which they were confined, I heard that the Nana had given orders to the sepoys of my regiment to shoot the ladies, and on their refusing to do so, the Nana gave orders to blow them away from guns, adding, that in his opinion, they were in league with the Europeans, and then the woman, named Begum, accompanied by four or five men, came and massacred all the ladies and children.

*Question*—Did the sepoys also fire at this time or not, and how many men were there actually engaged in the massacre, who were they, and what weapons did they use?

*Answer*—I did not see the sepoys fire. The men engaged in the massacre were armed with swords, I did not stay there long, and do not know who these men were. When they had arrived there, I had come out of the compound of the bungalow in which the ladies were confined, and perceiving their intentions, returned to my tent. I did not personally witness the massacre, but was told on the following day that these very men had perpetrated the deed.



*Question*—When you reached the bungalow in which the ladies were confined, and saw the men coming who massacred them, were William Thomas DeCruze and John Fitchett with you, or did you see them there?

*Answer*—They were not with me, nor did I take notice whether they were there or not, as there was a great crowd.

*Question*—Did you see what became of the corpses of the ladies that were massacred?

*Answer*—I did not go to the spot the next day as I was attacked with fever during the night, but heard that their bodies were thrown into a well.

*Question*—John Fitchett has stated in his deposition that on the day of his arrival at Cawnpore, at about 4 o'clock, he was taken to the Savada house, and there confined in a small room, which was to the south-east of the house, and that you and William Thomas DeCruze were also confined along with him; why do you not therefore state everything clearly?

*Answer*—The statement made by John Fitchett is entirely false, neither of us were ever confined in the Savada house.

*Question*—When you left Cawnpore in company with the mutineers, where did you go, and what did you see?

*Answer*—The day after the massacre, the mutineers hearing of the advance of European troops, left Cawnpore, and proceeded towards Futtehgurh, but there was no news of where the Nana had gone to. There was a body of about 12,000 or 13,000 men, but without a leader, and each one followed his own course. I reached Futtehgurh after four or five days, in their company, where I found another body of mutineers, and that the Nawab's rule was predominant. After remaining here seven or eight days, the Nawab gave orders to the sepoy's of my regiment to proceed to Keamgunge, whither I accompanied them, and remained there for about two months. William Thomas DeCruze and John Fitchett were also with me, but the latter left us, and went away somewhere. After this, the British troops came on us, and we retreated to Futtehgurh, where we found Subadar Bhoondoo Singh's force

encamped on the parade ground. When I came to Futtehgurh, William Diddier was also with us, whom we left there, when I and William Thomas DeCruze started for Shajehanpore, reaching which, we remained there for a day and night, and then left for Lucknow. At Shajehanpore, we only found a force of villagers, armed with matchlocks, but saw no mutineers. After twelve or thirteen days we reached Lucknow, and put up in a house in cantonments, at Mureeaon, where a force of 3,000 or 4,000 mutineers was assembled under command of Bukht Khan. We remained here seven or eight days, and found John Edward Clarke, William Diddier, Sahoo Myrack and Aviet Paul, who were with the mutineer force; leaving this place, I proceeded through villages begging my way, and reached Allahabad.

*Question*—Did you see or hear at Cawnpore, or any other place, that William Diddier fought in company with the mutineers?

*Answer*—I heard at Cawnpore that he took part with the mutineers against Europeans.

*Question*—Have you heard where William Diddier is now?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—When you reached Allahabad, was any investigation made regarding you, and if so, by whom? And how did you obtain employment?

*Answer*—When I reached Allahabad, I went to Adjutant Haslewood, who placed me in confinement, where I remained three months and five days, after which I was released, and obtained employment?

*Question*—Have you stated all to the Adjutant as you have done in this deposition?

*Answer*—Through fear, in my statement to the Adjutant, I did not make any mention of having been at Cawnpore; but only stated that when the regiment mutinied the Mewatees carried me away a prisoner, and that many Christians were massacred; after which I went to the city, from which place the sepoys took me away a prisoner to Sultaupore, from whence I escaped to



Allahabad. This is what I have stated in my deposition before the Adjutant, but now I have stated clearly all that I have seen and undergone.

*No. 3.—Deposition of William Thomas DeCruze, Musician, 6th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

*Question*—When the mutiny broke out, where were you; and how, and when did you reach Cawnpore? And how long did you remain there? which places did you frequent? and who were with you?

*Answer*—On the 6th June 1857, the 6th Regiment, Native Infantry, mutinied at Allahabad during the night; we made off for the pensioners' lines and hid ourselves; we remained there all that night and during the next day, when John Fitchett came from the fort and told me that the officers would not allow him to enter the fort. He remained with me in the pensioners' lines, when Sahoo Myrack, musician, who was a prisoner in the fort a month previous to the outbreak, came and told us that he was also turned out of the fort, and on the same day, about 2 o'clock, the Sergeant-Major Diddier's wife and his children, and William Nesbitt's grandmother were murdered, also DeCruze, and a farrier, and several other pensioners. The Mewatees came to us in the pensioners' lines, and asked us to turn Mussulmans, threatening to murder us if we refused. At this time Futteh Jung, a Mussulman musician, also came to us, and advised the Mewatees not to kill us, but make Mussulmans of us. They accordingly made a Mussulman of me, and William Clarke, together with his father and children. Still being alarmed, I and William Clarke made our escape from them during the evening, and went and put up in a Mussulman's house in the city, whose name I do not recollect. On the next day about 150 sepoy of my regiment came to the city, and seeing us desired us to accompany them; so we joined them, accompanied by our families. When we had proceeded with them about twelve or thirteen miles on the Cawnpore road

we met John Fitchett and a number of other Christians, who had all turned Mussulmen; they also joined us, and we went on by regular stages to Futteh-pore, and there a number of other sepoys joined us. Proceeding by stages, we reached Cawnpore about one in the afternoon, and encamped in a plain about a mile away from the Savada house. There was a great collection of mutineers and the Nana's men, the Europeans were in the entrenchments, and the fight was going on; I do not recollect the exact number of mutineers assembled, nor the regiments they belonged to. A day or two after this William Clarke and his father fell out, when the former went away somewhere or other, and his father proceeded to a seraie in search of him, the bhutteeras of which took him a prisoner, saying he was a Christian, and sent him to the Nana through the thanah, who ordered him to be put to death; but the sepoys of my regiment hearing of this, went and had him released. I then lived along with him.

*Question*—State clearly how long the fight continued, and when did the Europeans leave the entrenchments, and what occurred?

*Answer*—Ten or twelve days after our arrival there, the fight ceased; we were told by the sepoys that the Nana had taken an oath to see the Europeans safely sent away to Allahabad, and then on a day (the date of which I do not remember) in the morning, the Europeans left the entrenchments to go to the ghat, for the purpose of getting on the boats. Two or three hours after this firing of cannon was heard, and we were told that the Europeans had been massacred, and that the ladies and children were brought to the Savada house, to which place I went in company with the sepoys, and saw that some of the ladies were wounded; there appeared to be eighty or ninety persons, inclusive of children. Having seen them, I returned to my house, but did not recognise any of them; all the ladies had clothing on them.



*Question*—Did William Clarke and John Fitchett accompany you to the place where the ladies were confined?

*Answer*—I do not exactly remember if they were with me, but a great number of persons had gone, and no doubt they were with them.

*Question*—The day previous to the Europeans leaving the entrenchments, were any orders received by the sepoy's requiring their attendance anywhere?

*Answer*—I did not hear of any such order; but on the day of the massacre was told by the sepoy's that the Nana had guns placed at the ghat, purposely to effect the destruction of the Europeans, and therefore the massacre occurred. I did not see the Europeans go to the ghat, neither did I go there.

*Question*—After you had come away from the building in which the ladies were, what occurrences did you observe?

*Answer*—I saw on the same day that many troopers had brought away ladies to their tents but did not hear who they were, neither do I know the names of the troopers.

*Question*—Did you see what treatment the ladies met with who were confined in the Savada house, and did any sepoy's or troopers molest them?

*Answer*—I never went again to the Savada house, but heard that they were fed on atta, cakes and dal; but when the ladies were moved from the Savada house to another small bungalow near the theatre, I went and saw them; they were dirtily clothed and slept on the bare ground, and a Mussulman woman, named Begum, who was in the Nana's employ, brought them food. I did not see any of the sepoy's molest the ladies, a guard of my regiment (i.e., 6th Native Infantry) was placed over them under command of Eusuf Khan, a jemadar.

*Question*—Who was this woman named Begum? Of which place did you hear she was a resident? Give a description of her?

*Answer*—I do not know of which place she was a resident; she was in the Nana's employ, and was of fair complexion, tall stature, about 30 years of age, and had a few grey hairs,

*Question*—Did you see or hear that this woman ever took any of the ladies to the Nana's stables for the purpose of grinding gram ?

*Answer*—I did not see or hear anything regarding this.

*Question*—After or previous to the massacre at the ghat, did you see or hear of any Europeans being murdered ?

*Answer*—I only once witnessed 25 or 30 Europeans, who had come from Bithoor, murdered by some of the Nana's men, who were armed with swords. They were not sepoy. I do not know the names of any of the murderers. They were, I believe, residents of Cawnpore.

*Question*—Did you hear of Major-General Wheeler's daughter having been brought away from the ghat by one of the troopers ?

*Answer*—I did not hear this.

*Question*—Did you hear how and where Major-General Wheeler was murdered ?

*Answer*—I heard it stated by the sepoy that he was murdered at the ghat.

*Question*—Did you ever hear of any gentlemen having come to Cawnpore, who promised to have the fort of Allahabad made over to the mutineers ?

*Answer*—I never saw any Europeans massacred, except those mentioned above, but heard that some gentlemen were brought in from somewhere, who promised to have the fort of Allahabad given up to the sepoy, on condition of their lives being spared. After this, I did not hear what became of them.

*Question*—Did you witness the massacre of the ladies and children confined in the Savada house ?

*Answer*—When the British troops reached Futtehpore, the mutineer force stationed there fell back to Cawnpore. About 4 o'clock I heard in my tent that the Nana had issued orders to murder all the ladies and children, when I went to the bungalow in which they were confined, and there I heard Eusuf Khan and the sepoy saying that they would not kill the ladies and children; and the Nana hearing of this sent word that the sepoy should be blown away from guns, as



they appeared to be in league with the Europeans. After this the woman named Begum came and gave orders to the sepoys to kill the ladies, but they fired their muskets at the roof of the house, and then three or four men, dirtily clothed, came with the woman Begum, armed with swords, and entered the bungalow where the ladies were. When they did this I left the place, but heard that these men had put an end to all the inmates of the house.

*Question*—State the correct number of men who massacred the ladies and children, and give a description of them?

*Answer*—I do not remember the exact number of the murderers, neither do I recollect their features, nor their tribe.

*Question*—When these men came to massacre the ladies, &c., were William Clarke and John Fitchett with you?

*Answer*—I do not remember whether they were there or not.

*Question*—After the massacre, what became of the corpses?

*Answer*—On the next day having gone to the bungalow where the ladies were massacred, I saw their corpses being removed and thrown into a well in the compound; the persons that perpetrated the massacre were engaged in the removal of the corpses. One or two ladies who were still alive were massacred by them, and thrown into the well. I also saw them throw down into the well one or two children, who were alive. All the bodies had not been thrown into the well when I left the place, and on the same day the mutineers fled, and I accompanied them.

*Question*—John Fitchett has stated in his deposition that on the very day of his arrival at Cawnpore he was taken about 4 o'clock to the Savada house, and there confined in a small room to the south-east of the house, and that Thomas Clarke, Charles Clarke, William Diddier and others, together with yourself, were also confined there; you are therefore requested to state whether this statement is correct or otherwise?

*Answer*—This statement, made by John Fitchett, is entirely false; none of us were in confinement, but were in camp on the open plain with the sepoys, and John Fitchett was also with us.

*Question*—When all of you were with the sepoy, had you any duties to perform?

*Answer*—No, we had nothing to do.

*Question*—Who was the lady reported to have been brought away by the sepoy to Futtehghurh, and was she dressed in Hindoostanee clothes? Were there any other ladies besides her with the sepoy?

*Answer*—I only saw one lady with the troopers, and was told that she was the daughter of some indigo planter, and besides her I did not see any other lady brought away by any trooper or sepoy. The lady brought away by the trooper did not reach Futtehghurh, but only some twelve miles this side of it, at a place called Khodagunge seraie, where it commenced to be talked about that some trooper was bringing away a Christian woman; the trooper therefore deserted with her, and no trace of him could be found.

*Question*—State how far you accompanied the sepoy when they left Cawnpore?

*Answer*—When news came of the European troops approaching Cawnpore, the mutineers left it in the night and proceeded towards Futtehghurh, and I accompanied them, but the Nana did not accompany the mutineers, and there was no news of where he had gone to. The mutineer force amounted to about 12,000 or 13,000 men, there was no leader, and each one was his own master. After four or five days we reached Futtehghurh, where we met another mutineer force, but they appeared to be dispersing; we remained here for about eight days, and the Nawab gave orders to the mutineers to go to Kaemgunge, when about 250 sepoy of my regiment proceeded thither, and reaching Kaemgunge I put up in a bunnecah's house. Eusuf Khan was in command of this party. We remained at Kaemgunge for about two months; John Fitchett was also with us, but leaving us at Kaemgunge went away in some other direction. When the European troops reached that place, all the inhabitants of Kaemgunge fled towards Futtehghurh; I also accompanied them, but reaching Futtehghurh, we found that the mutineer



force had left that place. I also left the place, and begging my way through reached Allahabad.

*Question*—When you accompanied the mutineers from Cawnpore to Futtehghurh, did they create Bhoondoo Singh, subadar, 17th Regiment, a Rajah over them? and did they obey his orders?

*Answer*—When I was in Futtehghurh, I did not hear of Bhoondoo Singh being made a Rajah; but when I returned from Kaemgunge to Futtehghurh, I heard that Bhoondoo Singh's force was in Futtehghurh.

*Question*—When you reached Allahabad, were any enquiries instituted regarding you? and how did you obtain employment?

*Answer*—I went to Adjutant Haslewood, who was in command at the fort; he took my deposition, and kept me in confinement for three months and five days, after which I was released and obtained employment.

*Question*—Did you give the same statement to the Adjutant as now?

*Answer*—Through fear I did not relate anything regarding having gone to Cawnpore, but only stated that after the regiment had mutinied, I was carried away by Mewatees to Sultanpore, and escaping from thence came to Allahabad.

*Question*—Did you hear whether William Diddier took part with the mutineers against Europeans?

*Answer*—I heard that William Diddier joined the sepoy and used arms against Europeans, but did not see this personally. When I returned from Kaemgunge to Futtehghurh, William Diddier was with me; he remained there, but I and William Clarke together with his father proceeded to Shajehanpore, and remained there only one night in a garden. In the morning we started for Lucknow when we saw that there was no mutineer force there, only some villagers armed with matchlocks. We reached Lucknow after twelve or thirteen days, and put up in a house at Murreaon in cantonments, where we found Bukht Khan's force encamped; there were about 3,000 or 4,000 persons; we remained here for seven or eight

days, where we saw John Clarke, William Diddier, bugler Myrack and Aviet Paul in company with this force, leaving this place; begging all the way through villages, we reached Allahabad.

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*No. 4.—Deposition of Elizabeth Spiers.*—I am the daughter of Joseph Spiers, drummer; we went into the entrenchment with General Wheeler, and when the treaty was made with the Nana, we went with all the others to the ghat; when the firing commenced we jumped into the water. My father, my brother, named David, 27 years old, band sergeant, and a little sister, about nine years old, were all killed there. One sister, named Charlotte, about fourteen years old, was taken away by the sowars, and I have never heard anything more of her. I saw several ladies taken away, amongst them Mrs. J. of the 67th, Mrs. B. of the 2nd Cavalry, and Miss G., the sister of Mrs. B. of the 53rd. I knew these ladies, as they had been living in the same barracks in the entrenchment. I don't know what became of them afterwards. I don't know anything about Miss Wheeler, but I saw her going to the ghat; two sowars, named Muncoowur Shah and Alee Shah, of the 2nd Cavalry, took us with our mother, with a little brother (now a bugler in the Cawnpore police) and a little sister from the ghat, and kept us for a whole day at the Mogul Serai. In the evening they took us to Mrs. Whittaker's; we stayed there that night; next day the sowars got us another house in the city. When the rebels went to Futtehpoore to fight, we escaped from there and went to the house of Hussein Buksh, native doctor of the 53rd, who is now employed in the general hospital. I believe the ladies I have mentioned as having been taken away from the ghat were afterwards taken to the Savada kotee, as Khoda Buksh of the 56th, now in the Oudh police, told me on my questioning him afterwards (he having been confined with the ladies in the Savada kotee) that Mrs. B. had been there, and also Mrs. J.; he described the latter as wearing a green silk gown, which I saw her wear when she went down to the ghat from the entrenchments. I did not see any ladies deprived of their clothes nor any children cut to pieces. I know nothing about the slaughter of ladies in the Beebeegarh, but heard it was perpetrated by the Nana's soldiers.

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*No. 5.—Deposition of Isabella Spiers.*—After corroborating the main facts of her sister's statement, she says:—I was kept for a day in the camp of the sowars, and was afterwards taken to the house in the



city, where my sister and mother were; a little European girl, about twelve years old, named Mary, her other name I don't know, was in the camp with me, and on crying to be taken to her mother, who was in the Savada house, she was taken there. Very few of the soldiers were allowed to take their wives with them from the entrenchments, with the exception of those with General Wheeler. I did not see General Wheeler killed.

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No. 7.—*Re-examination on oath of Eliza Bradshaw, widow of Manuel Bradshaw, musician; and Elizabeth Letts, widow of William Letts.*—We were with the 56th Regiment, Native Infantry, when it mutinied at Cawnpore, and were living in the drummers' lines with our children. We went into the entrenchments on Friday, the 5th of June; the next day the mutineers commenced their attack at about 10 o'clock; the first shot broke the leg of a khidmutgar, he died that evening, and many others were killed. The firing was continued day and night. On the 13th, the barrack in which we were living was set on fire by a shell; we fled to one of the unfinished barracks, but the sowars and sepoy making their appearance close to us, we returned to the entrenchments, and found shelter where we could. The Colonel, his wife, and three daughters were in this barrack. The Colonel died on Monday, the 8th, during the night, and was buried the next night in the trench. Miss Mary was killed on the 15th by a fall of part of the roof, caused by a shot striking it; her sister Georgiana, with another lady (I do not know her name), lifted her up, but she was insensible, and died that night. She was buried in the well. Mrs. Cook, native Christian, attended on them: the servants fled some four or five days after the attack commenced; some few remained faithful, a servant of Mr. Duncan's and a lame servant of Mr. Christie's, but all the servants of the 56th deserted. When able, we cooked dall and chuppaties for the ladies and children. Yes, there were sepoy of our corps in the entrenchments; the General sent one of them, named Gous Mohamed, to gain information, and then Mr. Shepherd was also sent on the same errand, but I believe he was immediately seized by the rebels. One day, after heavy firing all the morning, it suddenly ceased, and a native Christian woman came with a note to Captain Moore's picket; the General was standing near us when it was brought to him; he returned it, as it was not signed; however, a meeting took place with the rebels, there were six of them. John Bradshaw, of the



56th Native Infantry, was the orderly bugler, and attended the General; he told us that arrangements had been made to send us down to Allahabad. Officers went on elephants to see the boats. On the 26th, the two guns that were uninjured and the treasure were given up. A party of sowars and native artillerymen were sent by the Nana. The officers said the treasure was one lac and thirty-three thousand rupees; we were told to be prepared to leave the entrenchments next morning. At sunrise, on the 27th, some hackeries, three or four elephants, and three palkees were brought into the entrenchments by the sowars. The General and some officers were on elephants, Mrs. Wheeler was in a palkee, the Colonel's wife was also in a palkee, and Mrs. Kempland in the third. The other ladies were on the hackeries. An artilleryman wounded in the foot was placed in one of them, but the sick were left till the hackeries could return. We were about the centre with the drummers and their families. The sowars and sepoy were on our right and left. No, they said nothing to us; they did not abuse us. When we reached the bridge with the white railings near Colonel William's house, we saw a large crowd assembled, men from the city and villagers; the sowars, who were ahead, shouted out that they were to stand aside, and none to come down to the ghat; we then descended into the dry nullah leading to the river. When we got to our boat, we found that it had no bamboo flooring (chali.) In our boats there were Mr. McMullen and twenty-two children of the Free School, a pensioned drum-major of the 56th, named Murray, with his wife; there were also European soldiers and their wives. Suddenly we heard firing, and the pattering of bullets, and then the roar of cannon on both sides of the river. We jumped out, the boat was between us and shore. In the water, a few paces off, by the next boat we saw the Colonel's youngest daughter. A sepoy was going to kill her with his bayonet. She said, "My father was always kind to sepoys." He turned away, and just then a villager struck her on the head with a club and she fell into the water. No, we did not see the Colonel's lady. Mr. Monerieff, the clergyman of the station, was close to us, and with two other clergymen, one must have been the Roman Catholic Padre. We saw the clergyman take out a book, we did not see him read it, for a sowar rode into the water and cut him down with a blow on the neck; he then killed the Padre, and the other, who was a missionary. Bugler John Bradshaw was shot by a sepoy, and his brother, a drummer in the 2nd company, cut down by a sowar. Yes, they were close to us, but we



were not hurt; no one attempted to kill us. A sepoy killed a child with his bayonet, it was about four years old; another sepoy took a young child by the leg and threw it into the water. No, we never said, nor did we mean to say, that we had seen children torn to pieces: they were taken up by one leg, swung round and thrown into the river. Yes, all these four children now with us escaped, they were not hurt in the least; our eldest children, drummers in the 56th, were killed at the ghat, and a young baby, hit by a ball whilst in the entrenchments, died. Mrs. Bradshaw's sister-in-law also died in great pain from a bayonet wound. Suddenly shouts were heard that the Nana had ordered the firing to cease; the sepoys and sowars were not to kill any more women and children; there were no European men left alive at the ghat. We hid behind some logs of wood. The sowars and sepoys collected the ladies and children; they were all seated on the ground. Bheesteers were sent for to give them water; they remained there about half an hour, and then were taken away by the sowars and sepoys, we believe, to the Savada house. No, there were no indignities offered to the ladies. Their clothes were not taken away; some of the ladies had their earrings torn out of their ears, but that was whilst in the water. After they were brought to the bank, no one but the guards were allowed to go near them. We heard that it was the Nana's orders that they were not to be touched, and that all women and children were to be given up; when all had gone, we went by the bank of the river, and so till we got to the Ram Narain bazar, and secreted ourselves in a Mahomedan burying ground, but the Nana's chowkidars drove us away; we then went to the elephant sheds, and at first were refused admittance, but on stating that we were Mahomedans, were allowed to remain during the night. The next morning the wife of an oil-seller in the bazar told us to sit down in the shop; seeing a sepoy of the 56th Native Infantry coming from his guard in the Ram Narain bazar, we tried to conceal ourselves. The sepoy's name was Mohomed Buksh, of the Grenadiers; he told us not to be afraid that he would not hurt us, as he was of the same corps, but advised us not to remain there, as the sowars would kill us; he told us to go to the church compound, where there were empty houses. Dariow, a sweeper of the Free School, took care of us. The sowars lived in the church, two companies of Sikhs from Benares were encamped in the compound. A subadar and musician, who had been transferred from the 1st Regiment to the Sikh corps, were with these companies. We had to leave

our house, but they did not harm us. The Sikhs fled on the morning of the 16th, the sowars about five in the evening; they said that now there was no safety for them on earth. Yes, we heard that the ladies and children had all been killed. The sowars, when they returned from Futtehpoore, asked the Nana what he intended doing with them, and he ordered them to be killed. We heard this from our neighbours.

*Question*—What do you know of Benjamin Murray, the son of pensioned drum-major Murray?

*Answer*—He was a drummer in the 6th company, 56th Regiment, on command to Ooraie, with the 2nd and 4th companies; when they mutinied, he turned Mahomedan and came back with the companies to Cawnpore.

*Question*—How do you know this?

*Answer*—When we were in the Free School compound, he came to us and said he was a fife-major in the Nana's employ. The cornet player, named Thomas Massey, deserted from the entrenchments when the barracks took fire; these two are now at Allahabad.

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*No. 6—Statement of Mrs. Bradshaw and Mrs. Letts, of the 56th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

*Mrs. Bradshaw*—When General Wheeler and the sahib-logs went into the entrenchment, I, Eliza Bradshaw, and my two sons, John and Robert, musicians of the 56th, with their wives and a child each, also Elizabeth Letts, her son John, musician, with his wife and two children, went with them into the entrenchment. This was on the 5th of June; on the 6th, the enemy began to fire upon us. Numbers of people were killed or died otherwise. Several went out and were killed. Mr. Shepherd also went out to obtain news. The General sent him; but he, Mr. Shepherd, never returned.

On the 27th of June early, we were all marched to the boat. Soldiers went before, and behind, and on the sides. We were getting into the boats. In the boat in which I was to have gone, was the schoolmistress and 22 missies (school girls.) General Wheeler came last in a palkee; they carried him into the water near the boat. I stood close by. He said, "Carry me a little further towards the boat:"

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No. 6 was a statement made by Mrs. Bradshaw and Mrs. Letts to a missionary, but when re-examined on oath they denied a portion of their first statements. Nos. 6 and 7 have been placed incorrectly and have been allowed in the reprint.



but the sowar said, "No, get out here." As the General got out of the palkee, head foremost, a sowar gave him a cut with his sword on the neck, and he fell into the water. They then set all the boats on fire except two, in which were Mr. Thompson, &c. My son was killed close to General Wheeler. Some were stabbed with bayonets, others cut down with swords, little infants were torn to pieces.

*Mrs. Letts.*—We did, we saw it, and tell you only what we saw. Other children were stabbed and thrown into the river. The school girls were burnt to death; I saw their clothes and hair catch fire.

*Mrs. Bradshaw.*—Mr. Moncrieff stood in the water near his boat, and said, "If we English take prisoners, we do not put them to death, but imprison them. Spare our lives, and put us into prison." He received a cut on his neck, and fell upon his face. My second son received a cut on his face, and fell on his side, near Mr. Moncrieff. Mrs. Moncrieff and children, and the Roman Catholic Padre, were all killed. Miss Wheeler was carried off by a sowar, but what happened to her we cannot tell; we only state what we saw.

When they had killed all the men who did not get off, and many of the women and children, an order came from the Nana that the rest should be spared. As they took us out of the water, and tore off our clothes, we two and our daughters-in-law escaped into the house of a mehter, who concealed us. Mrs. Letts' daughter-in-law, who was pregnant, was stabbed in the body, and died three days afterwards in great pain.

Some were killed on the banks, others in the water. No male was taken back. General Wheeler was killed near the boat; he had not yet entered into the boat, my son was killed near him. I saw it, alas! alas! As he got out of the palkee, a sowar gave him a cut on his neck, and he fell into the water. What happened to those who were taken back we cannot say, for we lay concealed. We only know that they were murdered on the 16th, cut to pieces and cast into a well.

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*No. 8.—Deposition of Thomas Ambrose Farnon, resident of Cawnpore.*

When the mutiny broke out in this station, I was in the employ of the railway. I had gone out to Marowlie, a place about 23 miles from here, to pay the workmen; at night the baboo woke me up, and said that he thought the cavaby would mutiny that night. I lay

awake until about 4½ A.M., when I heard the trampling of horses and carts, &c., going along the road : upon which I jumped out of bed, and went about two miles on the Etawah road, and then turning to my right I came to Chowbepore on the trunk road ; from there I came to Cawnpore, and went to Ahmed Alee Khan, having been wandering about in the district for about seventeen days. During that time I had scarcely any money to live on. I avoided the villages and passed myself off as a Mussulman, whenever I met any one. I knew Ahmed Alee Khan from my infancy, and that was the reason I sought his protection. He received me and concealed me the whole time, in fact he was obliged to conceal himself from having married a Christian woman, who has now however turned Mussulman. His house is in Kursaraon, in rear of the police chokee (No. 4) ; I plainly heard the shrieks of the women and children who were murdered in the Beebeegurh ; there were also shrieks heard next morning, a little before sunrise. When General Havelock's force arrived, about I think 9 A.M. on the 17th of July, I immediately went out to meet the men ; Ahmed Alee Khan and all in the house I lived in, but an old decrepit woman, named Beebee Lake, had fled through fear ; in fact the whole city was deserted. Some little children that have evidently been thrown down the well alive, were still quivering. In the verandah of the Beebeegurh was the body of a tall old gentleman, whom the natives said was the Judge of Futtehgurh (?) I arrived in the city a day or two before the massacre at the ghat. I heard men of all descriptions, as they were passing by, saying that they had killed all the Europeans (men) and carried off the women. I don't think many of the respectable people in the city joined the mutineers, all the budnashes were collected in a Rissallah called "Shaick Panchoo," who was a relation of Sheikh Hunneef, who kept the hotel. I only heard of Miss Wheeler being carried off by the sowars.

I did not know a man in the 2nd Cavalry, named Awaz Ali ; I knew a man named Mawazish Ali, a celebrated wrestler.

I went with General Havelock's force to Lucknow, but not in any capacity. I went to search for a cousin who, I afterwards found, had been killed at Mohumdee. I served in the entrenchment there (Lucknow.)

I do not know any of the men mentioned by Awaz Ali, nor can I make out why he has mentioned me. I have not heard of any person with a name like mine being saved, and calling himself a Mussulman.



I recollect a dhobee, named Panchoo, who used to wash for us in the railway; I may possibly be able to find him.

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*No. 9.—Deposition of Mr. Edward Williams, merchant at Cawnpore.*—In May 1857, it was rumoured at Cawnpore that an outbreak of the native troops had occurred at Meerut, and many Europeans massacred. After this, the entrenchments at this station, near the hospital, were commenced on, and completed. Doubts were entertained of the fidelity of the native troops stationed here; seeing this state of things, I made up my mind to send away my family to Calcutta, and spoke regarding it to Mr. Jacobi, the coach builder; he made mention of it to Major-General Wheeler, and was told by him that there was no fear, and was advised not to remove his family. But finding my suspicions regarding the sepoy's daily strengthened, I sent away my family, some six or seven days prior to the outbreak to Raepoor, close to Umourgunj, to a fuqeer's residence, named Miskin Shah. At last, on the night of the 4th June 1857, the 1st Regiment, Native Infantry, and 2nd Cavalry mutinied, and commenced setting fire to the station. On the next morning, the other two regiments, *i.e.*, 53rd and 56th, also mutinied, and joining their mutinous brethren, plundered the treasury, broke open the jail and loosing the prisoners, proceeded to Kullianpore. The place, *i.e.* Raepoor, to which I had sent my family away, is on the road to Kullianpore, and seeing a great number of mutineers approach that place, I was much alarmed, and dressing myself and family in native clothes, left that place on the same day, *i.e.*, 5th June, and came to Colonel Mohamed Zuman Khan's compound, and put up at Mussumat Umeerum's house, who kindly gave us shelter. On the 6th June at about 8 or 9 A.M., it was rumoured that the mutineers were returning from Kullianpore, and all the city people went out to see them. A search for Christians commenced, and fearing that some of them might suspect me, seeing me hid, I left my place of concealment, and joining the crowd, came to the grand parade ground, where I heard of the massacre of many Christians; at which I became alarmed, and purposed returning home. Passing through a bazar, I came opposite the church, which I saw being battered with shot; I also saw the Nunney Nuwab being brought a prisoner by the troopers, mounted on an elephant, and heard of his house being plundered. The troopers took the Nuwab away towards the mall, and I returned to Mussumat Umeerum's house. About 8 P.M., some troopers gaining information

of my being at Mussumat Umeerun's house, came and enquired for her, but it so happened that they could not see her, and consequently went away. After this, Chotoo Khan, Mussumat Umeerun's brother, advised me to leave the house, as he said that the troopers would certainly come and make a search for me, and therefore it would be better for me to conceal myself in a jemadar's house, which was close by. Compelled by necessity, I left the house, accompanied by my wife, my two sons, two daughters, and an ayah, and went to the place I was advised to take refuge in. Shortly after this, four or five troopers came to Mussumat Umeerun's house, and enquired whether she had any Christians concealed in her house, to which she replied in the negative; but they disbelieving her, insisted on all the male inmates of the house being shown them, saying they had nothing to do with the female portion. Hearing this, Mussumat Umeerun sent me a message by the jemadar, in whose house I had taken refuge, desiring me to quit the place, leaving the females where they were, otherwise I would lose my life: hearing this, I left the house, leaving my family there, and went and hid myself in the garden attached to my kotee, and remained there all night. In the morning, quitting my hiding place, I made up my mind to go away to Lucknow, for the purpose of bringing away my son, who was at school there; but when I reached the bridge, I found that there was a prohibition to any one crossing it; the sepoys had made this arrangement. From the 6th June, fighting at the entrenchment had commenced, and it was rumoured that the Nana had brought back the mutinous troops, and had resolved to put to death all the Christians of the station, and to gain a victory over the troops in the entrenchments, after which to proceed to Delhi. Returning from the bridge, I went to Chidda's house, who was an old servant of mine, residing at Generalgunj, where after a short time, the ayah whom I had left with my family, made her appearance, from whom I enquired regarding my family. She told me that shortly after my departure from the jemadar's house, Mussumat Umeerun had turned my family out of the place, and that she leaving them at Umourgunj, had come to look for a conveyance to remove them to some place of safety, but as she could get none, I and Chidda accompanied her on foot to Umourgunj, where to our surprise, we did not find my family, but were told that the people of that mohullah had turned them away. I consequently commenced a search for them. About 11 o'clock in the day, I happened to be on the wall, and there saw Nunney Nuwab coming to the



batteries, accompanied by a number of troopers and sepoy, and his own attendants also, and I was told by the people that the Nuwab had received a post of great dignity, and was in command of a battery. He was at that time proceeding to the battery erected against the barracks. Perceiving this I proceeded in search of my family towards the city, and saw many corpses of Christians, both male and female, strewn about the road. About 1 o'clock I came close to Major-General Wheeler's bungalow, and finding a piece of mat in the compound, laid down on it, and saw several troopers going about, forcing people to carry water to the batteries. Hearing an uproar, I rose from the place I was in, when a trooper seeing me, told me that it was a great shame for a young Mussulman like me to be thus idling away my time, and that I should assist at the batteries; he also told me that a young man, the son of a pensioned subadar, was sent for by the Nuwab, who laid a gun so precisely that the shot carried away a portion of one of the barracks within the entrenchments, for which he received a reward of Rs. 90 and a shawl. I replied to this that I possessed no arms, and had never been a soldier. A short while after I came out of the compound to see if the report of the destruction of the barracks was correct, and saw that a portion of the barrack in which the apothecaries lived was thrown down. In the evening I went and laid myself down in the compound of a merchant, and finding no trace of my family I kept wandering about in search of them for two or three days. Having given up all hopes of meeting my family, I made up my mind to go to Balleenuggur, which was about ten miles away, and as the people of that place were friendly to me, I made arrangements to go to Lucknow.

*Question*—From your statement, it appears that you remained at Cawnpore three or four days, after the 7th June, and saw many places, whilst in search of your family; can you describe the places where batteries were erected, and did you recognise any of the rebels concerned in the murder of Europeans?

*Answer*—I was greatly confused at the time, and besides a considerable time has now elapsed since I saw the occurrences; but still I remember that on the first day a battery was erected near the Mogul Serai, and another near the cavalry barracks, which was moved up close to the racket court, and the other battery

was brought up to the bridge, near the horse artillery bazar, where the greater part of the mutineers stationed themselves, and at the other battery, Nuwab Nunney's men placed themselves. When the mutineers returned from Kullianpoor, the native gunners were not with them, but I was told that when Nuwab Nunney received charge of a battery, he sent for all the pensioned gunners, and set them to work the guns. I saw the Nuwab using a telescope, as well as another person, who was reckoned a good gunner; I do not remember his name.

*Question*—Did you personally see the Nuwab at the battery; and if so, how was he engaged?

*Answer*—I saw the Nuwab for two or three successive days at the batteries, superintending their operations.

*Question*—Did you see the Nuwab a prisoner on the batteries or otherwise?

*Answer*—I do not think the Nuwab was under any restraint, as he was engaged in giving orders, which were obeyed by all the troops; only on the first day I saw the Nuwab brought as a prisoner. I cannot say whether the Nuwab remained on the battery as a prisoner or otherwise, but it is a well known fact that he received charge of a battery and was engaged in conducting its operations.

*Question*—Can you mention any person's name, who is cognizant of the fact of the Nuwab having sent for the pensioned gunners and set them to work the guns?

*Answer*—This circumstance was well known to all; I do not remember the name of any particular individual.

*Question*—Where is the fuqeer, named Miskin Shah?

*Answer*—He is dead; but his widow is, I think, at Cawnpore.

*Question*—Where is the jemadar, in whose house you took refuge and what is his name?

*Answer*—His name is Wulleedad Khan, and he is still here at his house.

*Question*—Where is Chidda, your servant, and the woman servant that was with your family?

*Answer*—Both of them are here in the station.



*Question*—Do you know anything of the subadar's son who was called to one of the batteries ?

*Answer*—I do not know his name, but have often seen him ; he is known as a broker in horse dealing, and I<sup>x</sup> have heard that he was formerly employed by Government as a gunner. I think he lives in the horse market at Cawnpore.

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*No. 10.—Deposition of William Maling.*

*Question*—When the mutiny occurred at Cawnpore where were you ?

*Answer*—I was in Cawnpore, and was living in mohullah Furrash-kharak, at a woman's house, named Hoosainee Oomrao : prior to this, I was living in my own house, near the soldiers' confinement room. When the mutiny broke out at this station, on the 4th or 5th June 1857, I left the house together with my parents, two brothers, a sister and niece, and took refuge in the house belonging to the woman, named Hoosainee Oomrao, and on her suggestion removed all our property to the house also during the night ; on the next morning, this woman turned us out of her house, and took charge of all our property. At first we went towards mouza Mohomdeea, but not finding any place to take refuge in, we came to the parade ground about 8 o'clock in the night, and saw the bungalows all in flames. My father and eldest brother were proceeding a little in advance of our party, and the two of them went towards our bungalow to seek some kind of shelter for the night, and my brother-in-law brought us all again to the woman Hoosainee Oomrao's house, thinking that by entreating her she might allow us to put up at her house during the night ; but on reaching it, found that she would not permit us to remain there ; we were therefore obliged to return towards our bungalow, hoping to find refuge along with my brother and father, but to our great disappointment we could not find either of them there.

Leaving this place, we proceeded towards the city, and reaching the toddy godowns met a woman, named Kurbullae, who had been in our employ; we spoke to her to procure us lodgings; she took us to Hossein Buksh tailor's house, and placed us there. This man, for the sake of the woman, kept us in his house for three or four days. But after this a proclamation was issued by the mutineers to the effect that if any one was found harbouring Christians, he and his family would be put to death; on which Hossein Buksh desired us to accompany him to another house, as he said that we were not safe in his; he brought us to a house in Colonelgunj and left us there, when after a short time the people of that mohullah surrounded the house, armed with clubs and demanded of us to quit the house; being forced to leave the place, we went to a musjid near the Subadar's Tank, and there found a moulvie, whom we begged and prayed to shelter us. He asked us whether we would turn Mussulmans; we replied in the affirmative, when he told us to seat ourselves, and assured us that we would be safe; a short time after, a Mussulman sepoy came there, and rebuked the moulvie for having Christians seated near him, and draw his sword on me, when I threw myself at his feet and told him that I was not a Christian, but a Mussulman Mogul, and begged of him not to kill me, but to carry me to the Nana; after which he took us all to the Nana. We had proceeded but a short way, when a gang of budmash villagers met us, who made a clamouring, saying that we were Christians; we all denied this fact, and stated that we are Moguls; they surrounded us, and carried us away to the Nana, and reported to him that they had brought some Christian prisoners. The Nana hearing this, gave an order for us to be killed; but when I begged to be allowed to plead for myself, the sepoys and villagers would not allow me to do so, when a person mounted on horseback, whose name I do not know, questioned



us as to who we were. I told him that we were Mussulman Moguls; he appeased the sepoy, and took us to the Nana, and told him that we were Mussulman Moguls, hearing which he ordered us to be confined at the kotwalee awaiting enquiry; we were brought to the kotwalee, and made over to Holass Singh, kotwal; when after many days, I begged hard of the kotwal, and told him that I was in great misery, and enquired of him regarding our fate. He pitied us, and asked us if we would turn Mussulman. I told him that we were Moguls; but if he desired it, we would become Mussulmans a second time; hearing this, he wrote a note and delivered it to a peon, and charged him to carry us to Moulvie Sulamut-oolah, who asked us who we were. I replied that we were Moguls, and that we had been wrongfully taken up on suspicion; when he told me that we were Christians, and consulting with a number of other men seated round him, said that it was not right to kill women, but it would be best to have them married; and with regard to myself and my brother, stated that we should be put to death. After this he had some shurbut prepared, and told us that we were not true Mussulmans, but had become so from fear, and we were sent back again to the kotwalee. When the European troops arrived and the mutineers commenced dispersing, a mistree, named Cheetree, formerly in my employ, came and released me, and took me away to his house; thus I was saved. I do not recollect anything further, a long time having passed since the occurrence.

*Question*—Did you ever give your deposition elsewhere?

*Answer*—Yes, before the Judge; and my mother and sister also gave their depositions there.

*Question*—Have you there given an account of Moulvie Sulamut-oolah's proceedings?

*Answer*—I do not remember whether I have done so or not. Should I have been questioned, I must have related it; for at the time of giving my deposition, I was

questioned very frequently, and if at that time I was questioned regarding Sulamut-oolah, I must have given an account.

*Question*—Where is the woman named Hoosainee Oomrao now?

*Answer*—She is deceased, but her sister is here.

*Question*—Did you observe well Moulvie Sulamut-oolah, and those that were with him?

*Answer*—I observed the moulvie well, but did not recognise any of those with him, as there were a great many. I was also much confused at the time, but knew the moulvie, from the frequent mention made of him by the people around him. My youngest brother, my mother and sister were with me.

*Question*—When you were taken to the Nana, how did you recognise him as being that person?

*Answer*—He was seated on a scaffold, erected on the plain near the Savada house, under a tree, and had a golden chain round his neck; he had numerous attendants, and all the people there called him the Nana Sahib.

*Question*—Where is your father now?

*Answer*—He and my eldest brother, together with my brother-in-law, have been massacred.

*Question*—What else did you observe during these disturbances?

*Answer*—I do not recollect all that I saw; and those concerned in the massacre of my father have been punished.

*Question*—Where is Hossein Buksh, the tailor, now?

*Answer*—I do not know where he is.

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*No. 11.—Deposition of Ewuz Khan, trooper, 2nd Cavalry, son of Bahadoor Ali Khan, age 33 years.*

*Question*—In your petition, dated 2nd December 1858, sent to Major Williams, Commissioner, Military Police, you have given the following account: that on the 10th May 1857 the troops mutinied at Meerut, and that news of the same reached Cawnpore by telegraph, from which period the sepoys and troopers of Cawnpore talked of breaking out, intimation of which you gave to Adjutant Manderson on 5th June 1857; and also of their having held a consultation on the



4th June 1857, purposing to break out that night, and murder the Europeans and plunder the treasury; on which intimation, all the Europeans repaired to the entrenchments, and slept there during the night. You are now requested to state who were the ring-leaders in this movement?

*Answer*—The foremost in this consultation were Shumshood-deen Khan, Sheikh Boolaquee, Sirdar Beg, Rao Singh, and others whose names I do not remember. The meetings were held at Shumshood-deen's house, and sometimes at the house of Teska Ram Singh, a subadar of the cavalry. Seven or eight days prior to the outbreak, Joalla Pershad, an agent of the Nana, visited Gopal Singh, havildar-major. I saw this person, and also heard that Kootabood-deen, a trooper of the 5th troop, 2nd Cavalry, was in the habit of visiting the Nana. On the 4th June, all the troopers sent away their families and property to the city. I gave intimation of all these proceedings to the Adjutant.

*Question*—Can you state to whom and to which places in the city, the troopers sent away their families and property?

*Answer*—I do not remember the names of any persons. On the evening of the 4th June, the 1st Cavalry and 1st Regiment, Native Infantry, broke out; I went and gave notice of this to the Adjutant at the entrenchments. At gunfire in the morning the officers of the cavalry came to their lines, and took away to the entrenchments the horses, arms and furniture which had escaped plunder. A little later on the morning of the same day, the 53rd and 56th Regiments broke out. I and Sheikh Azim-oolah, sepoy, together with Bhowanee Singh, subadar-major, Mahboob-oolah Khan, Bukhtawur Singh, havildars, Kadirdad Khan, Abdool Rehman Khan, sowars, and Mirza Bakur Hossein, native doctor, went to the officers in the entrenchments.

*Question*—At the time you came from the entrenchments to the cavalry lines with the officers, who took away the

remnant of their property, how was Bhowanee Singh, subadar-major, situated ?

*Answer*—He was wounded, as he refused to give up the colours of the regiment to the sepoys who had mutinied ; I heard that Dabee Singh, a trooper, had wounded him ; the subadar-major also told me so.

*Question*—What occurred in the entrenchments after this ?

*Answer*—The fight was going on, and I remained on the battery opposite the church, under Major White. After about 23 days, a consultation was held between Major-General Wheeler and the Nana, and it was decided that all the Europeans should be allowed to proceed to Allahabad ; an agreement on oath to this effect was drawn up. One of the Nana's agents, named Azim-collah, who spoke English, accompanied by another old lady, came once or twice to the entrenchments, on the subject of this agreement. I saw them from a distance. The day after this agreement was drawn up, a number of conveyances were brought to the entrenchments. Many of the gentlemen on leaving the entrenchments were mounted, others were on foot. I had no sooner come out of the entrenchments with the gentlemen, than I was taken prisoner by the cavalry troopers, who ill-treated me, and confined me in the city kotwalee. Mahboob-colla and Bukhtawur Singh, havildars, were also taken up with me and put in the kotwalee. I remained there for ten or twelve days, after which I was released. When I had left the entrenchments, I heard that the Europeans, who had come out of it, were about leaving the station on boats, when the mutineers setting fire to the boats, fired musketry and cannon at them. On the other side of the river, the 17th Native Infantry had placed themselves with guns, which they fired on the boats, and thus the Europeans, both male and female, were massacred, except some ladies and children, who had escaped the slaughter, and were brought prisoners and confined in the Savada house. One of the boats managed to push off, intimation of which was given



to the rebels by the people of Najafgurrh, when three troops of cavalry, five companies of infantry, and two guns were sent after them, who having succeeded in capturing the boat massacred all that were in it. After this, when I was released from the kotwalee, I took away my mother who was here, and proceeded to Bareilly.

*Question*—When you left the entrenchments in company with the Europeans, and were taken prisoner, did you hear any account of Colonel Ewart of the 1st Regiment, Native Infantry?

*Answer*—Yes, I heard that the mutineers of the 1st Regiment made a prisoner of him, and after making him go through a mock parade murdered him.

*Question*—Did you see or hear of any lady being brought away by a sowar from the river side?

*Answer*—Yes, I heard that a sowar, named Nizam Ali Khan, had carried away on horseback Major-General Wheeler's youngest daughter.

*Question*—Did you hear what became of this lady?

*Answer*—I heard nothing about her.

*Question*—Of what place was Nizam Ali Khan a resident?

*Answer*—Of Rampore.

*Question*—Give a correct description of the sowar?

*Answer*—Name Nizam Ali Khan, Pathan, resident of Rampore, age 22 or 23 years, a fair complexion, height about five feet seven inches, long nose, dark eyes, wears a beard and small moustache.

*Question*—Do you know what occurred while you were in confinement?

*Answer*—When I was in confinement, I heard that all Europeans coming from other stations were massacred, and on two or three occasions several persons of fair complexion were taken up on suspicion; but when it was proved that they were not Christians, they were released.

*Question*—After your release from confinement, how long did you remain at Cawnpore?

*Answer*—Only one day, and during the whole of that day I remained concealed at my mother's.

*Question*—Where did your mother live, and in whose house?

*Answer*—I do not recollect the mohullah she resided in; she lived in a tobacconist's house, whose name I do not recollect, but I can enquire about this and let you know.

*Question*—When you were in the entrenchments, did you see Gobind Singh, drill naick, Sheikh Elahee, musician and Ghouse Mohamed, sepoy of the 56th Regiment Native Infantry?

*Answer*—I do not know these persons, nor recollect having seen them.

*Question*—Do you know Mr. Foss of the railway, who was known amongst the natives as Furlain Sahib?

*Answer*—Yes, I know him, as I used to see him come to Kurreem Buksh, and Kurreem-collab, troopers of the cavalry I belonged to.

*Question*—Did you ever see this gentleman in the entrenchments?

*Answer*—Yes, I saw him once or twice.

*Question*—As you are an old resident of Cawnpore, and must have known a great number of people there, state how you saw any of them engaged?

*Answer*—I was imprisoned, and could not see anything, but heard that Azimollah was the Nana's agent; and another moonshee, a Mussulman, who resided near Ram Narain's bazar, was one of Azimollah's attendants; I do not remember his name, he was tehseeldar of Jajmow, and often visited the kotwalee; I was also told that Nunney Nuwab was fighting at the battery erected near the racket court, whilst I was in the entrenchments; I heard it said that the Nuwab was fighting against the Europeans, and once Adjutant Manderson, who was well acquainted with the Nuwab, was also heard to remark this.

*Question*—Did you hear of, or see, any one else engaged in the fight?

*Answer*—I do not recollect the names of any other persons.

*Question*—You have stated in your deposition that a Mussulman moonshee, residing in Ram Narain's bazar at Cawnpore, was Azimollah's agent; can you tell me what his name was?



*Answer*—His name was Qazie Ismail; he resided in Amadah bazar, near Ram Narain's bazar, and was well known.

*Question*—Do you know where this person is now?

*Answer*—At Cawnpore. Moonshee Vilayet Ali, employed by Captain Fane, Commandant of Cawnpore police, told me that he had heard that Qazie Ismail had given himself up to some of the authorities, but did not mention at which station.

*Question*—Do you know where Qazie Ismail's family is?

*Answer*—I do not know, but he was an old resident of Cawnpore.

*Question*—How came you to know that Qazie Ismail was Azimoolah's agent?

*Answer*—When I was confined in the kotwalee at Cawnpore, I saw the Qazie frequently in Azimoolah's company, and they both visited the kotwalee together.

*Question*—What appointment did Azimoolah hold under the Nana?

*Answer*—Azimoolah was the Nana's agent, and superintended all the operations of the troops and treasury.

*Question*—Do you think the Qazie had any part in the superintendence exercised by Azimoolah?

*Answer*—As Azimoolah had the entire control of all the Nana's affairs, and the Qazie was this person's agent, he must certainly have known of all the doings.

*Question*—When you were in confinement, did you see any other persons associated with the Nana in the same manner as the Qazie?

*Answer*—I was in confinement, and therefore could not see any one, but was told that Ahmed Ali Khan, a vakeel of the Judge's court at Cawnpore, had also a hand in the superintendence exercised by Azimoolah; I also heard that Sheik Manjo, a ressalidar in the Nana's cavalry, also participated in this superintendence.

*Question*—What is the name of the tobacconist in whose house you resided at Cawnpore?

*Answer*—His name was Lalloo; he is since dead, but the deceased's son, Kulloo, is here.

*Question*—Do you know Munnower Shah and Ali Shah, troopers of the 2nd Cavalry?

*Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—When you were in confinement at Cawnpore, did you ever see these persons?

*Answer*—I do not remember having seen them.

*Question*—Of which places, are these two persons residents?

*Answer*—Munnawur Shah was a resident of Allahabad, and a recruit in the 2nd Cavalry. I do not remember the name of his village, and Ali Shah was a resident of Rampore; I do not recollect the name of the mohallah he lived in, and Nizam Ali Khan belonged to the 5th troop, 2nd Cavalry.

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*No. 12.—Deposition of Bhola Khan, sepoy, 53rd Regiment, Native Infantry.*—At 2 o'clock in the morning of the 5th June, the 2nd Light Cavalry and 1st Native Infantry mutinied. The cavalry was led by Teeka Singh, subadar, who, with about 50 sowars, was on picquet duty near the entrenchments. He led his party towards Monalgunj, setting fire to everything he came across. A gun was now fired from the entrenchment, on which the Europeans and Christians made for that place, the sound of a single gun having been the preconcerted signal of danger. All the officers of my regiment were present with the regiment with their respective companies, till about 6 A.M. of the 5th June. The 53rd Native Infantry and 56th Native Infantry remained in readiness on their parade grounds from 2 to 6 o'clock A.M., when they were dismissed by their officers to go and refresh themselves. About 8 A.M., all the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the 53rd Native Infantry were called by their Major into the entrenchment, when both regiments were dismissed; the sepoys of the light company of the 53rd, and of the grenadier company of the 56th (their lines adjoined each other), concocted a plot for the seizure of the regimental colours and treasure. This intention of theirs was not generally known till carried out.

A subadar, by name Bhowun, of the 53rd, was on duty at the quarter-guard. He resisted the attempts of the men of the light company to carry off the treasure, saying they should not have it while he lived to protect it; a sepoy on this fired at him; the bullet did not take effect. During this altercation three round shots were fired from the entrenchment, and fell in the lines of the 53rd. On this the regiment fled, with the exception of a few men, who concealed themselves



in the lines and in adjacent nullah. After a short time, Jugger Nanth Ajha, havildar-major of the 53rd, went to the Adjutant's bungalow to report the flight of the sepoys. Not finding him there, he went to the entrenchment. The Adjutant then asked if there were any men in the lines? On being answered in the affirmative, he ordered the havildar-major to collect and bring them to the entrenchment. The havildar-major accordingly went to the lines, and collecting all that had remained, numbering some 35 men, perhaps took them to the entrenchment without arms, &c. Arrived at the gate, the Major and Adjutant came out and enquired if there were no more that had not joined the rebels? I replied, that I believed there were some hiding in the nullah. Hearing this, Lieutenant Delafosse and Lieutenant Masters mounted and rode towards the nullah, taking a bugler with them. Seventeen more men were got together on this way. The Major now ordered us to bring in all the arms and accoutrements left in his lines, and gave us five or six carts for the purpose. We accordingly did so. On reaching the entrenchment, the Major enquired where our own arms were? We told him they were also on the carts, that we feared to wear them lest the Europeans should fall upon us. He then told us to retain our arms. The Major having gone to enquire of General Wheeler regarding what we were to do, the latter came out and ordered us to occupy the hospital barracks; we said in such a building we could not manage to save our lives, as the round shot would reach us from all sides. The General telling us there was no fear, and recommending us to look after the rear of the building, returned with the Major to the entrenchment. He came, I omitted to say, and inspected the barrack. A short time after this, we were sent for, and ordered to bring our men down from the magazine, a distance of about half a mile from the barrack. We went there, and breaking the lock, loaded seven carts with ammunition, and brought them to the entrenchment; after this we returned to the barrack.

About this time, Kullunder Singh, 6th company, 63rd Native Infantry, who was on paymaster's treasure guard, came to the General, and reported that the Nana had plundered the treasury.

On the morning of the 6th, the Major finding we had no money, sent us Company's Rs. 400 by the hand of Ram Buksh Doobey, and ordered us to lay in four or five days' provisions. When we were buying food in the bazar we heard the report of guns, which we were told were firing on the Nunney Nuwab's house. We hastened to the

barracks, and on arriving there, were met by three officers of our regiment, with a sergeant of artillery, and twelve native gunners, who desired us to endeavour to bring four guns lying on the ground inside the entrenchment. We did our utmost, but finding the task too much for us, we spiked two guns, and drawing the platforms inside the entrenchment, returned to our barracks. The enemy opened fire on the entrenchment about 12 o'clock A.M. of the 6th June. On the evening of the 9th or 10th, a hot round shot fell on our barrack, and set it on fire. On this we left it, and concealed ourselves for the night in a nullah, not distant. Next morning we went to a village named Poorwa, about a mile east of the barracks. The zemindar of the village not allowing us to enter, we went into a mango grove, close by. After this, our party broke up in different directions. I went in the direction of Jajmow alone; some distance further on, my musket was taken from me by villagers.

After this, I begged my way to Benares, where I stayed only a short time. Hearing that an English force was going up towards Cawnpore, I went to Allahabad. On the day that the fight at Futtehpoore took place, I reached Khaja, where making the acquaintance of a cart driver attached to the English camp, I accompanied him to Cawnpore. Some time afterwards I was recognised by Lieutenant Thomson. At this time I was working as a coolie.

The commanding officer, after the Meerut outbreak, had a parade almost every day. The sepoy often said, "Should the whole army mutiny, we never shall." I knew of no intention of mutiny existing whatever up to the time of the outbreak.

About quarter of an hour before the regiment mutinied, four or five sepoy of the 56th Regiment (the grenadier company of which was next to our light one) came into the line of the last-mentioned company, and entered into conversation with Binda Pandey, kote havildar; and Madho Misser (Pulwan) sepoy, both of the light company. They kept well out of hearing of every one else. Soon after this, the two men just named shouted "Bum Mahadeo! Tyar ho bahadoor." The havildar immediately seized the treasure chest, the sepoy the colours. This occurred at about 10½ o'clock A.M., and all the officers were in the entrenchment. A subadar, named Bhowun, attempted to save the colours, but was at once overpowered. Three shots having been fired into the sepoy's lines from the fort, the regiment dispersed.



I have since heard Dulgunjun Singh jemadar's name mentioned as commandant of the mutinied regiment.

We held the barracks (hospital) from the 5th to the 9th, or 10th; we left because the house caught fire from the enemy's shot. I believe the shot was wrapped in some inflammable material, which catching the thatched roof, soon became a blaze.

One man only, by name Seeta Ram Pandey, was wounded. He was not hit inside the hospital. I can only recollect the names of the commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and with the exception of Ram Buksh Doobey, I have met no one since who was with me in the hospital, nor do I know whether any of that party reside near Cawnpore or not. I heard little about the massacre at Cawnpore. Simply the fact of its having occurred; I had the house pointed out to me where it occurred. I did not hear by whose hands, whether sepoys or others, the women were killed. I heard that Miss Wheeler had killed nine men before throwing herself into a well, but did not hear a single word more about her, nor where this occurred.

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*No. 13.—Deposition of Ram Buksh, pay havildar, 53rd Regiment, Native Infantry.*—The 2nd Light Cavalry mutinied on the 5th June. In the morning at 6 o'clock I was called by the Adjutant to read the present state. When nearly half the paper was finished, Seeta Ram Pandey, kote havildar, 4th company, 53rd Regiment, came up weeping. The Adjutant asked him what was the cause; when he said that a party of the 5th and light companies had fled with colours and treasure, that then the remainder of the regiment came on the parade ground of the grenadier company with the intention of joining the Europeans in the entrenchment. At this time three round shots were sent among them from the entrenchment. They stood too, but fled on the third discharge, with the exception of nine havildars, five naicks, and 22 sepoys. The native officers, with one exception, were in the entrenchment.

When I and Seeta Ram Pandey reached the entrenchment, Major Hilerson ordered us to convey all the arms and accoutrements of the sick, and of men on furlough, loaded on the artillery carts, to the entrenchment. When we reached the lines of our regiment, we, with those who had not run away, put the arms, &c., on the carts, and drove them to the entrenchment. The whole party accompanied the carts without arms. Arrived there, the Major ordered us to unload the

carts, but occupy the hospital barracks (there being no room in the entrenchment), with a promise that arrangements would be made for our subsistence. Soon after Rs. 400 were distributed amongst us by the Major's orders. On the 2nd day, at 10 o'clock A.M., Lieutenant Masters, Lieutenant Burgess, Lieutenant Thomson, and Lieutenant Delafosse came to the hospital barrack and told us that each of us would receive Rs. 100 if we would place some guns lying on the ground on the platforms. We immediately came out, and endeavoured to do so; but finding we could not manage it, we spiked the guns, and drawing the platforms to the entrenchment, returned to the barracks. The barracks caught fire about 4 o'clock P.M., on the 9th or 10th. The Major then told us he could do nothing for us, there being an order of General Wheeler prohibiting any native from entering the entrenchment. He therefore recommended us to provide for our own safety, and made over a certificate to me, in which the names of all the men of the 53rd, who were in the barracks, are mentioned. The whole party then left the hospital barracks. I loaded all the regimental records on a cart given me by the Major, and drove it in the direction of my village; the cart was however seized near a village called Phooftwar near which the rail passes.

I then went to my home in village Tikrya, pergunnah Sadhsalam-pore, in the Cawnpore district. I knew of no plotting before the mutiny on the 10th May. The Major often said, "Should there be any intention on the part of Government to christianize you, I shall be the first to tell you." That morning, the 5th June, I went to the Adjutant's house on duty; he was absent when the mutiny commenced; however I afterwards heard that Dulgunjun Singh, jemadar, 4th company, who was on the treasury guard, took a leading part. In my opinion, from what I afterwards learned, a few men of the 56th Regiment, who came to our lines and reproached these men for remaining inactive, were the immediate cause of the mutiny. With the exception of Dulgunjun Singh, I heard no man's name mentioned as leader after, or instigator of, the mutiny.

We went to the hospital on the 5th, and held it until the 9th or 10th. We left because the building was fired by the enemy's round shot, fired from several directions. I do not know what sort of shot it was that fired the hospital; the roof was a thatched one; we left about 6 P.M. Only Seeta Ram was wounded, but I believe his wound was received after leaving. There were six subadars, four jemadars,



nine havildars, six naicks, and twenty-two sepoy's of my regiment; their names I gave to Captain Thomson, but do not recollect them all now. There were a good many of the 56th and 1st Regiments, Native Infantry, but the numbers of both did not equal that of the 53rd.

On leaving the hospital, they all broke up in different directions. I went to my home, 16 miles from Cawnpore; I believe that most of our party went to their homes. I have been told that two subadars were killed across the Ganges by villagers; I also heard that on the defeat of the rebels at Futtehpoore, the women and children in confinement at Cawnpore were killed; but I neither heard by whose order, nor by whose hands. I also heard that a daughter of General Wheeler's had killed nine men, and then thrown herself into a well. I did not hear where this occurred, nor do I know anything of the circumstances under which she did so.

I know next to nothing of what occurred at this time, notwithstanding my vicinity to Cawnpore; I was in strict concealment, and never ventured outside my door.

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*No. 14.—Depositions of Gobind Singh, Sheik Elahee Buksh, and Ghouse Mohomed.*—We were with the 56th Native Infantry, when it mutinied at Cawnpore in June 1857. Jaun Mohomed, a sepoy of the 8th company, 56th Native Infantry, was accused of inciting the sowars of the 2nd Cavalry, by stating that they would all be blown away from guns; this was in May, between the 15th and 20th; there was then a disturbance in the 2nd Cavalry. (Jaun Mohomed was confined, but escaped from the entrenchments.) We felt sure that the 2nd Cavalry would mutiny.

The 56th were well disposed; they told the Colonel, that though all other regiments might mutiny, yet they would be true. The Colonel and officers slept amongst the men. A tent was pitched by the sepoy's' pauls; (the new lines were not finished.) At 2 A.M. of the 5th June, the 2nd Cavalry and 1st Regiment, Native Infantry, left their lines, the sowars set fire to the litter of their horses, so that there was a great light. The Colonel ordered the 56th to get under arms, and we remained till daybreak. We then went to the cavalry lines, and collected about 100 horses. Subadar-Major Bhowany Singh, of the 2nd Cavalry, was wounded in the head and arms by the mutineers; he refused to allow them to take the colours and treasure belonging to his regiment; he was a brave and true man; we heard that he said to the

mutineers, he would only obey and serve Government: he was afterwards killed in the entrenchments. About 10 A. M. of the 5th June, a sowar came to the 53rd Regiment and said that the company of their corps on guard over the collector's treasury had refused to allow the treasure to be taken away till their own regiment joined. The 53rd then assembled, upon which two shots were fired into their lines from the entrenchments, and one in the direction of the tents of the grenadier company of the 56th Native Infantry. A sepoy of this company, named Gunga Raie, a Bhat, said they would all be killed; on this the men fled, with the exception of some twenty. We then went to the entrenchments, and were employed all day in bringing the spare arms and ammunition from the Savada house. Yes, there were other sepoys who wished to join their officers in the entrenchments. I do not know their names, but they belonged to the regiments at Cawnpore; I think about 80 or 100; they were told to hold the artillery hospital. We were allowed to remain in the entrenchments; Colonel W——got the General's permission; there was jemadar Khoda Buksh of the grenadiers, now adjutant of military police; sepoys Gobind Singh and Ghouse Mohomed, and Elahee Buksh, musician. These have all been promoted in the military police. The native doctor Sahibdad Khan, also sepoy Mitter Jeet, but we have not seen him since we escaped from jail. Yes, there were some men of the 2nd Cavalry in the entrenchments; the subadar-major Bhowany Singh—I do not know the names of the rest; but there was, I think, a havildar, a drill fuaick, and two or three sowars. These men fled when the barracks were set on fire; the subadar-major was killed; whilst in the Savada house, we heard from the sowars of the 2nd Cavalry that they had some men of their corps as prisoners. They might have been these men. The first shot was fired about 10 A.M. of the 6th June, and an attack was made on the entrenchments by the mutineers, aided by a large body of budmashes from the city, but they were repulsed. From this date the firing continued daily, and often during the whole night till the 24th of June. On that day a native Christian woman brought a note for General Wheeler; this was returned, and shortly after a hirkara brought a second note. The General then met a party sent by the Nana, and entered into negotiations to give up the guns and treasure, and the Nana was to provide carriage for us to go to Allahabad. I am not sure whether the meeting took place the same day, or the day after the notes were received. One of our party, Ghouse Mohomed, was ordered by General Wheeler to go to the city and



gain information of the proceedings of the rebels; he left the night before the notes came from the Nana. In the evening, after the meeting, two officers went to the ghat to see the boats. We were ready to move on the 26th, but no carriage came. At sunset, the guns and treasure were given over to a party sent by the Nana. Early on the morning of the 27th, hackeries, bylees, two or three palkies, and some elephants were sent to the entrenchments. We were allowed to take our arms, and had 60 rounds in pouch. The ladies and children were on hackeries and bylees, the General was on an elephant, the officers and Europeans followed, the sowars and sepoy's escorted us,—there was an enormous crowd, men from the city and villages; many of these rushed into the entrenchments as we left, and began to carry away the property. Colonel W———was not with us, he was one of the first who died from exposure to the sun; I think it was on the 9th, and one of the daughters also died in the entrenchments. I heard she was killed by a shot, or fall of part of the roof. Mrs. W———and her two daughters I saw when we left the entrenchments. We were next to Captain Kempland and Lieutenant Goad. Whilst passing the 56th mess-house, some sepoy's seized Khoda Buksh and Elahee Buksh, and shortly afterwards Gobind Singh, Mitter Jeet Singh, and the native doctor Sahibdad Khan, were seized by the mutineers; Lieutenant Goad said the agreement was that we were to accompany them, but they took us away. Jemadar Khoda Buksh and Elahee Buksh were taken to the mess-house of the 56th, where subadar Meer Ali Buksh, of the light company, was on guard. There was a battery of five guns there, with some Golundazes; Meer Ali Buksh was called major; he told the sepoy's that we ought to have been killed, and not taken prisoners; we had become Christians. The pay havildar of the 6th company (I forget his name, he was lately promoted,) with four sepoy's were ordered to take us to the Nana. He was in a tent pitched in the garden of the Savada house, the kanauts were open, and we saw the Nana sitting; he was of a light complexion, and had on a large white turban. The havildars said that we had been taken prisoners, that jemadar Khoda Buksh was a ringleader, that he had gone to Umballa, bit the cartridges, and caused all this disturbance. The Nana ordered us to be confined in the quarter-guard of our regiment. Gobind Singh and Mitter Jeet were also brought to the quarter-guard as prisoners; we were severely beaten by the mutineers. Subadar Gunga Deen, of the grenadiers, took the command of the regiment, and was styled colonel. I only saw him

once, when he abused us; said we were Christians. About a quarter of an hour after we were made prisoners, we heard heavy firing in the direction of the river; we heard the sepoy say they were killing the Europeans. The next morning (28th) we were taken to the Savada house; we were confined in the room on the right hand as you enter from the east. I only saw one of the Colonel's daughters, the one that rode on horseback; she spoke one day to jemadar Khoda Buksh; she said that God would help us all. I also saw Mrs. Prout and the European servant, the sergeant-major and quartermaster-sergeant's wives, Mrs. Cook, the wife of a drummer. I do not know the names of any other ladies; those of my own corps I recognised. The ladies had their own clothes, but they were dirty and torn. No, they were not ill-treated, except, by being confined: they were allowed to come out into the veranda. The sepoy were not allowed to speak to them. I heard this was by Azeemoollah's orders; the wives of Christian drummers attended on them; they got food twice a day, dal and chuppatees. Our guards were sepoy from different corps, chiefly men of the 6th Native Infantry. I only know the names of Yusuf Khan, a jemadar; and Gunga Singh, a naick; these used to change our guards; with the exception of taking sentry, the men did as they liked. No, they did not dress in uniform. The day after we were taken to the Savada house or the following day, we heard that a number of Europeans, who had escaped down the river, had been brought back and shot; we heard it was by the Nana's orders, the women and children were sent into the Savada house. We never saw the Nana or Tantia at the Savada house; a salute was once fired, but it was when he left for Bithoor. Yes, there was an indigo planter and his family in the Savada house. We heard that he had given the Nana a lac of rupees to save his life. We never heard of any ladies being taken away from the Savada house, whilst confined in the quarter-guard of the 56th Regiment. Elahee Buksh saw a sowar carrying a lady on his horse; she had on a green dress, her legs were hanging over one side of the horse, and the sowar held her with one arm; we heard that it was General Wheeler's youngest daughter, and afterwards that she had killed the sowar, and thrown herself into a well. This was the report amongst the sepoy. One day after the 1st of July we were taken from the Savada house in a cart to a house in cantonment, called the Beebeegurh. We were confined in an out-house, the ladies were in the large house. On the 6th or 7th, a



prisoner was brought into our shed; he was an old man, he told us he was a Christian, and a drummer from one of the Oudh regiments. The next morning we were all taken to the Nana. He lived in the hotel in the next compound; our hands were tied behind our backs by mehters; we generally had only one hand tied to a long rope. The Nana and Azeemoollah were seated on chairs in the veranda; a chuprassee asked our names, caste, &c. The Nana ordered us to be taken away and shot. Azeemoollah whispered in the Nana's ear, and then we were ordered to be put in irons, and the Christian drummer was taken to the next compound by a couple of sepoy, who shot him. The men about the Nana were his own guards; we were kept under a tree the whole day, and then taken back to the out-house, as the irons were not ready; the next morning we were put in irons, and sent to the old jail. Our guards were the former jail guard; they had black belts and flint muskets; there were some 300 prisoners, villagers and others; we do not know who they were. At night we got about a chittack of gram, nothing more. After being in jail five or six days, one of our guards, who had a brother in the 56th, told us that the native officers of our corps had decided by brigade court-martial, that our noses and right hands were to be cut off, and we should then be released, as a warning to all others for being faithful to Europeans. The day that we were to have been punished, the mutineers marched to meet the British troops from Allahabad; we heard that the Europeans had come to Futtehpoore; the day after that we saw the mutineers flying, the jail guards also fled, and at sunset there were only four or five of them left.

At daybreak next morning the prisoners told these few guards that if left in jail the Europeans would kill every man; the guards broke the locks and set us all free; in the evening we joined General Havelock's force. Yes, we heard that the ladies had all been killed; the jail guards said that the men of the city, the sowars and sepoy, had killed them.

Ghouse Mohamed, who left the entrenchments, deposes that at General Wheeler's request he left to gain information of the proceedings of the rebels. At 8 P.M. one night, he crept along the ground from Captain Moore's picket to the cavalry hospital; there he met two or three men with eight bullocks who had taken bhoosa to the Savada house; he told them that his brother, who was in Feeda Hoossein's regiment, (Feeda Hoossein had come over from Lucknow

and commanded a battery close to the barracks), was dead, and he was going to the city to buy the grave clothes. He thus got to Colonel-gunj, where his wife was in a bheestee's house, was secreted there some days, but was obliged to leave on the rebels searching for him, and then was concealed in an empty house belonging to a mahajun. Heard that all the Europeans had been massacred at the Sutte Choura ghat. An Aheer subadar of the 17th Native Infantry came to the Nana; he was posted on the opposite bank with the corps, they had guns and sowars with them. The 17th Native Infantry had plundered the Azimgurh treasury, and part of the treasure was taken from them at Lucknow, and therefore they came to Cawnpore; the Aheer subadar implicitly obeyed the Nana's orders, others did not; only heard this, also heard that a lady had been taken away by a sowar, whom she killed, and she then jumped into a well. The Nana had issued orders by beat of tom-tom that all European women and children were to be given up. Heard of the massacre of the ladies and children. Overheard a jemadar, who was posted with eight chuprassees near his house to intercept letters, talking about it. The jemadar said that Azeemoollah had applied to Moulvie Sulamutoollah whether it was lawful to kill the women and children, and he decided against the massacre; but the Nana would not listen to reason. This was in the morning, and they were killed in the evening. The jemadar was a Hindoo. Yes, my servant remained with me in the entrenchments, and was killed by cannon. No, very few of the servants remained; they almost all fled when the barrack was burnt; some few remained.

*No. 15.—Deposition of Khoda Bux, Senior Native Officer, 4th Battalion, Military Police, late Subadar, 56th Regiment, Native Infantry.*—On the 7th of May 1857, after the target practice at the Umballa Depot, I came and joined my regiment at Cawnpore; I heard from people (outsiders) that the cavalry horses were to be shot, that Europeans were coming from England, and that 300 horses and 300 swords were to be taken from the cavalry regiment at Cawnpore, and given over to them. The men of the regiment were frightened because the Europeans had come, and their arms were to be given over to them. Every one talked about it. I heard from Khan Mohamed, sepoy, that all the Native force said that on the 5th of June 1857 all their arms were to be taken away from them, and they would all be called into the fort under the pretence of getting their pay; that a mine was made in



the road to blow them all up : that the moment they were all assembled the mine would be fired. I immediately reported this to the Adjutant, who said it was all a lie, and told me not to believe it. Then Khan Mohomed, sepoy, went to the cavalry and told a sepoy the same tale that they were all to be blown up. They were very frightened, and went to their officers and told them what they had heard. Every one in the place, high and low, when they heard this story, became greatly alarmed. When the Brigade-Major and Adjutant heard this, they came to parade and searched for me. I went to them. They asked is Khan Mohomed, sepoy, 8th company, here? I took him to them. They ordered him to be confined in the depot barrack. Then a naick and four sepoys took him to the depot barrack. Afterwards they ordered Bhawanysing, jemadar, and myself to come to the depot barrack ; we went there. When we arrived I found that a court-martial was assembled to try Khan Mohomed, sepoy. The Native officers composing this court were two of the cavalry, the subadar-major, 53rd Native Infantry, one Native officer, 1st Native Infantry, Bhawanysingh, jemadar, 56th Native Infantry, and myself ; in all six officers. The Quartermaster of the artillery was there and many other officers. Khan Mohomed, sepoy, was found guilty of spreading false reports ; irons were placed on his legs, he was handcuffed and placed under an European guard. From this time all the officers slept on their respective regiments' parade grounds. On the night of the 4th June, about 1 o'clock, there was a great noise in the cavalry lines ; all the men turned out armed : three reports of a pistol were heard. They (cavalry) set fire to the Quartermaster-Sergeant's house. I was sleeping in my house between 12 and 1 A.M. Hossain Bux, havildar, grenadier company, came and awoke me, and said what, are you not awake ? there is a row in the cavalry lines, three reports of a pistol, and the Quartermaster-Sergeant's bungalow is on fire. I was astonished and ordered the regiment to turn out, and went to give information to the Adjutant. He came out of his tent and went with me to parade and asked if the regiment was ready ; I said yes, it is ready. He said, where is it ? I said in front of the bells-of-arms. He ordered them to form up in front of the quarter-guard. I formed them up, made them ready. I received orders that if any cavalryman came, he was instantly to be shot, in this way we passed the night with our officers ; no one took off his uniform. The cavalry having mutinied, went away to Delhi. In the morning, the Adjutant ordered us to take off our uniform

and eat our dinners, then the guards were placed, and we took off our uniform ; the Colonel came to us and asked what naick was on duty at the elephant sheds ? as the cavalry and 1st Native Infantry wanted four elephants which were under a guard of a naick and four sepoys of the regiment, and that he was greatly pleased they had refused to give them up, and that he was so pleased with the naick doing his duty so well, he would make him a havildar. I said it was Gunga Deen, naick, 1st company. The 1st Regiment mutinied like the cavalry and went away. After this the Colonel said Bhawanyasing, subadar, has been wounded by these mutineers. I will go and see him. I and Annundeedeen, havildar-major, went with the Colonel to the cavalry hospital and saw Bhawanyasing, who was wounded. The Colonel was very much pleased with him and told him to go to the depot barrack, he went with the doctor and a cavalry orderly. The Colonel went to his bungalow, and I and Annundeedeen went to our lines, and having taken off our uniform began to smoke, when Chain Singh, havildar, came and said jemadar, the regiment is turning out ; I asked by whose order and why ? he said I don't know. I went outside, and saw that the havildar was dreadfully frightened, and was buttoning his coat. I went with him to my company, and saw some of the men in the tent packing up their clothes and others throwing them away. I asked them what was the matter and why they were getting ready, they said the 53rd Regiment is getting ready, and so are we. I said your regiment is the 56th, what have you to do with the 53rd. It would be better for you first to shoot me and then do what you like afterwards ; many of the men said you are our senior officer, we will not kill you, come with us. I said very well. I will get ready and come with you. I went out of the tent very slowly for about 100 yards and then ran as fast as I could to the entrenchments and told the Colonel and Adjutant that the regiment had mutinied ; they said come with us and we will see. I said, oh ! gentlemen, all the regiment has mutinied ; and are your enemies, it is not right for you to go to them. The Colonel and Adjutant would not listen to me, but went towards the regiment. When they arrived about 300 yards from the regiment, three muskets were fired from where the 8th company were. We then returned to the entrenchments ; the regiment went to Delhie. Afterwards Captain Holliday, Lieutenant Chalmers, myself, one Sergeant, and eight European soldiers went to the Savada House. In this house were 300 muskets belonging to men on leave, we took them on a cart to the entrenchments, and one



jemadar, three havildars, one naick, and many sepoys and drummers of my regiment went into the entrenchment. On the 6th of June all the regiments that had mutinied and gone towards Delhie were persuaded by the rebel Nana Rao and returned to Cawnpoor and fired into the house of the Nawab of Nunnah. I was sitting with the Adjutant in a tent talking with him when we heard the sound of firing. We went to the South Battery near the 9th Barrack, and Sahibdad Khan, went to the east into the hospital barrack, every one in the entrenchments went to their respective post; Sepoys Gobind Singh, Jitt Singh, Shaikh Ellahie Bux, and Ghouse Mohomed remained faithful and fought with the British, but there was no Native officer with them, they remained in the entrenchments from the 10th to the 25th June.

*Question*—How many days did you stay in the entrenchments, and what did you see during the time you were in? What were the General's arrangements? Who came as the Nana's emissaries, and what were their names? When was the treasury and magazine made over to the Nana? And when and how did the cavalry get into the entrenchments and when did the British leave and take to their boats?

*Answer*—I was in the entrenchments from the 5th of June to the 27th, and saw that seven or eight of the British died daily, but I do not know their names; but I know that Captain Holliday was killed by a round shot, and Colonel Williams, Major Prout, and the Sergeant-Major\* died from the great heat, I only know the names of the officers. On the 25th of June a Christian woman, a half-caste, came with five sepoys to one of the batteries. The Europeans on picket fired four shots at them. The woman then moved a handkerchief over her head and said do not fire. When they came close to the batteries, Captain Moore, 32nd Foot, ordered the woman to be allowed to come into the entrenchments, but to stop the Natives who were with her. She came in and brought a letter; I saw it, and heard that this was written in it:—"My father was always faithful to the British Government, I will

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\* Note.—These officers belonged to the 56th Native Infantry.

take care that no Native shall kill you, I will send eight troopers with you, if you will go to Allahabad, and leave all the arms, ammunition, and stores in the entrenchments." General Wheeler returned this letter as it had no signature. She went away and brought it back signed by the Nana. The General saw the letter and said we will do what the Nana wants, but we will take one musket and 60 rounds of ammunition per man with us, and the Nana must supply carriage for the wounded men. He sent elephants and doolies for them. On the evening of the 26th, the Nana sent carts and artillerymen for the treasure, the General gave them all the money there was in the treasury, 1,14,000 rupees, he also took the Nana's emissary, Jowallah Pershad, as an hostage that the Nana would not play false, and made him sleep in the entrenchments all that night. He only gave over the money and not the arms, ammunition or stores. On the 27th of June all the British left the entrenchment.

*Question*—At the time the British left the entrenchments, how many of the mutineers, Nana's force, or villagers were with them, or were they looking on at a distance? Were there any guns with them? How far did you go with the British? And what did you see? And where and how did you leave them, and who left with you?

*Answer*—When the British left the entrenchments to go to the boats, they were surrounded by 10,000 or 12,000 people, consisting of rebel troopers, sepoy, Tillingas, villagers; they had no guns. Nana Rao had deceitfully placed guns on the side of the embarking place on the river. When the British had got about 300 paces from the entrenchments, the Adjutant of the 56th Native Infantry heard the rebel say, we will arrest Khoda Bux, who is with the British: he took hold of my hand and made me walk in the centre of the cavalcade. At this moment Poorun, sepoy, 3rd company of my regiment, who was also with



us, took hold of my hand and pulled me, then many of the rebels surrounded me, one took off my cartridge box, another my puggree, and another my uniform. They then confined my son Elahie Bux and myself in the battery at the mess-house.

*Question*—When you left the entrenchments, how did Colonel Ewart, 1st Native Infantry, who was wounded, travel, and what occurred to him?

*Answer*—I did not recognise the Colonel, but all the wounded were on elephants or in doolies. I do not know their names.

*Question*—After you left the British, where did you stay, how long were you in prison, and where, and what did you see during this time? and what did you hear about the officers when they went to the boats and how did you hear it? After the ladies and children went to the boats did you see them again, and if so where and when, and under what circumstances?

*Answer*—When I was taken away from the British, the first day and night I was under a guard of the 56th Native Infantry; Elahie Bux, my son; Sahibdad Khan, Native Doctor; Gobind Singh, Sepoy; Moorjeet and myself, were then confined in the Savada house, and in another room of this house were 180 ladies and children, who escaped death at the river, and had been brought here and confined. Afterwards we five were removed to another house in which the ladies were murdered, but I do not know the name of the house. After this, we five were ironed and sent to the jail at Tukahpore. We were given  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of parched gram to eat daily. We were in the greatest distress. The first day when I was in the guard, Subadar Allie Bux would not even give me water to drink as he said I was a Christian; he sent me to the Nana, who ordered me to be shot immediately. The Tillingas took me away to shoot me, they brought me back again and said the sepoy of this man's regiment (56th

Native Infantry) are gone to the massacre, when they come back they shall punish him as they like; but bound me tightly as they said I was strong and must not be allowed to escape. I heard that when all the British had got into the boats ready to start, all at once guns and muskets were fired, and that there were volumes of smoke. I then heard that all the officers and soldiers who had gone to the river had been massacred, and that 180 ladies and children who were living had been arrested. I saw them myself in the Savada house, they were in a most wretched state, on some was nothing but an under garment, on others but one gown, they had no bedding of any kind.

*Question*—If you saw the ladies in confinement by order of the Nana, in what house did you see them? Did you recognise any? Tell all you saw. Did they get food? Had they all clothes on or not? and did a Mussulmancee take them food or not? and what was her name and appearance.

*Answer*—The ladies and children were first confined in the Savada house; after I was taken to the prison they were removed to a house, the name of which I do not know. I recognised all the ladies of my regiment, their names were \* \* \* \* They only had dal and bread given to them every evening to eat, and some of them had on only one garment, no bedding. At first, Mrs. Pair, the wife of a drummer, cooked their food for them; afterward a Native woman, about 36 years of age, was sent by the Nana from Bithoor to give out their food. She was tall, rather fair complexion, large face, an inhabitant of Bithoor, I do not know her name.

*Question*—During the time you were in prison, at how many times were Europeans killed and where? Did you hear that a lady was taken away by troopers, what was her name?

*Answer*—When I was in the Savada house, eleven officers, soldiers and clerks were shot there. I heard this



but did not see it; they were killed by sepoy of 37th Regiment, Native Infantry, but I myself saw when the sepoy returned from the massacre at the ghat a trooper with a lady before him on horseback: she had a veil on, I do not know her name.

*Question*—Did you see Mrs. \* \* \* and Mrs. \* \* \* and did you recognise them? and what became of them?

*Answer*—I did not see them nor recognise them.

*Question*—Did you tell \* \* \* drummer, 53rd Native Infantry, all about Mrs. \* \* \* and Mrs. \* \* \* and what occurred to them? and did you either see or hear that ladies went to grind gram for the Nana in a stable?

*Answer*—I saw the son of \* \* \* drummer, in the entrenchments, but did not see him in confinement. I know nothing about Mrs. \* \* neither did I hear anything about ladies grinding gram?

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*No. 16.—Deposition of Kunhye Pershad, Mahajun of Cawnpoor.*—I was at Cawnpoor when the mutiny broke out at that station and state what I know of it.

When the news of the Meerut mutiny was received, there was much excitement amongst the troops at Cawnpoor, and reports were rife that they would follow the example of the troops at Meerut. I was on bad terms with the sowars of the 2nd Cavalry, as a year previous to the mutiny, four of the troopers had been imprisoned on a complaint made by me. I therefore feared their vengeance. I knew that many of the troopers frequented the house of a prostitute named Aseesun, and bought over her servant Emambux. She informed me that the sowars of the 2nd Cavalry were plotting with the Nana, and that a mutiny had taken place between the parties.

The facts of the case are these:—The Nana had in his employ two sowars, one named Raheem Khan, resident of Bishenpore near Bithoor, and the other Muddud Ali, of Banda; the latter was discharged and commenced business as a horse dealer, but still used to visit the Nana in the way of business. When the Nana was called into Cawnpoor from Bithoor, these two sowars were employed to tamper with the 2nd Cavalry; they used frequently to visit Subadar

Sheeba Sing and a trooper named Shumsoodeen Khan. On the 1st or 2nd June, both these men and the Havildar-Major of the 2nd Cavalry, Gopal Sing, with Raheem Khan and Muddud Ali met the Nana, his brother Bala Rao, and Azeemoollah, at Sookah Mullah's Ghat on the banks of the Ganges: it was dusk, and they had a long consultation of about two hours, seated in a boat. This meeting was well known and was brought to the notice of the Magistrate, but the Nana on being questioned said he had met the men of the 2nd Cavalry to pacify them and prevent further disturbances. The day after this meeting, Shumshoodeen Khan was at the house of the prostitute Aseesun: being in liquor, he told the girl that the Peishwa's reign would soon commence, and the Nana in a day or two would be paramount and that he (Shumshoodeen) would fill her house with gold mohurs. Two or three days after this the troops mutinied. I also heard that some of the Native officers and troopers waited on the Nana with intimation that a kingdom was prepared for him, if he joined them with all his wealth: or death if he sided with the Europeans. The Nana replied that he was with them and had nothing to do with Europeans; he was then requested to lead the troops to Delhie, to which he assented, and told them to take the treasures, he would follow them. The Native officers placed the Nana's hand on his head and required an oath that he would fulfil his promise; the oath was taken, when the Native officers and troopers left. A consultation was then held by the Nana, Bala, and Azeemoollah with some others about going to Delhie. Azeemoollah pointed out to the Nana that by going to Delhie, he would lose all power and influence; that he was well acquainted with the arrangements of the British. That they had not a fourth of Europeans compared to the sepoys, and that the British could not help themselves; it would therefore be advisable first to bring into subjection and order the country around, and then extend his dominions as far as possible to the eastward—having secured the passages by which Europeans proceeded up country, they could be easily held in check. This was at once agreed to, and the Nana, Bala, and Azeemoollah went to Kullianpore and got the troops to return to Cawnpoor.

*Question*—State truly from whence did you get this information?

*Answer*—I was acquainted with a resident of Bithoor named Ramdeen, who was in the employ of the Nana,



and was constantly in attendance on him. I persuaded him to give me all the news of the Nana's doings, for I feared for my life, and so I willingly paid him 20 rupees; ten each time for the information given.

*Question*—What had you to fear from the Nana?

*Answer*—I feared a Risaldar in the Nana's sowars, named Jwala Pershad, who after the mutiny was made a Brigadier. His relative Gujjadhur, and one Alee Gumstah were part owners of Mouza Kullianpore. I bought the forfeited share of Gujjadhur, hence Jwala Pershad bore me a spite. When the mutiny broke out, my share of the village was made over to Gunshan Aheer. A moonshee named Jwala Pershad who resided near my house repeatedly advised me to petition Ramlal, Deputy Collector, who would send a party with me to put me in possession of the village; but this I refused to do.

*Question*—What office had Moonshee Jwala Pershad under the Nana?

*Answer*—As I did not leave my house I cannot say, but I heard that he had great influence in the Nana's court; and Ramlal, the Deputy Collector, did nothing without consulting Moonshee Jwala Pershad; this is well known to all.

*Question*—Where is Ramdeen who gave you the information?

*Answer*—He is either with the Nana or at Bithoor.

*Question*—Where is the prostitute Asecsun and her servants?

*Answer*—I do not know.

*Question*—Where did she reside at Cawnpoor?

*Answer*—In the house of Oomrao Begum in the Setrinjee Mahal.

*Question*—Who is Oomrao Begum?

*Answer*—She is a prostitute, and is now at Furruckabad; the girl Asecsun rented her house.

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*No. 17.—Deposition of Sheo Churran Das, Sadho of Cawnpoor.*

*Question*—Where were you when the outbreak and insurrection among the troops at Cawnpoor occurred?

*Answer*—I was in the Cawnpore Cantonment.

*Question*—Detail truly all you saw of the disturbances?

*Answer*—First of all in April 1857, the sepoy who came down on leave from the eastward said "we shall quarrel with Government presently; for new cartridges prepared with cows' and pigs' fat are going to be served out, and the sepoy refuse to receive them. Then in May intelligence of the mutiny of the force at Meerut reached us, and was everywhere talked about and the sepoy plotted mutiny. The English officers had an entrenchment thrown up, and the Nana, a Mahratta, came with his retainers at the summons of the Collector. He had about 1,500 men and some guns with him.

Three or four days before the troops broke out, Teeka Sing, Subadar of the 2d Cavalry (whom the sepoy made their General after they mutinied) began to have interviews with the Nana, and said to him on one occasion, "you have come to take charge of the magazine and treasury of the English, we all, Hindus and Mahomedans, have united for our religions, and the whole Bengal Army have become one in purpose, —What do you say to it?" The Nana replied "I also am at the disposal of the army." I heard this from the sowars themselves, but cannot remember the names of any of my informants.

I then heard that the English told the sepoy to come unarmed into the entrenchment and receive their pay, and that the sepoy refused to enter it without their arms.

One night, I forget the date, the 2d Cavalry and "Gillis" Regiment (1st Native Infantry) mutinied and after completing their preparations went towards the treasury, i.e., in the direction of Nawabgunge. In the morning the two other regiments also declared themselves. As I went out of the town as usual, I saw the Subadars and Jemadars of the two corps leave their men and go into the entrenchment; presently the sepoy also went in the same direction but



the Europeans fired on them, and they at once fled and joined the Gillis Regiment, 1st Native Infantry, and the cavalry at Nawabgunge. The united force of mutineers then plundered the treasury and broke open the jail, afterwards marching off to Kullianpore. The Nana's brother, Bala, followed and asked them where they going to,—they replied to Delhie. He said, "what good can you do at Delhie? Stay there." The officers returned with him, and made the Nana their Raja. Plunder and loot commenced; bungalows were burned; and the entrenchment fired upon. Wherever they saw an Englishman, Eurasian, lady or child, they murdered them. The budmashes of Cawnpoor and the neighbourhood joined the mutineers. I saw numbers of them myself, but cannot give any names.

The fighting continued incessantly for twenty-two days.

Three days after its commencement, the report spread that 136 gentlemen, ladies, &c., had been brought in captives from some place or another, and that they were to be killed. When I heard this I went to the Savada house where the Nana lived, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and there saw the sepoy and sowars massacre all these Europeans close to the door of the Savada house, to the west of it. When I saw this I made the best of my way off without being perceived. I heard some of the Sahibs tell the sepoy who they were, and ask them to give their names and salaams to the Nana. Some sepoy went away and soon returned saying that the Nana's orders were to kill them. I know nothing more of this occurrence.

Meanwhile the fighting continued. One morning I went towards the entrenchment and saw a tall lady come out with a white wand in her hand and go towards the Savada house. I heard that she had some conversation with the Nana. The fighting then ceased, and it was agreed upon between the Nana and the English that the latter should evacuate the entrenchment and proceed to Allahabad.

The next morning I heard that the English were going to embark at once in boats, and I went to the ghat. I saw them begin to embark when suddenly the boatmen leaped off their boats and a fusillade commenced, the boatmen setting the boats on fire. The cannon also opened and all the English, male and female, jumped into the water: when I had seen thus much I hastened off, but was informed that all the gentlemen had been killed, and the surviving ladies and children taken prisoners.

*Question*—Could you recognise any of the boatmen who set fire to the boats?

*Answer*—I could not.

*Question*—What happened then?

*Answer*—For a few days similar disturbances continued until the day when I heard that a British force was advancing from Allahabad. The troops on hearing of their approach, went out to fight with them at Futtehpore, were defeated, and returned broken. The day after I heard that the ladies and children who had been confined near the assembly rooms had been massacred. The day following, the mutineers fled, and the British Army arrived.

*Question*—Do you know any particulars of the massacre of the ladies and children?

*Answer*—I heard that the Nana's people had cut them to pieces with tulwars, but nothing more.

*Question*—Did you see any sowar with an European lady as his prisoner, or hear of such a thing?

*Answer*—I did not hear of it.

*Question*—While the fighting at the entrenchment was going on, did you hear of any other Europeans being brought in and murdered besides the 136 you mentioned?

*Answer*—I do not remember any others. Nor did I hear of any.

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*No. 18.—Deposition of Lalla Bhudree Nath, Commissariat Gomastha, Cawnpoor.*

*Question*—What do you know regarding the occurrences at Cawnpoor which followed the mutiny of the troops there.



*Answer*—In May 1857, the report spread in the Cawnpore Bazar that the Hindustani force at Meerut had mutinied, and committed excesses on the Europeans. This became the universal topic of conversation among the sepoys. One day in May, the son of a sowar whose name I do not know, came to his lessons at a school held in the same premises in which I lived; the boys were overheard by Teeka Ram, Bookseller, to say among themselves that the force here would act as that at Meerut had done; he told me this, and I at once gave information of it to General Wheeler who had long been a patron of mine. The General enjoined me always to keep him informed of anything of the kind which I might become acquainted with among the infantry or cavalry, and to be cautious and on my guard in doing so. I accordingly introduced sundry emissaries of my own disguised into the lines, and reported what I ascertained daily to the General. One day I heard that the cavalry and the 1st Native Infantry, "Gillis" Regiment, had made up their minds to mutiny, and make off at the moment when the new cartridges were served out to them. I immediately apprised the General of this, and he gave me four cartridges, telling me to show them to the principal Native officers, and explain that there was no harm in them. I thereupon went and showed them to the Native officers of the Gillis Regiment, who said that they were quite good and that they had no objection to use them, but protested against having any given to them in the composition of which fat had been used, promising to obey the General and carry out his orders if he would give them with his own mouth a positive promise that none should be served out. I reported this to the General who replied "I promise that within my command no other kinds of cartridges shall be served out." One or two days after this the General received some intelligence (the nature of which I was not aware of) from

the Collector, and caused the construction of an entrenchment to be commenced. This at once aroused the suspicions of the sepoys, who got up the rumour among themselves that the Europeans intended to take to the entrenchment and then attack them. I informed the General of this also. He then sent for some of the officers of the 1st Regiment, Native Infantry, and told them to cease their suspicions as the entrenchment was only made as a precautionary measure. Two or three days afterwards several of the European gentlemen began to pass every night in the entrenchment. The sepoys then began to say to each other "the Sahibs have lost all confidence in us, and we shall never get over it." I told this to the General who sent his son (his aide-de-camp) to quiet the fears of the Native officers. His representations put an end to the talking and restored confidence. On the 1st and 2nd of June a cashiered officer called Christie came out of his bungalow in a state of intoxication at night, and fired at the cavalry patrol who had challenged him. Although he missed the sowar yet the latter lodged a complaint in the morning, and a court-martial was assembled which acquitted Mr. Christie on the ground of his having been intoxicated at the time. The sepoys became displeased at this and began to talk again of mutiny. I informed the General, and then he and the rest of the Sahibs betook themselves with their property into the entrenchments. The day after I had given this intelligence to the General the sowars sent their families out of the camp in various directions. That night (June 4th) the cavalry and the Gillis Regiment broke out into mutiny, wounded Bhowangee Deen, Subadar Bahadur of the cavalry, and left cantonments. They first took away the elephants in the commissariat elephant stables, and then broke open the jail and plundered the treasury, finally marching off to Kullianpore, and encamped there. In the morning



several sowars came back and endeavoured to incite the two remaining regiments to mutiny, telling them that their share of the rupees had been reserved, but that they must go and fetch it, and abusing them for remaining inactive like women, the officers of the two regiments, the 53rd and 56th, then went to General Wheeler in the entrenchment. I do not know what passed at the interview. Meanwhile, at about 9 A.M., the commissariat officer sent me with the Conductor to the liquor store to get out some liquor. I had put six barrels on carts and was just going to start with them, when a sepoy came up to the guard and told them to be ready, for the signal had been given, they then threw off their uniforms and began to load their muskets. I thereupon made the Conductor mount on a camel and leave the place, remaining myself to lock up the store. Presently the Naick of the guard told me to be off or I should be killed. I went away and hid myself in a place between the stores. Meanwhile the sepoys began to fire with ball, and the two regiments marched out towards Kullianpore by the road now followed by the railway. The sowars then came back and began to create a disturbance in the station, and burn and plunder the bungalows. Thousands of the lower classes from the city, cantonments, and villages went about with them sharing in their excesses, killing every European or Christian they met, and searching for Government employés. Several Mussulmans of the cavalry who had been aware of my supplying intelligence to the Sahiba looked everywhere for me, intending to murder me, but I kept concealed. I soon after heard that the officers of the cavalry and infantry regiments had gone in a body to the Nana, a Mahratta, who had come and encamped near the treasury at the bidding of the Collector, with his two guns and 5,000 retainers, and said to him that he must take charge of the magazine and the treasure, while they went off to Delhie. He replied—"Then when will the Europeans in the

entrenchments leave me alone? First come and clear out the entrenchment and then go off to Delhi." Teeka Ram, a subadar of the cavalry, who had been elected commandant of the force, approved of this proposal, and went to the magazine and got out the heavy guns. I informed the General of all this, and he told me not to be alarmed for that none of the guns were of any use. I heard however that the Nana had given a reward of 100 rupees to some craftsman who had brushed up the guns on a lathe.

On the 6th of June, in the morning, the whole force returned from Kullianpore and surrounded the entrenchment. Some sowars with a gun went to Nunne Nawab's house which they broke open and plundered; eight or nine sowars with one sepoy came presently to my house and began firing as my door was shut. After one of my people had been hit with a bullet I opened the door and went up to the roof; the sepoys fired twice at me but missed. One of the sowars then called out that they were going to kill me because the General's wife and daughter were concealed in my house. I told them to search my house. Two of the sowars did so, and when they found nothing went out, the sepoy then again was going to try to kill me, but a sowar called Bhuddree prevented him. The sound of a cannon shot was then heard: my assailants all dispersed and I escaped. I left my house and went to the abode of a man who lived near the Thakoor Dwara and there concealed myself. The fighting commenced and the firing continued night and day. I remained in hiding in the same house near the Thakoor Dwara for eight days. One day while in concealment, I heard from a man called Jugger-nath, since deceased, that 106 European ladies, gentlemen and children had come in boats from the westward down the Ganges, and when they saw the disturbances going on they concealed themselves on an island in the river which was covered with jungle, that some zemindars and men belonging to the Nana



had gone and brought them off prisoners, and that they had been cut to pieces and shot at the Savada House. I afterwards heard that 54 gentlemen and ladies on their way from Farruckabad had been taken prisoners in their boats at Bithoor and brought into Cawnpoor. And that the gentlemen had been massacred by the sowars, the females and children of the party being confined together in the Savada House. The man Juggernath also told me that one of the ladies had refused to be separated from her husband, saying that they must slay her too if they killed him. The sowars then called out "kill her too." One of them made a blow at her with his tulwar, but she interposed her child, a baby of a year old,—the cruel wretches of sowars then butchered first the baby, then the wife, and then the husband. I did not obtain a clue to the names of any of these Sahibs. Afterwards somehow or another the rebels found out that I was hiding near the Ganges, and a sowar came and carried me before Teeka Sing, late Subadar of the 2nd Light Cavalry, and then Commandant of the mutineers, who ill-treated me much, and at last told two sowars to take me away and bring back 3,000 rupees or else bring me again. A friend of mine a khutree, named Thakoor Pershad, when there seemed no other way of freeing me, gave the men 500 rupees and got them to release me. All this happened before the 16th of June when I returned to my own house. Meanwhile the fighting at the entrenchment continued. On the 25th June it ceased, and I heard that some Christian women had taken a letter from the Nana into the entrenchment, and that two or three other men whom I know nothing about had been sent into the entrenchments by the Nana, who had sworn that he would convey the members of the garrison, male and female, in safety to Allahabad. Boats were then got ready, and the first day four gentlemen went to the ghat on an elephant and inspected them. On the morning of the 27th of

June I think, all the gentlemen, ladies, and soldiers left the entrenchment and went down to the ghat on elephants, in palkees and other conveyances, and began to embark in the boats; before any of them had put off, the sowars and sepoy opened a fusillade on them, and also set some of them on fire. All the gentlemen and ladies jumped from the boats into the water. All the gentlemen were killed, and so also were some of the ladies and children. All the survivors of the latter were taken prisoners, most of them being wounded, and confined in the Savada House. Two boats had been shoved off, punted by the gentlemen in them, but they were fired on and sunk by guns on the opposite side, where the 17th Native Infantry, "Bakur" Regiment, was drawn up. A good many of the gentlemen escaped to that bank and concealed themselves in a temple. The zemindars of Dhoondea Khera heaped up grass about it which they lighted; this forced the Sahibs out, and they were all killed, after exchanging shots with their assailants, killing a man (the uncle of Ram Buksh, a zemindar of Dhoondea Khera,) who had set up as a Raja. Five or six days after this, in the morning about 10 o'clock, I was on my way down to the Ganges, when I saw on the road, near the church and the hotel, 50 or 60 zemindars, retainers of the Nana, with drawn tulwars, and lighted matches, bringing along a Sahib bound; they halted in the shade of some trees while one of their number went to tell the Nana. The latter's brother, a Mahratta, named Baba Bhutt, came out, and after saying a few words to the gentleman, told the zemindars that the Nana's order was to murder him. They replied "we will not do so, our creed does not permit us to kill a bound prisoner, though we can slay our enemy in battle." He then sent for an executioner. When I saw this atrocity, I went on to the Ganges. About three-quarters of an hour afterwards when I was performing my ablutions, two or three executioners came and



threw the gentleman's corpse into the Ganges. Sword wounds were upon it.

Some days afterwards, when again going down to the Ganges, I saw them bringing the ladies from the Savada House on carts, and take them to a little bungalow near the hotel. I looked at them very carefully as I stood by the wall, to see whether I could distinguish the General's wife or daughters among them. I did not perceive them, and I could not recognise any one else. All the ladies wore European clothes, but in one of the carts were five or six who had thrown a Hindustani sheet over themselves, which prevented me from seeing them.

After this, the Nana's army went off to fight at Futtehpore, but before they started, seven or eight messengers were brought prisoners to the Nana, on whom were found letters in English and Hindustani, addressed to the Europeans at Allahabad; they were all put to death; and search was instituted for the writers of the letters. A sepoy told me that he had heard that my name had been found in one of the Hindustanee ones. Although none had been sent by me, yet fear induced me to hide myself, and I went to old Cawnpore, four miles from the cantonments.

Two days afterwards I heard of the approach of the British forces, and both mutineers and populace began to fly. That same day I heard that the captive ladies and children had been massacred, in the evening. The Nana's people blew up the magazine that day, and then the British forces arrived.

On the 17th of July, when I had heard of their having come, I presented myself, and went in the morning and pointed out to Captain Macbean the place where the ladies had been butchered, and the well into which their corpses had been cast.

I have detailed now all that I saw.

*Question*—State distinctly what you heard about the massacre of the ladies.

*Answer*—I heard that the Nana first ordered some of the sepoys to kill them, but they refused. Five or six executioners, servants of the Nana, then went and killed them; and in the morning threw their bodies into the well.

*Question*—Did you hear who those executioners were? of what caste? and of what appearance?

*Answer*—I did not hear the names of any of them, but I heard that some were Hindus and some Mussulmans, and that they were retainers of the Nana.

*Question*—When you went on the 17th July to see the corpses in the well, with Captain Macbean, what did you notice regarding them? and what kinds of wounds were upon them? what did you hear as to the numbers of the ladies and children?

*Answer*—I went to the well in the hope that perhaps some of the ladies might be still alive. When I arrived there however I saw the body of a Sahib uppermost, and did not hear a sound indicative of any one's being yet alive. I then left the well and went to the building where the slaughter had taken place. I saw blood on the ground in every direction, but did not perceive any marks of musket balls on the walls, and hence inferred that they had been killed with tulwars. I did not hear how many there were. Several gentlemen were among them, but I did not hear any particulars about them.

*Question*—Did you hear what kind of food they got, and why they were massacred, after being kept prisoners at first?

*Answer*—I heard that they got some food, and also that among the letters found on the messengers captured was one from one of the ladies to Allahabad, and that this was the cause of their being murdered.

*Question*—Had the Nana placed the guns before the Europeans came to the river bank, or how was it? How many boats were there? Who set them on fire?

*Answer*—I was told that the 17th Native Infantry had come to the opposite bank with two guns. On this side were



sowars. When the Sahibs began to embark, the sowars told the boatmen to get out quickly, and they immediately jumped off. Then the bullets began to fly about, and the boats were set on fire. I do not know how many boats there were.

*Question*—Who were the boatmen? Whence did they come? And where are they now?

*Answer*—The boats belonged to Cawnpore, so I suppose the boatmen did too, but no one will speak out on the subject as they are afraid to do so.

*Question*—Who were the zemindars, and the Nana's people who brought the 106 Sahibs?

*Answer*—They were the zemindars of the neighbourhood who had resorted to the Nana. I cannot name, or give a clue to any of them.

*Question*—In the commencement of the disturbances, when thousands of low class people joined in the insurrection and loot, did you recognise any of them?

*Answer*—I saw distinctly that people belonging to the low classes were assisting the sowars in the plunder, incendiarism, and riot; but I could not at the time recognise any one. On the 6th June I saw them (when I was going to the Ganges) from my own house.

*Question*—Do you know what Native officers gave their adherence and advice to the Nana when the force returned from Kullianpore.

*Answer*—I did not hear the names of any of them.

*Question*—Do you know where the sowars sent their families to when they despatched them from the lines?

*Answer*—When they first mutinied they sent them into the Sudder Bazar and neighbouring villages, but when they fled, after being defeated by the British, each man took his own wife and children along with him.

*Question*—Do you know who the workman was who received a reward for turning the guns?

*Answer*—I never knew his name.

*Question*—Specify the men who used to bring you intelligence from the rebel force.

*Answer*—Hur Pershad, Durbara Sing Auristee, Bhowanee Deen and Bechoo, and two other men who have gone, I don't know where.

*Question*—Where is Teeka Ram, bookseller, now?

*Answer*—He is somewhere on the educational establishment.

*Question*—Did you ever hear that any one of the ladies who were confined in the Savada house and the bungalow near the assembly rooms, and then massacred, used to be taken to the Nana's stables to grind grain, or not?

*Answer*—No, I never heard anything of this kind from any one.

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*No. 19.—Deposition of Banker Ajoodea Pershad of Cawnpoor.*

*Question*—Where were you at the time of the disturbances and revolt at Cawnpoor?

*Answer*—I was at Cawnpoor.

*Question*—Detail what you saw and heard.

*Answer*—In May 1857, the rumour became prevalent and much discussed that the force at Meerut had created some disturbances, and that insurrection had commenced everywhere. Then proclamations were issued by Government promising advantage to the loyal, and denouncing punishment to the disloyal and any who created disturbances; and declaring that the report spread by lying persons, that Government wished to do away with any one's religion, was altogether false, and that Government did not wish to interfere with the creed and doctrines of individuals.

Soon after, I forget the date, one night, an officer shot a sowar; I know not for certain whether the latter died or survived, but I heard that he died, and that no justice had been done him. This circumstance led the sepoys to imagine that the English were displeased with them. I was also informed that the officers had ordered the sepoys to come into the entrenchment unarmed to receive their pay, and that this increased their suspicion.

So it went on until the night of the 4th June, when first of all the 2nd Cavalry mounted and accoutred came out on the main road, and a bugle sounded,—



I was at the time looking at what was going on from the chubootra of my shop,—then two sowars left the ranks and passing my shop, went towards the lines of the "Gillis" Regiment (1st Native Infantry) and called out "The Subadar-Major of our regiment sends his compliments to the Subadar-Major of the 1st Regiment, and wishes to know the reason of this delay, as the cavalry are drawn up on the "road." The "Gillis" Regiment thereupon began to get ready. Colonel Ewart then came up from the direction of the entrenchment vehemently prohibiting the movement, and calling out repeatedly "*Baba logue ! Baba logue !* this is not as usual, do not act thus !" but no one attended to what he said, and the regiment marched out immediately to join the cavalry ; the Colonel returning to the entrenchment.

The cavalry and 1st Native Infantry then proceeded to the treasury and magazine, and made their arrangements regarding them, though they deferred the plunder until the "Lumboorun" and "Castor" Regiments should join. Thus the night passed, and in the morning at about 8 or 9 A. M. the two remaining regiments marched out and joined their comrades. They united in plundering the treasury and breaking open the jail, and then marched off all together for Delhie. The mutineers had then formed no plan of plundering and creating a riot in the station, purposing merely to go off to Delhie. The Nana however (so I have heard) called back the Native officers, asked them where they were going to, and urged them to join in destroying the English, who were all collected in the entrenchment, promising to do everything for them if they would remain and clear it out.

On the 6th June, in the morning, the whole force returned, and the Nana became their chief, and received their formal salutations as such. Excesses in the shape of plunder and murder commenced, they burned the bungalows and killed every European and

Christian, whether male or female, whom they found outside the entrenchment. I myself saw many corpses both of men and women lying about near the canal. The Nana issued an order that if any European, Eurasian, or Christian should be found concealed in any Native's house, the latter was to be put to death with his family, and his house plundered. Accordingly, under the pretence of searching for concealed Europeans, sowars and sepoy entered and plundered many houses, and committed all kinds of excesses.

The firing at the entrenchment commenced, night and day it continued, and frequently an assault was talked of, but never accomplished.

I from time to time heard that on three or four occasions Europeans had been brought in prisoners from the districts, and the males shot at the Savada house; the females and children being kept in confinement. Fifteen or sixteen days afterwards I heard that a lady, mother-in-law of Mrs. Thos. Greenway, came out of the entrenchment, and that when the sepoy were going to kill her, she asked to be conducted before the Nana, as she wished to have some conversation with him, and begged the sepoy to refrain from killing her until they received his orders to do so. She made her way to the Nana, and had a long interview with him, urging that the English always maintained those whom they deprived of their territories, and perhaps imprisoned, but never put them to death, and asked him in what scripture of his he found anything which sanctioned the commission of such acts of atrocity, adding "our country will not be depopulated by our slaughter!"

The lady was put in confinement. I then heard that the Nana had agreed not to molest the English if they would leave all their property and go to Allahabad. Twenty boats or thereabouts were prepared, and on the morning of, I think the 26th or 27th June, elephants, doolies, carts, beds and other



conveyances were taken to the entrenchment, and the whole of the garrison was brought by their means to the ghat, by the old pay office, a few sepoy and sowars accompanied them, and a great crowd of common people as lookers on.

I was standing near the artillery hospital, by the church, when I saw Colonel Ewart of the 1st Native Infantry being brought along on a bed, carried by four coolies; he was badly wounded by a gunshot, and his wife accompanied him on foot; the rest of the English were on ahead, the bed having been allowed to fall behind some distance. When they had arrived abreast of the church, seven or eight sepoy of the 1st Native Infantry came up and told the coolies to set down the bed and stand aside; I saw these sepoy distinctly, and recognised them well; one was Baijunath Sing Thakoor, of the 5th Company, and another Ram Bhurrot Ahir, of the same company; although I recognised the others, I cannot now remember their names. The coolies put down the bed and remained apart in a suppliant posture in fear lest they might be murdered too. The sepoy then began to taunt the Colonel, calling out "is the parade well dressed up now?" and then one or two of them killed him with their swords. His wife had a few articles of property with her, and they said to her "go along, we won't kill you, but throw down all that you have." She took a piece of stuff with something tied up in it out of her pocket and gave it to them. They took it, and then cut her down with their tulwars. I stood looking on from a distance; a Brahmin named Chowbey Heera being with me at the time, and saw the sepoy pass on, leaving the corpses on the ground. Heera then went away to the westward and I do not know where he is now.

I then went onwards to the Ganges and saw the English embarking in the boats. Just then, the sepoy and sowars began firing on them and set the boats in flames. Cannon opened at the same time from both

sides of the river, and the sowars urging their horses into the water, cut down the Sahibs who had leaped out of the boats. All the males were thus massacred; but so I heard the females and children were taken away to the Savada house, and there confined for some time, being afterwards taken to the assembly rooms. A good many days afterwards I was told that a portion of the troops had gone out to Futtehpore to oppose the advance of a British force from Allahabad. They returned defeated and in confusion about 4 P. M., and the British Army was reported to be advancing in admirable order. I heard that, the evening after, the ladies confined in the assembly rooms were massacred: any of them who survived being killed the succeeding morning with tulwars; that the men were of the executioner class, and they threw the bodies into a well near the spot. The Nana's whole army marched out towards Futtehpore after this massacre, but returned beaten in the evening, and went on to the westward, the sepoy's advising the populace to flee too, if they did not want to be killed or deprived of their religion—many accordingly fled. The next morning the British Army arrived.

*Question*—Did you hear how many ladies and children were put to death in the assembly rooms the day before the arrival of the British Army?

*Answer*—I heard that there were from 80 to 100.

*Question*—Did you hear by whom, and with what weapons they were killed?

*Answer*—I heard only that the sepoy's had shot them down with volleys.

*Question*—Did you hear or see whether the ladies had any food given to them when in captivity: and if any, by whose hands it was conveyed to them?

*Answer*—I did not hear who brought it to them, but I heard that they got dal and bread to eat.

*Question*—Did you ever hear that they had taken any lady to the Nana's stable to grind grain?

*Answer*—No, I did not.



*Question*—Did you ever hear that any sepoy or sowars had carried off any lady ?

*Answer*—I heard that a sowar did take away a lady, who people said was the General's daughter, and that she had afterwards killed him and thrown herself into a well in the city. I did not hear of any other lady.

*Question*—Did you yourself see any of the occurrences at the attack batteries ?

*Answer*—I never went to the trenches myself, but I used often to hear from sepoys in my own bazar that an assault had been made.

*Question*—Were you also told who had made the assault ?

*Answer*—I sometimes heard that the Nunne Nawab was to make the assault, and sometimes that the "Gillis" Regiment, 1st Native Infantry, was to do it.

*Question*—Did you ever see the Nunne Nawab at the attack batteries ?

*Answer*—I never went and saw him at the works themselves, but I frequently saw him passing my shop, on his way to them, with from 5 to 7,000 Mussulmans, &c., in his train. Every one used to say at the time that he was going there.

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*No. 20.—Deposition of Kalka Pershad, Moonshree, resident of Cawnpoor.*—I was in the employ of Mr. Thomas Greenway at the time of the outbreak at Cawnpoor. In May 1857 we heard of the mutiny at Meerut; and about the end of the same month some Government elephants were sent to the treasury to remove the treasure kept there; but the sepoys on guard would not allow it to be taken away; this created suspicions regarding their intentions, after which the entrenchments were commenced, and the Nana came in from Bithoor.

On the 4th June 1857, about 4 P. M., my master took his family to the entrenchments. The troops mutinied during that night. I was in the city at the time. The next day, the jail was broken open, the treasury plundered, and all the bungalows set on fire; after which the mutineers went off towards Kullianpoor. But on the 6th of June they returned to Cawnpoor and laid siege to the entrenchments: the Nana placed himself at the head of the mutineers. A general search for all Christians ensued, who were massacred wherever found. On the

8th of June a party of troopers and sepoy were sent to Nujjufghur: Captain Holland who was there fought with them; but having run short of ammunition, he desired the sepoy to put an end to his life. After this the troopers and sepoy brought as prisoners to, and confined in, the Savada house, Mr. Edward and Mrs. Greenway, Miss Rose Greenway, and the other children. About two days after this, a sowar came to my house and took me to the Savada house, where the Nana was encamped. Jwalla Pershad, who was created a Brigadier, and Shah Ali, desired me (using threats) to tell them where my master kept all his money; I told them he had none placed anywhere, and begged them to ascertain this fact from my master's brother and his wife, who were prisoners; hearing which, Jwalla Pershad and Shah Ali took me to Mrs. Greenway, and requested her to give them four lakhs of rupees, promising to release her; she replied she had no money in cash, but would give them an order on Calcutta, and requested to be removed to her own house till they received the amount, to this they would not agree but left her. I was allowed to visit Mrs. Greenway, and managed now and then to give her food, cooked by my master's khansamah and his son, by paying the sentry a rupee each time; but this was soon stopped by the sepoy, though I continued visiting her and obtained a few words with her. After this, the ladies and gentlemen from Furruckabad were brought in prisoners, and confined in the Savada house. Mrs. Jacobi, the watchmaker's sister-in-law, was confined in the same room with Mrs. Greenway. The fight with the Europeans in the entrenchments still continued. On the 23rd of June, Azimollah and Brigadier Jwalla Pershad went to the Savada house, and had an interview with Mrs. Jacobi, who told them she would get the entrenchments vacated, she told me the same day to bring her jewel box which was in Azimollah's house. I replied it was impossible to do so at such a time as this. The next day, 24th June, I saw Mrs. Jacobi proceed to the entrenchments in a doolie, about 9 or 10 A. M., and saw her return about 12 at noon and go to the Nana's tent, where a consultation was held, and it was determined that the Europeans should leave the entrenchments. On the 29th, Brigadier Jwalla Pershad and Azimollah went to the entrenchments, and entered into an agreement on oath as the Nana's agents. On the 26th I visited my master in the entrenchments; he desired me to procure him Rs. 300 from some Mahajun, as he intended accompanying the others down to Allahabad by water. I informed him of my having



heard that the Nana's intention was to massacre the Europeans as soon as they left the entrenchments ; and on his asking, told him how I had heard it. On the 27th the Europeans left the entrenchments, and were nearly all massacred at the ghat ; some ladies and children escaped, who with the wounded were conveyed to the Savada house. About two days after this, they were removed to a little house near the assembly rooms. I often visited it and saw my master. About fourteen days after, the British troops approached Cawnpoor ; and on the 15th July all the inmates together with my master were massacred. The Nana fled and the station was re-occupied by the British.

*Question*—When you went to visit the house near the assembly rooms, how many Europeans inclusive of children did you see ?

*Answer*—I was not allowed to remain long in the bungalow, and therefore cannot give a correct estimate, but I think there were about 150 persons.

*Question*—Did you recognise any one else, besides your master ?

*Answer*—None that I was sure of.

*Question*—How and when did you hear of the Nana's intended treachery ?

*Answer*—Ever after I was taken prisoner and released by Brigadier Jwalla Pershad, he ordered me to be in attendance daily ; and used to question me about my master's money. On the 25th June about 4 p.m., Jwalla Pershad and Azimoolah returned from the entrenchments. I was present at Shah Ali, the Kotwal's, who resided in the Nana's tent verandah. I overheard Jwalla Pershad, Azimoolah, Shah Ali, Ahmed Ali, Vakil, and another thanah jemadar, whose name I do not recollect, talking amongst themselves, saying this was a good opportunity for getting rid of the Europeans.

*Question*—You were often present at the Nana's, state what persons were foremost in the consultations ?

*Answer*—The consultations were held inside the tent, into which many persons entered, whose names I do not remember, but Ahmed Ali Khan, Vakil, and Urzun Singh, ditto, since deceased ; and Moonsee Jwalla Pershad, who is now a Deputy Collector, these were foremost in the consultations, and had great influence.

*Question*—Did you ever see what sort of food was carried into the ladies, and by whom?

*Answer*—I did not see the food, but heard they only received dal and chuppaties, which they were not able to eat.

*Question*—Did you ever witness the massacre of any Europeans?

*Answer*—Never.

*Question*—When the Europeans left the entrenchments, did you observe what occurred?

*Answer*—I did not quit the city that day.

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*No. 21.—Deposition of Lalla Shunker Doss, Banker, Cawnpoor.*

In May 1857, there was a rumour that the sepoy's cherished an ill-feeling towards Government owing to the introduction of a novel kind of cartridge, after which news of the Meerut outbreak was received, in which it was stated that many Europeans had been killed. On Thursday, 4th June, about midnight, a fire was seen towards cantonments, and in the morning it was rumoured that the troops had mutinied, plundered the treasury and set fire to cantonments. On the receipt of these news, all business was stopped and shops closed. The Native residents of cantonments joining the mutineers commenced sacking the station, after which the sepoy's went away to Kullianpore; the shops still remaining closed. We heard that the Nana had brought back the mutineers, cannon were placed on all sides, and the cavalry were going about, searching for Europeans to put them to death. The sepoy's plundered the Nunne Nawab's house, carried him away a prisoner mounted on an elephant. After this, fighting commenced at the entrenchments, and the people hearing that some boats containing Europeans were coming from the west, gave notice of it to the Nana. Four or five days after, about 10 o'clock in the morning, two troopers came to my house, and made a prisoner of me. I had a guard of four men with swords, which the troopers took away from them, and demanded Rs. 500 of me; on my refusing compliance they took me away to the battery in charge of Nunne Nawab, who made arrangements for my release on condition of a ransom of Rs. 30 being paid, which amount I gave to a trooper, who accompanied me to my house for that purpose, and obtained my release; thus was plunder and violence carried on.

*Question*—When you were taken prisoner to the Nunne Nawab's battery, how was he engaged and what did you see?



*Answer*—The Nawab was there and personally ordered my release; this occurred on the day when a shot fired from his battery set fire to a barrack within the entrenchments. I was a prisoner there from 11 A. M. till evening. The Nawab wore a sword, and with a telescope in his hand was reconnoitring; and a number of his own attendants together with sepoy's were with him.

*Question*—Did the Nawab appear to be a prisoner or a free agent?

*Answer*—He did not appear to be under any restraint, but was richly dressed, and in command of the battery. All the sepoy's and his attendants were acting under his orders.

*Question*—You have stated that when the mutineers returned from Kullianpore, they plundered Nawab Nunne's house, and took him prisoner; then how came he to have such authority?

*Answer*—The statement made by me is perfectly correct. At first, the Nawab was taken as a prisoner, but it appears that he was released, having come to terms with the Nana. I have described faithfully what I saw. Moreover this fact is also well known, that on the day the Nawab set fire to a barrack in the entrenchments by a shot from his battery, the Nana made him a present of 5,000 rupees, though some state that this amount was paid him as compensation for the loss sustained by him owing to the plunder of his house. It is also well known that the Nana had promised to make over Cawnpore to the Nawab should the defeat of the Europeans be accomplished.

*Question*—When you were a prisoner at the enemy's battery, and released by the Nawab, were there any other persons of the city there?

*Answer*—Many coolies, &c., residents of Bujjun Para, were there, who had been pressed to work by the sepoy's, and many persons of the above place and of the artillery bazar are cognisant of the fact of my being taken a prisoner. Moreover a short time after, the Nawab

and Nana fell out, and it was rumoured that all the Mussulman troopers and sepoy were on the Nawab's side, and purposed putting the Nana to death. On becoming acquainted with this, the Nana sent away the cavalry towards Futtehpore and the Nawab through fright fled away with a few sowars.

*Question*—Did you hear of the cause of the Nawab's flight ?

*Answer*—The people stated that the Nawab's intention of killing the Nana, and taking Cawnpore for himself had become known to the latter, therefore he fled ; and again I heard that the Nawab had been brought back a prisoner ; but a day or two after this, the British troops arrived, and both the Nana and the Nawab fled.

*Question*—Had the Nawab any money transactions with the proprietors of your firm ?

*Answer*—No, there were no money transactions between my firm and the Nawab, as ours is not a very large concern.

*No. 22.—Deposition of Rama Nund, Merchant, resident of Cawnpore.*

*Question*—Where were you when the troops mutinied at Cawnpore ?

*Answer*—I was at Cawnpore, and arrived there from Furruckabad three days before the mutiny broke out.

*Question*—Do you know how the mutiny commenced ?

*Answer*—The troops after they had mutinied marched to Kullianpore ; the Nana went there and brought them back to Cawnpore, and commenced fighting with the Europeans.

*Question*—Did you see the Nana go to Kullianpore ?

*Answer*—No I did not. The day the troops mutinied, there were many boats of mine at the ghat, my men went to see them, and they told me that the mutineers had gone to Kullianpore and that they saw the Nana start to bring them back again. When the troops returned, they commenced plundering, and about two or three days afterwards some troopers came to my house, enquired after my son Budreenath, who was khazanchee of Durreeabad ; he was concealed in my



house, but I told them that he was not there; they then said I was the servant of Europeans and had dealings with them, and that I had concealed Mrs. Wheeler and other ladies, and that they would plunder my house. I offered them money not to do so, but still they would not listen. A sowar then fired a pistol at me, but missed me; I then struck his horse, and the men of my mohulla drove the sowars away with bricks.

*Question*—Did you ever attend the Nana's court?

*Answer*—No, I never went, but my son Gunga Shahai, khazanchee of Oona's, was taken there as a prisoner. The Nana wanted money from him; when he told him that all his money had been plundered, he ordered him to go and work at the treasury; he refused to go, and was then sent back.

*Question*—Do you know any of the mahajuns of the city who used to attend the Nana's court?

*Answer*—I used to hear that many of them went, Sheo Pershad, khazanchee, had the contract for supplying great-coats, and was often at the Nana's.

*Question*—Do you know whether Gunga Pershad, tent-maker, Gokool Kishoor, jeweller, and Budree Tewarrie of Cawnpoor ever attended the Nana's court?

*Answer*—Gunga Pershad was once taken prisoner; I know nothing of Gokool Kishoor, jeweller, or Budree Tewarrie.

*Question*—Do you know any of the Government officials who were in the habit of attending the Nana's court?

*Answer*—Yes. Many of them were in the Nana's employ.

*Question*—Did Moonshee Jwalla Pershad get any employment under the Nana?

*Answer*—One day, Urjun Sing Vakil (since deceased) sent two sepoys to my house, they said that Urjun Sing and Moonshee Jwalla Pershad had sent for me; my brother Ram Sook Dass accompanied me. Urjun Sing and Jwalla Pershad, with a Hindu Risaldar, and many sowars were there; Ramdeen, khazanchee, was also brought in prisoner shortly afterwards.

Urjun Sing took me and a gomashtha of Ramdeen's aside ; he required revenue from me and told Ramdeen's gomashtha to bring money for the expenses of the troops, he told him that all had been plundered and that he had no money, and I answered that I had nothing to do with the revenue, upon which Urjun Sing got annoyed with me, and I was then taken to Moonshee Jwalla Pershad, who also desired me to bring money for the troops, and that he would get me an appointment from the Nana. I answered that I had neither money nor any wish to serve, that all my money had been plundered with the treasure, and that not one of my sons were at home, I therefore could do nothing. He then told me to go away and that he would protect me, but added, " mind you do not again fight with the sowars or else your house will be plundered." I then left.

*Question*—Did you ever again see Jwalla Pershad at the Nana's ?

*Answer*—I never went to the Nana's but frequently heard that Jwalla Pershad and Urjun Sing had great influence with the Nana.

*Question*—What was the name of Ramdeen's gomashtha who was at Urjun Sing's ?

*Answer*—I do not know.

*Question*—Did Ramdeen, khazanchee, take service under the Nana ?

*Answer*—Ramdeen ran away but one of the gomashthas was taken prisoner. I don't know what became of him.

*Question*—Was there ever a Mahomedan flag raised ?

*Answer*—Yes, I heard that a Mahomedan flag was raised.

*Question*—Did you hear who raised it ?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Where were the rebel batteries, and who were their Sirdars ?

*Answer*—I know nothing of their batteries.

*Question*—Do you know how many times Europeans were massacred by the Nana's forces ?

*Answer*—I heard that the Europeans were killed, but know nothing of the circumstances.



*Question*—Did you see any thing at the Sutte Chowra ghat ?

*Answer*—I did not go to the ghat but heard that the Europeans had been killed there.

*Question*—Do you know how the ladies were massacred ?

*Answer*—I only heard that they had been killed by orders of the Nana.

*Question*—Do you know whether food was ever cooked for the sowars at Kazee Wazeeoodeen's ?

*Answer*—I don't know.

*Question*—How many days had the Nana open court ? And when the mahajuns were sent for did you go with them ?

*Answer*—Yes, I went that day with the other mahajuns, but did not see the Nana. I only saw Jwalla Pershad, Risaldar ; all the people were sent away.

*Question*—When the British troops arrived, were you still at Cawnpoor ?

*Answer*—My servants were with the British, and when General Havelock arrived, my son Badreenauth and Lala Isree Pershad supplied all the provisions.

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*No. 22.—Deposition of Jankee Pershad, Merchant, resident of Cawnpoor.*

*Question*—Where were you when the troops mutinied at Cawnpoor ?

*Answer*—I was in my house at Cawnpoor.

*Question*—Relate what you know regarding this.

*Answer*—It's a long time since the mutiny occurred, therefore a great many things escaped my recollection ; whatever questions you ask I will answer.

*Question*—When were the first symptoms of the mutiny exhibited, and in what way ?

*Answer*—In the month of June 1857 the troops mutinied and went off to Kullianpore, whither the Nana followed and brought them back. I heard this. The siege of the entrenchments then commenced, and the sepoy and lower classes began plundering and creating disturbances.

*Question*—Did you see or hear of any religious flag being raised ?

*Answer*—Yes. The Mahomedans raised a Mahumdee flag.

*Question*—Did you hear of it? Or did you see it?

*Answer*—I went with many other people and saw the flag raised two or three days after the siege commenced. When I came near the Mogulke Serai, I saw a great many people collected, and a green flag raised.

*Question*—Who raised the flag, and what Sirdars were with the flag, and whom amongst them did you recognise?

*Answer*—I heard that the flag was raised by Moulvie Salamut Oollah, and that he stood by it with a rosary in his hand, and it was rumoured that they were on the point of going to fight. There were from 2 to 3,000 armed men with him, and the Kazie of the City, Waseeooddeen, was riding about the plain with some 19 sowars of the 2nd Cavalry; great crowds were collected there.

*Question*—Did you recognise any one else?

*Answer*—Yes, I saw Bukshee Zainolabdeen with about twenty-five or thirty chowkidars and burkundazes all armed, standing in a body at a short distance from the flag, and the rumour was that the Moulvie intended to attack the entrenchments. I stood there a short time, but as nothing occurred, soon came away.

*Question*—Did you recognise any one else?

*Answer*—There were thousands of people from Nawab Gunge Colonel Gunge, Orderly Bazar, and Bunsah Mow, and from the other Bazars, collected there. How can I remember all their names?

*Question*—Do you know where the flag was first raised, and by what road was it brought to the Mogulke Serai?

*Answer*—I did not see it brought, but I heard that it was first raised near Moulvie Salamut Oollah's house, where all the Mussulmans collected and brought it on.

*Question*—Did you ever again see the sowars with Kazie Waseeooddeen?

*Answer*—Often; he always had sowars with him.

*Question*—Did you ever again see the flag?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Did you ever go into the Nana's court?

*Answer*—Why should I go into the Nana's Court? I had nothing to do with him.



*Question*—Did you ever hear that Waseeooddeen took money from Ram Deen, Treasurer, on account of the sowars?

*Answer*—No, I never heard it.

*Question*—Who was kotwal at the time the flag was raised?

*Answer*—Hoolas Sing.

*Question*—Do you know how many times, or in what way, the different parties of Europeans were killed during the mutiny?

*Answer*—I used to hear that Europeans were killed, but never saw them destroyed. The day the Europeans were massacred at the Sutte Chowrah ghat I was on the spot.

*Question*—What did you see?

*Answer*—About 8 or 9 A.M. the Europeans were getting on board the boats, when firing commenced from all directions, and there was a great uproar. I with many others ran away through fright and did not see anything clearly.

*Question*—Do you know the names of the mahajuns and officials who used to attend the Nana's court?

*Answer*—I never went to the Nana's court, but I heard that the Government officials were present, and were employed in Deputy Ramlal's office. Moonshee Jwalla Pershad often used to attend Deputy Ramlal's Court, and Urjun Sing, Vakil, often attended also.

*Question*—Did you see either Gunga Pershad, or Beedee Tewarrie, mahajuns; or Sheo Pershad, khazanchee, or Jugu Kishoor, jeweller, going to the Nana's court?

*Answer*—No, I never saw them going, but I heard that Sheo Pershad had taken the contract for supplying great-coats and that Ramdeen, khazanchee, had concealed himself.

*Question*—Did you ever hear that a Moulvie came from Allahabad to Cawnpoor?

*Answer*—Yes, I know that a Moulvie came from Allahabad to fight against the Europeans: he often visited the Nana.

*Question*—Did you see him?

*Answer*—Yes, I often saw him. He put up with Bukshee Zainolabdeen in Moodee Tootee Mohullah; he used to ride about the city with some 20 or 25 sowars.

*Question*—What other person was aware of the Moulvie's putting up with Bukshee Zainoolabdeen ?

*Answer*—All the residents of the Mohullah knew of it.

*Question*—Did you ever hear his name ?

*Answer*—They all called him Moulvie Sahib ; I don't know his proper name.

*Question*—Do you know anything of the Europeans that were murdered the day before the Nana fled ?

*Answer*—On the day before the Nana fled, at about 5 P.M., the sepoy's shot four or five gentlemen before the assembly rooms, and under the commissariat officer's compound wall. A great crowd was assembled there at the time, and I was with them. After this, I heard that the ladies were also to have been killed, but that the sepoy's refused to do so. I then returned home and shortly afterwards heard that five or six men with swords killed the ladies.

*Question*—Did you hear in what way the ladies got food ?

*Answer*—No. I did not.

*Question*—Do you know whether Aseesun, a prostitute, lived in the city ?

*Answer*—Yes. One Aseesun, a prostitute, who was in the service of Kulloo Mull, lived in the Lurkee Mahil in Oomrao Begum's house. She was very intimate with the men of the 2nd Cavalry and was in the habit of riding armed with the sowars. The day the flag was raised, she was on horseback in male attire decorated with medals, armed with a brace of pistols, and joined the crusade. I saw her as thousands of others did also.

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*No. 23.*—Statement of Hulas Sing, son of Ram Sing, age about 70 years ; caste Kurmi ; inhabitant of Mouzah Nowdega, Zillah Farruckabad ; profession, he was at one time in service, at another a zemindar.

To benefit myself I tell the whole truth. When the troops mutinied at Cawnpoor I was there. A few days before the disturbance broke out I was summoned by the Magistrate from the Torsur Thanah, and put up at a small house in the palace of Agha Mir, father of the Nunne Nawab. Six or seven days before the disturbance, the



1st Regiment and the 2nd Light Cavalry conspired for mischief. The Nana Dhoondoo Punt, Mahratta, was summoned into Cawnpore from Bithoor by the Magistrate; he came with two brass guns, and some followers; and took up his quarters in his own house, at Nawab Gunge, near the cutcherry. The troopers of the 2nd Cavalry used to court the Nana. One day, the date I don't clearly remember, probably the 4th June, the 1st Regiment broke into mutiny at night, then the 56th and 53rd Regiments mutinied and went to the treasury, which they plundered, broke open the jail, and after plundering the place went off to Kullianpore. The next day Nana Dhoondoo Punt and Baba Bhut went to Kullianpore and brought the troops back. When their preparations were completed, they commenced an attack on the entrenchment. I did not myself see the Nana Dhoondoo Punt going to Kullianpore, but I heard from a number of people that the Nana and Bala Bhut had gone there and brought back the troops and commenced to injure the Government. Europeans and Christians were murdered whenever they were found. Seven or eight days after this, I was summoned to the Nana's residence and became Kutwal of the City. I was appointed because several Kutwals had been appointed in the course of the week, but they could not get on. First Kazi Waseecooddeen was appointed, and held the office for one day, then Haji Khanum's son, whose name I forget, remained in office two or three days, then the mahajuns of the city, and Bidi Gunga Pershad, tent-maker; and Jugul Kishoor, jeweller; and Budri, pan-seller; and Shew Pershad, khazanchee; and others who had transactions with the Nana, recommended my appointment. On this I was sent for and when I was at the Nana's house, Ahmed Ali, tahsildar, and officer of police, gave me full instructions and a purwana of appointment. I was helpless; accepted the post and entered on its duties. I could not but carry out the *foujdaree* orders which were issued by the Nana and his officers. His cutcherry was arranged as follows: the Nana's was the highest court; 2nd, that of Deputy Ramlall. In the Nana's Court, Bala, and Baba Bhut, Azimoolah and Jwala Pershad, Brigadier, and others used to pass orders. Ramlall had no associate in his court, Moonshee Jwala Pershad was Ramlall's confidential adviser. These two did all the work.

After some days it was determined that the Europeans should go to Allahabad. I received a purwana signed by Nana Dhoondoo Punt directing me to get ready a number of boats as quickly as possible.

I sent burkundazes to call Lochan, ghat manglee, and Muddi, mullah, Lochan's servant and Boodhoo *alias* Budri Das, and gave them the strictest injunctions to get the boats ready. When they were ready and orders came to send carriage for the Europeans, I sent as many palkees, doolies, ekkas, and bhilies as I could collect. The Europeans set off, in the carriage provided, for the ghats, where they were killed. I did not go to the ghat, for I had heard before the Europeans came out, that they would be set upon and killed. I heard this from Waseeooddeen, Kazi of the City of Cawnpore, he explained that this was a good plan for getting the Europeans out of the entrenchments and killing them all. The Kazi had authority over all the troopers of the cavalry. Food was being cooked at his house from morning to night, all the orders and legal decrees and order for the murder of the Europeans were given by the Kazi. Thousands of the inhabitants of the city know that this was the case. Moreover, one day he extorted by threats Rs. 500 from Ramdeen, Collectory Khazanchee, to feed the sowars, saying "that if the money was not forthcoming, his house would be plundered." Let the Government ask this of Ramdeen on his oath. Subsequent to this, the Kazi and Moulvie Salamut Oollah one day having concerted together, got ready a green Mahumdee flag and set it up on the open ground near Moulvie Salamut Oollah's near the old assembly rooms. The Mussulmans congregated round it from the early morning, and some measures were concerted. But the afternoon more than 4,000 men were collected and went by way of the Filkhanah Gate to attack the entrenchments, were defeated and fled back. All the mahajuns and citizens know this, as well as the people living in the neighbourhood.

When the Europeans who left the entrenchment had been killed, all the ladies and women who survived were first placed in the Savada house and then taken to a small bungalow near the assembly rooms. After some days, the British troops came from Allahabad and defeated the rebels; Bala, the Nana's brother, returned wounded. Preparations were made for flight. On that day all the ladies and women who remained were murdered, and their bodies thrown into the well.

On that same date, in the night, when the Nana and rebel army fled, I also fled. All the cash and property I possessed were in the Begum's Palace in the small house. I had at that time by me near 600 rupees in 8-anna and 4-anna pieces. This was the property of



Government: I had altogether nearly Rs. 4,000 in cash by me, *viz.*, Rs. 600 of Government and something over Rs. 3,000 of my own. I was going at night, and the Nunne Nawab was with me. The Nawab asked me for some money, so I could not help myself and I gave him Rs. 500 and took Rs. 100 myself for my own expenses. The remainder I buried in two places. My brothers Bukhtawur Singh and Buldeo Singh buried Rs. 1,000 tied up in a net bag under a Neem-tree in the courtyard of the house. I left all my property in a small room, and buried my money in a corner of the same and placed on the spot some rose-water bottles. I gave the Nawab an Arab horse which I had for my own riding, as he had none. When the contingent came to Cawnpoor, I returned and remained eight days and dug up and searched for the rupees I had buried and did not find them. I then knew that the Nawab had carried it off. Janki Chowkidar and Hur Pershad Mohurrir knew this. I have not yet gone to the spot under the Neem-tree where my brothers buried the money, for I did not bury the money with my own hands. I could not find the place. Who knows but that the money is there still or that it has been taken away? My brother Bukhtawur Singh could still point out the place. Bukhtawur Singh was present at Cawnpoor. The horse I gave the Nawab was a grey, and on its jowl a round mark of feathered hairs. When the Nawab rode off on the horse, Juwahir Singh, Jemadar, in service of the Nawab's mother, accompanied him. That same Juwahir Singh is now defadar in the police cavalry.

After the Nawab went off at night, I also ran off, and went to my houses at Nowdego, Zillah Furruckabad, and remained there about 16 or 20 days. At that time the 41st Regiment, Native Infantry, and Ghullah or new raised regiment, and Aga Hossain's cavalry were at Furruckabad, and the Nawab's authority was established. One day I went to the rebel camp and met Sheogulam Dichit, Subadar Bahadur of the 41st Native Infantry, and Gunga Singh, Commandant of the Ghullah or new regiment. I went in order to gain their protection, as these regiments were encamped near my village. They did not take me into their confidence. I returned to my house where I remained. About that time Sheogulam, Subadar Bahadur, and Gunga Singh both took possession of the Clothing Agency Godown at Futtehgurh. They distributed lakhs of rupees' worth of broadcloth among the troops; some they sold and some they sent across the Ganges to their families. After this I got the news of the approach of the British troops. Through fear, I ran away

to Mouza Muta, in the neighbourhood of Bhugwantnuggur, where I found the Nana's army. There the Nujibabad Nawab and Khan Bahadur Khan of Bareilly were encamped with their forces. The Nana Dhoonda Punt went to Buwar Hutora, Zillah Neem, Saren, and I went and stayed with the Rao Sahib, the Nana's nephew, in Setulgunge. At this time there were 400 horse and foot with the Rao Sahib. This Rao went across the Ganges to Calpee, while Baba Bhut remained at Setulgunge and I with him. I then heard that Baba Bhut, Bala, and Jwalla Pershad, Brigadier, had gone towards Calpee to bring the troops over and that having brought the Gwalior Contingent, they fought with the British troops at Bhouti and then occupied Cawnpoor. I left Setulgunge and went to the Nana at Birwa Hatourah from whence the Nana came to Futtehpore Cheurasiee and told me to go to Cawnpoor to the Bala Sahib. I went to Bala at Cawnpoor and remained with him four or five days. After this Bala was again defeated and all fled, I among them, and went to my own village Naudya where I stayed 15 or 20 days. Subsequently to this, Matadeen, Risaldar of the 8th Irregular Cavalry, with five or six troopers, came to my house and told me to cross the river as the European troops were coming. I again crossed the river and joined the Nana at Birwa. When the European troops entered Birwa I went to Bareilly. When I heard that the European troops had entered Bareilly I fled thence and wandered about the jungles and the Terai at the foot of the hills, at times in the Gokur Nath jungles; then I went to the Khotur jungles where lives Tej Singh, a rebel zemindar. After that I arrived at Churda, the owner of which is Jodh Singh, and remained there a few days and wandered about with him. In the month of March, three months ago, there was an action with the European troops at Bhotwal. The Nana with his women was the first to go up to the hills; then the Begum of Lucknow followed. The Bala with nearly 3,000 troops having joined the Begum's forces, which numbered nearly 50,000 men, engaged the British: being often defeated, they fled. I got separated from them and reached Napara two stages from Bhotwal in the Dakhan jungles. I came across a picquet of Europeans and Sikhs who fired on us. I had with me eight or nine men, my brother Buldeo Singh, Bukhtawur, my bearer, Ramzan, syce, Nubbee Bux, camel driver, and Pabilwan Singh with his two brothers, whose names I forget, and Bhikarie, their servant, Dost Mohomed Mussulman, with his wife. Pabilwan and his brother were killed and all fled. I alone remained on



horseback. I advanced a short way into the jungle ; when I returned. I thought " I am now alone, have no one to cook my food or give me drink. I will give myself up to the Government, let it do with me as it pleases." I arrived at a river where there was a Government picquet and where a sepoy was standing unarmed. He asked me who I was. I said I wished to see the Colonel. He said, " first give up your arms." I did so, and went with him to Colonel Brasyer.

The following men are those I was acquainted with, who were in the Nana's or Begum's camp :—Khan Bahadur Khan, of Bareilly ; Ghulam Kidar Khan, of Shajehanpore ; the Nawab of Nujibabad, whose name I forget, and Nawab Mummos Khan, the Begum's Lieutenant ; and Bukht Khan, who went from Bareilly to Delhi, and Kuchak Sulhen, Shazadah of Delhie ; and another Shazadah whose name I do not remember ; Bala, Baba Bhut, and Jwala Pershad, Brigadier, all of these were alive and present.

*Question*—How and whence were supplies procured ?

*Answer*—The mountaineers brought us all supplies for sale. We got plenty of rice and *musur ki dal* ; there were no shopkeepers, but supplies came in. The climate is very bad.

*Question*—How do you know that the Nana and Baba Bhut went to Kullianpore to bring back the troops ?

*Answer*—There can be no doubt but that troops when they had mutinied and gone off to Kullianpore were brought back from thence by the Nana and Baba Bhut. Hundreds of men saw this. I can give no one's name in particular.

*Question*—Did you see Moonshee Jwala Pershad working with Ramlall in his court ?

*Answer*—I saw Jwala Pershad working in the cutcherry with the Deputy Collector Ramlall. I have also seen him going to the Nana's, whom he advised in all kind of matters.

*Question*—While you were Kutwal, how often were Europeans killed ? and were any killed in your presence ?

*Answer*—Once, when the gentlemen who had come from Futtehgurh were killed, and again when they came out of the entrenchment they were killed at the Sutte Chowra Ghat, also when the ladies and women

who were in prison were killed, I knew it. This much I remember, but others may have been killed. No Europeans were ever murdered before my eyes, for I remained at the Kutwali and never went to look on.

*Question*—As you were Kutwal, were the Europeans who came from outside sent on by you or not? and who furnished the executioners?

*Answer*—I never forwarded on any Europeans. I furnished the executioners to murder the Europeans.

*Question*—State in detail how many times, and what executioners were sent to murder Europeans, and by whose orders.

*Answer*—I do not remember exactly how often executioners were sent for. But I recollect perfectly that I received five or six purwanahs sending for them, signed by the Nana, on whose orders I sent them.

*Question*—State plainly what executioners were sent who murdered the Europeans.

*Answer*—Itwari, Bahadur, and his son, were the head men of the executioners. I used to send them, and they used to take others with them. Bahadur is a resident of the city.

*Question*—How and by whose orders was food supplied and cooked for the ladies who were prisoners?

*Answer*—By the orders of the Nana. The dinner for the ladies and females (so long in confinement) was prepared by cooks procured by the Kutwali, who took it to them.

*Question*—Give the names of the cooks.

*Answer*—I don't remember the cooks' names but Mahtabkhan and Mehrabkhan, burkundazes, and Jurab and Daud Beg, Lais, were employed in this work. They can give the names of the cooks.

*Question*—Do you remember what food was supplied to the ladies?

*Answer*—At first the ladies and women got their dal and bread to eat, then one day the cooks said, "the ladies won't eat dal. Let us have as much meat as can be procured at the cost of the dal." Then meat used to be given.



*Question*—Who distributed the food ?

*Answer*—A slave girl of the Nana's by name Begum used to distribute the food. She is now with the Nana.

*Question*—How and why were the ladies murdered ?

*Answer*—When the British troops advanced on Cawnpoor, and the action was fought at *Aong*, and Bala returned wounded, it was concerted at the Nana's residence that the ladies and women should be killed, but I don't know how or by whose hands they were murdered. I indeed heard on the next day the jallads threw their bodies into the well. One Zainolabideen who was formerly Naib Bukshee of the Cawnpoor Tehsilee, and was Bukshee in the Nana's time, and is so still, used to furnish the supplies of food under me at the Kutwali. He is acquainted with the names of the cooks and the executioners.

*Question*—You say that when Bala returned wounded, it was concerted to kill the ladies ; who advised this ?

*Answer*—Among those who advised the murder of the ladies and women after the return of Bala were Bala and Baba Bhut, and Tantia Topie, Mahrattas. Azim Ullah, Sha Ali, Ahmud Ali Khan, Wukeel, and Kazi Waseecooddeen, Mussulmans, were always present. Of Hindus Jwalla Pershad, Brigadier, and Moonshree Jwalla were frequently present, all used to advise.

*Question*—Have you heard by whose hands the ladies were killed ?

*Answer*—I have never heard by whose hands the ladies and women were killed.

*Question*—Bhagee Sing, Thakoor Jagarnath, and Narain depose they saw you at the massacre of the Sutte Chowra Ghat.

*Answer*—I did not go to the ghat where the Europeans were killed ; had I gone I should not conceal it.

*Question*—What do you know about Thomas Maling, Native Christian ?

*Answer*—Thomas Maling, Christian, with his younger brother and sister were imprisoned at the Kutwali by the

Nana's orders. After a while I told them to become Mussulmans, with the intention of saving their lives, and sent them to Moulvie Salamut Oollah, who gave a futwa for the execution of Thomas Maling and his brother. But I concealed them and let them go, and told the Nana they had become Mussulmans. In this manner they escaped.

*Question*—Is this deposition you have made true, and have you not been instructed or cajoled to make this confession?

*Answer*—All this deposition that I have caused to be written is true. I have not written it at any one's instruction, or cajoling or threats, nor have I indulged in any intoxicating drink. I am in full possession of my faculties.

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*Continuation of the deposition of Hulas Sing, June 16th, 1859.*

*Question*—Where were the rebel batteries placed and who commanded them?

*Answer*—When the entrenchments were attacked, one of the rebel batteries was planted on the north of the entrenchment by the racquet court commanded by Nunne Nawab. One was planted by the cavalry parade ground which was held by Nawab Bakur Ali Khan. Another was placed by the Dala Nulla served by the rebel sepoys. Another battery was on the north of the Savada house and south of the entrenchments. This the Nana commanded, and Geda Hossein who had brought his regiment from Lucknow served this battery.

*Question*—How used the Nunne Nawab to visit his batteries?

*Answer*—All used to serve their batteries by orders of the Nana.

*Question*—Did the Nunne Nawab go under compulsion, or of his own accord?

*Answer*—Nunne Nawab served of his own accord.

*Question*—Did you yourself see the Nunne Nawab and Bakur Ali at the batteries?

*Answer*—I never stopped at the batteries, but used constantly to see them go armed to the batteries. At Nunne



Nawab's house were all kinds of English weapons, pistols, double-barrelled guns, &c., &c. There was always a supply of English gunpowder which had been purchased from European merchants at the Nawab's house. I have seen it myself. Gunpowder used to be sent from his house, and ammunition laden on keranchis and gharries to his batteries. Renz Ali, son of a one-eyed pensioner, was a skilful artilleryman, he used to work in Nunne Nawab's battery. One day he threw a ball of rosin into the entrenchments which set fire to a barrack and some tents. I heard this from hundreds of men.

*Question*—What employment did the Nunne Nawab obtain from the Nana ?

*Answer*—Nunne Nawab was among the noblemen of the court, and had no special employment beyond that in the battery.

*Question*—What employment had Jugul Kishor, Budre Bunwaree and Sheo Pershad under the Nana ?

*Answer*—Jugul Kishor, Jeweller, used to supply the Nana with thousands of rupees' worth of jewels. Gunga Pershad used to supply tents. Sheo Pershad, treasurer, used to furnish cloaks. Therefore they used to visit the Nana. I have often seen them at the Nana's. Budre had transactions with the Nana but he went less than the others.

*Question*—How many tents and cloaks were furnished to the Nana ?

*Answer*—To the best of my knowledge Gunga Pershad supplied about 50 tents. I have no recollection of the number of cloaks furnished. I have myself paid Gunga Pershad for tents supplied, several hundred rupees at the Nana's order.

*Question*—What had you to do with the disbursements of money ?

*Answer*—Ahmud Ullah, Tahsildar, and officer of police had lodged with me nearly rupees 2,000. They were deposited in the kotwal cutcherry. On the day that the British troops arrived and the Nana fled, I saw at night that this money would be plundered ; so having called Gunga Pershad, I made the money over to him. Do

*Answer*—The Europeans from Furruckabad were killed in the afternoon near the Savada house by the sepoy and sowars at the Nana's orders. The next day in the morning the jallads having laden their bodies in the gharris, threw them into the Ganges. I did not see the slaughter of the Europeans but I saw the gharris laden with the dead bodies; all had clothes on; there were about 100 bodies I should imagine. The cantonment jallad or executioner was present. I do not remember his name. I did not go to the Suttee Chowra ghat to see the Europeans killed, but I heard that almost all the sirdars of the regiments and of the ressalah and Jwalla Pershad, Brigadier, and all the other sirdars belonging to the Nana went there armed. The guns were placed in position. I did not see the slaughter of the ladies and women, nor have I heard by whose special order they were murdered; but I know for certain that the order for the murder was issued by the Nana or Bala. No third party had power to give orders without their permission.

*Question*—You say you were not present when the Europeans from Furruckabad were murdered. How do you know the Nana gave orders for their execution?

*Answer*—Special orders for execution the Nana used to give himself. I therefore knew the Europeans from Furruckabad were killed by the Nana's orders.

*Question*—Explain how the Nunne Nawab had no horse or carriage when you gave him your horse.

*Answer*—When I gave the Nunne Nawab a horse he had only a chaise gharri.

*Question*—Where did the Nunne Nawab then go?

*Answer*—The Nawab told me he was going to Ghatumpore; I don't know where he went.

*Question*—Had Abdul Rahman, Sudder Ameen, any employment under the Nana?

*Answer*—I never saw Abdul Rahman visiting the Nana, nor heard of his doing so, nor had he any employment under the Nana.



*Question*—When you left the Nana's camp, was there a Native doctor, Wuzeer Khan, with him?

*Answer*—A Native doctor, Wuzeer Khan, and some other doctors were in the Nana's camp when I separated from him. I do not know Wuzeer Khan by sight.

*Question*—Do you know a sowar named Hoosein Ali Khan who carried off Miss Wheeler?

*Answer*—I know that a sowar carried off a lady when the Europeans at the ghat were killed, I do not recollect his name.

*Question*—Have you heard of a young lady in the Nana or Begum's camp?

*Answer*—I have not heard of a young lady in the Nana or Begums' camp.

*Question*—What do you know about Adala, the Nana's mistress?

*Answer*—I know nothing about the Nana's former mistress.

*Question*—How long have you served Government?

*Answer*—I have served the Government nearly 50 years.

*Question*—Being so old a servant, why did you turn traitor?

*Answer*—I did not seek service from the Nana. He forced me to be kutwal. Whoever did not obey his orders, he put to death.

*Question*—If you did not serve him heartily, why did you make such arrangements for supplies and ammunition?

*Answer*—All my arrangements for the benefit of the troops were made from fear of losing my life.

*Question*—You repeatedly joined the rebel cause: explain this.

*Answer*—When I left the Nana after his first defeat, I went home, and when the rebels came and encamped near my village, I served them for fear; knowing me as they did to be an old servant, they might kill me. I therefore went and returned to Cawnpoor and joined the Gwalior Contingent at the Nana's order.

*Question*—Is this your signature attached to the Cawnpoor Kotwallie Roznamecha found in the Nana's office?

*Answer*—It is my signature, and this is my roznamecha.

*Question*—You have written therein, under date 12th July 1857, that seven Christians were sent with a petition in

charge of Elahi Bux and Umrad Ali, Burkundazes, to the Huzoor (Nana). State who these Christians were, why sent, and what became of them.

*Answer*—I tell the truth when I say that I do not remember who they were. Hur Pershad did the work, he is now at the kotwallie. Summon him and the truth will be ascertained.

*Question*—It is well known that every rebel who could seize Christians, to show his loyalty, sent them to the Nana where they were murdered. State the truth.

*Answer*—I state truly. I do not remember the circumstances or would relate them.

*Question*—Do you know Shaick Hunnee and Nukkee, and what did they do for the Nana?

*Answer*—Hunnee was ordered to raise a cavalry regiment, and enlisted sowars. Nukkee was made Risaldar. Both of them were amongst the Sirdars, and I used to see them frequently at the Nana's.

*Question*—When the Europeans left the entrenchment, did you see whether any of the wounded were left behind?

*Answer*—Up to the present day I have never seen the entrenchment.

*Question*—What employment had Kazi Ishmael about the Nana?

*Answer*—He was Tahsildar of Jagmow, and used to come to the Kotwallie regarding the supplies.

*Question*—Whose boats were prepared for the Europeans?

*Answer*—About the boats got ready at the ghat, Lochun, Ghat Manjee, can tell all.

*Question*—Did any of the boatmen come from Bithoor?

*Answer*—Some mullahs came that day from Bithoor. Lochun knows their names.

*Question*—Was there a man called Akbar Ali with the Nana?

*Answer*—There was an Akbar Ali, son of Khanat Ali, Wakil, who used to attend the Nana's durbar, and became Tahsildar of Akberpore. The money I said above, I gave to Gunga Pershad. I gave to him and Bhagwandas and others who were with him, and who supplied the tents. I don't remember all their names.



*Question*—You have stated that Hur Pershad, mohurrir, and Janki, chowkidar, are aware that the Nunne Nawab abstracted the money you buried. Explain this.

*Answer*—When I came to Cawnpore the second time, I heard from Hur Pershad, mohurrir, and Janki and Moortaza, chowkidars, that the Nunne Nawab had abstracted the money I had buried in my house.

*Question*—Where are Moortaza and Janki, chowkidars ?

*Answer*—I got them service in the household of the Begum of the Nunne Nawab, and they will be found there.

*Question*—From what merchant did the Nunne Nawab get the gunpowder ?

*Answer*—I do not know from what merchant Nunne Nawab used to buy his gunpowder.

*Question*—Do you know anything of a sowar of the 2nd Cavalry named Gunput ?

*Answer*—A sowar by the name of Gunput, a Mahratta, is the son-in-law of Baba Bhut and is with the Rao, the Nana's nephew. I know nothing of any other Gunput who may be among the sowars.

*Question*—When the Gwalior Contingent was defeated, you returned home ; why did you then go with Mata Deen to Birwa ?

*Answer*—When the contingent was defeated I went home, but hearing of the approach of the British troops I went and joined the Nana, for no other means of safety remained for me.

*Question*—Why did you not state the whole truth in your deposition before Colonel Brasyer ?

*Answer*—I did not write the deposition at Jalpa through fear, but I now make a clean breast of it, in hopes that the Government may have mercy upon me.

*Question*—What was done to the Europeans sent to the Nana ?

*Answer*—The Christians and Europeans who were sent up to the Nana were killed.

*Question*—It is well known that you formed a punchayet of the mahajuns, and promised them that you would not allow the city to be plundered, if they would give supplies regularly for the troops. Explain this

*Answer*—I made a promise that the city should not be plundered if supplies were regularly given. I collected the bazar people and made them this promise. The principal mahajuns I collected were Gunga Sali, Kulloo Nath, Rambux, Sarup Sukh, and Hurgean, Thekadar, who was appointed Superintendent of Supplies by the Nana, and two or three more whose names I don't remember.

*Question*—The troops having mutinied, how could you arrange for supplies for traitors against the Government?

*Answer*—I furnished the rebels with supplies for fear that they would kill me if I did not do so.

*Question*—You have heard the whole of your deposition, is it the truth, &c.?

*Answer*—I have heard this deposition. It is all true and correct; no one has threatened or bribed me. I was not intoxicated.

*Question*—Where is the receipt written by Gunga Pershad?

*Answer*—The receipt which Gunga Pershad wrote by the hands of Hur Pershad will be found with the latter, all the papers are with him.

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*No. 24.—Statement of Sheo Pershad, Khazanchee, son of Thundie Mull, caste Khutree, resident of Cawnpoor. Age 28 years. Trade, merchant,—service.*

*Question*—When the rebels were in possession of Cawnpoor, where were you?

*Answer*—I was at the time in Cawnpoor.

*Question*—On what date did the disturbances occur and in what manner?

*Answer*—I think it was on the 4th June 1857, during the night, that the troops mutinied and robbed the treasury, and burnt all the bungalows. The 1st Regiment to mutiny was the 2nd Cavalry, then the 53rd and 56th Regiments followed their example. On the following day all the troops marched to Kullianpore, but the Nana Dhondo Punt, Mahratta, went thither himself and persuaded them to return to Cawnpoor, and commenced to attack the English entrenchments.



Plundering was the order of the day in the city. A day or two after this, a couple of Mahomedan flags were planted on the part of the Mussulmans. One of these flags belonged to the butchers of the city who were joined by the scum of the population; the other flag was unfurled by Moulvie Salamut Oollah. A printed notification was issued to all Hindus and Mahomedans, the purport of which was as follows: that all Hindus and Mahomedans should unite in common for the protection of their religion. I do not know who was the person that issued this proclamation. The flag of Moulvie Salamut Oollah was placed in the direction of the "Thundie Suruck." On my hearing of it I sent a servant of mine called Lutchmun Pershad to see it. He came back and told me that he had seen the flag, and that Moulvie Salamut Oollah was standing under it with his "beads" in his hand praying for victory. After prayer, Moulvie Salamut Oollah said, "in my opinion, we ought not fight to-day, but proceed towards the entrenchment for that purpose to-morrow." I remained silent.

*Question*—Did you then hear whether any other chief was with Moulvie Salamut Oollah?

*Answer*—I heard this, and it is well known to all that Kazi Waseeooddeen and Moulvie Salamut Oollah were in league together.

*Question*—Did you hear anything further of the Kazi?

*Answer*—I heard the cavalry were with him, and that he on one occasion took five hundred rupees from Ram Deen, late Government Khazanchee, to distribute among the sowars.

*Question*—Were you in the habit of visiting the Nana?

*Answer*—I was not regularly in the habit of visiting the Nana but four or five days previous to the English (Sahib log) quitting the entrenchments, Mr. Thomas Greenway's mother and son who had been captured at Nujjuffghur, and confined in the Savada house, sent for me through Sha Ali, the city kutwal. I was

afraid to go near them myself, but deputed one of my servants, by name Jowkie Ram, to visit them. He went, on his return told me that Sha Ali Kutwal said that I ought to go, and that it would be ill for me if I did not. I did not go that day; on the morrow the Kutwal's servant came to me and said Mr. Thomas Greenway's mother had sent for me. Jowkie Ram, my servant, likewise told me that I had been sent for by Mr. Thomas Greenway's mother. I proceeded first of all to Sha Ali's residence which was near the Savada house. On my arrival, Sha Ali said, "when you were sent for yesterday, why did not you come?" I answered "I was too ill yesterday." Whereupon he replied, "Mr. Thomas Greenway's mother has written an order on you for the Nana, you must go and see her, she has sent for you." At the kutwal's house there were Ahmed Ali Khan, Vakil, and another Mussulman who was Tahsildar of Khaja, and with whom I was unacquainted; there were several sowars of the cavalry likewise present. I went with the kutwal's servant to the Savada house to Mr. Thomas Greenway's mother. I spoke to her. After a few observations she said, "the Nana has promised my release on presenting him with one lakh of rupees; if you and Futteh Ram arrange to pay this, my life will be spared." I replied, "I do not covet my life or property, and am ready to do what I can, and provide as much money as I am able. I will also speak to Futteh Ram." She now requested me to bring Futteh Ram to her next day and procure her some tobacco. I then departed, and next day in company with Futteh Ram went there. By stealth I continued to carry her a few fruit and some tobacco. Mrs. Greenway spoke to Futteh Ram about the money. I told her that I could arrange to make her over a note of sixty thousand rupees and likewise give her some money in cash. The remainder Lalla Futteh Ram would settle about. During this conversation Baba Bhut, Mahratta, came in, and, getting angry, enquired



whether our conversation was over, and whether we had made any arrangements. I replied :—" Yes, Sir, we had been conversing." Upon this Baba Bhut went outside and directed the sentry to turn me out and close the gateway. After he had gone, I and Futteh Ram said to the lady, " settle with the Nana and let me know the result. I will send you the note and cash." Having said this I departed; the lady never sent for me again nor informed me of anything.

*Question*—On the second visit, when you and Futteh Ram went in company, did you see Sha Ali and Ahmed Ali Khan ?

*Answer*—On the second day I did not go to the house of Sha Ali, on this occasion I only took his chuprassie.

*Question*—After this did you again go the Nana ?

*Answer*—Many days afterwards the Nana had an open durbar and directed all the Mahajuns to attend. All accordingly went. I likewise went. On that day all the city people were assembled in a tent inside the Savada house compound, and I joined them. The Nana, after some delay, sent word to say he had not leisure to attend, so the assembly dispersed.

*Question*—Who were there present ?

*Answer*—The following were present :—Jngul Kishor, jeweller ; Ramanund, mahajun ; Babu Salie Ram, and a great many others with whose names I am unacquainted.

*Question*—Did you on the present occasion witness what officers were present ?

*Answer*—The only (sirdar) officer present was Risaldar Jwalla Pershad.

*Question*—Did you again attend any of the Nana's durbars ?

*Answer*—I was not called upon to attend any more of the Nana's durbars, but I once went to Baba Bhut's cutcherry.

*Question*—What was going on in Baba Bhut's cutcherry, and who were subordinates in his office ?

*Answer*—In the present Post Office compound there was a small house, inside of which there was a billiard table, on which I saw Baba Bhut seated. This was his cutcherry. All the old (Government) servants were there carrying on business.

*Question*—Mention the names of the Government servants there in attendance.

*Answer*—Hoolas Ra, sheristadar foujdary, was present; I do not recollect the names of all the others.

*Question*—Did you ever go to Deputy Ramlall's cutcherry?

*Answer*—I never went.

*Question*—Do you know how many massacres of the English took place?

*Answer*—I am not aware, but I heard some gentlemen who had come from the west were murdered.

*Question*—When the English evacuated the entrenchments and were murdered at the Suttee Chowra Ghat, did you hear any particulars?

*Answer*—I did not go to the ghat, but only heard that immediately upon the English going on board their boats, they were murdered.

*Question*—Why did you attend Baba Bhut's cutcherry?

*Answer*—The sowars and sepoys were constantly in the habit of coming and quarrelling at my house, they once took away some of my horses, and I went to report this circumstance at the cutcherry, which I did to Baba Bhut, who grew angry and enquired of me what he was to do.

*Question*—It has been ascertained that you constantly visited the Nana and supplied him with cloaks for his troops; you were likewise an agent of his. You are therefore called upon to state who the Nana's sirdars were; also his favourites, and in what manner were the English murdered. Likewise state from whom the order emanated directing the massacres.

*Answer*—It is not true that I was constantly in the habit of visiting the Nana. I did not know him before, neither was I ever an agent of his, nor had we any transactions. It is true I supplied him with cloaks once, and it was on this account that I did so. The Nana ordered all the mahajuns to be seized for the purpose of extorting money from them; among these were Futteh Ram, the son of Seish Nath's agent, Bhic Ram, Ram Pat Gungoo and Gobind. I got alarmed at their



seizure, particularly as the Nana told them that they had property and money in their possession belonging to the English, and which he claimed; he likewise confined all their wives. On my first hearing of the seizure of these men I fled to Bithoor, and went and resided with Thakoor Pershad, mahajun. The reason for my quitting Cawnpoor is that I had the property of a great many gentlemen with whom I transacted business. After my departure I was summoned by the Nana. I did not go myself, but sent my agent. The Nana ordered him to make some tents for the sepoy; he replied, "we do not make tents nor have we any ready, nor any materials." The Nana then said, "I have heard you have blankets and must make me some cloaks." My agent answered, "we have got blankets but we cannot get the greatcoats ready." I sent word to my agent of what had taken place and advised him to prepare the cloaks in order to save my house from being searched, for it was full of property belonging to gentlemen, and a discovery of which would have entailed great trouble on my household; whereupon my agent supplied the requisite blankets, the Nana seized some tailors and made them over to my agent with the directions to prepare the greatcoats: being helpless he had some cloaks made.

*Question*—Who got the order to prepare them, and who informed you of the order?

*Answer*—Kidernath, one of my servants, sent me word about the order to make cloaks. I am not aware which of my men superintended the making. Suffice it to say my own people only were employed.

*Question*—Are you acquainted with any particulars relative to the massacre of the ladies and women?

*Answer*—On the day of their massacre I was not present at Cawnpoor, but was at Nunheir. I heard the ladies were murdered previous to the British forces arriving at Cawnpoor.

*Question*—Where is your servant Lutchmun Pershad?

*Answer*—He is residing at the village of Chickenda; when ordered he will attend.

*Question*.—Where is Jowkie Ram your servant ?

*Answer*.—He is present here.

*Question*.—Are you aware where the enemy's guns were placed in position, and who were commanding them ?

*Answer*.—I heard there were four batteries in position, one was towards the church, one on the road leading to the cavalry lines. I am not aware of the localities of the other two. I don't know who were in command of the batteries.

*Question*.—Did you hear that Nunne Nawab was in command of any of the batteries ?

*Answer*.—I heard first of all that the rebels imprisoned the Nunne Nawab, and that he was afterwards commanding one of the batteries. I cannot say whether he was compelled to do this or went of his own accord.

*Question*.—Are you aware who were the Nana's officers and agents ?

*Answer*.—I heard Bala and Baba Bhut and other Mahratta chiefs were in league with the Nana, there were likewise numbers of zemindars and villagers there in attendance. Raja Sutte Pershad was also present as likewise Raja Doorgapershad of Chickenda.

*Question*.—Among the zemindars and rajas present, mention the names of those whom you know ?

*Answer*.—I do not know the names of any.

*Question*.—Was there any person of the name of Akber Ali with the Nana ?

*Answer*.—I heard there was an Akber Ali with Azimoolah. I saw him at the kutwali one day, and heard that he was going to be made Tahsildar of Acberpore.

*Question*.—Are you aware who among the residents of Cawnpoor made tents for the Nana ?

*Answer*.—I heard Gunga Pershad arranged to make tents for the Nana, and some of the tents were said to be made by Bhugwan Dass.

*Question*.—What proofs have you, that the Nana persuaded the mutineers to return from Kullianpore and come back to Cawnpoor ?

*Answer*.—Everybody in the city said it was the Nana who brought the troops back from Cawnpoor. It was a general belief in which I likewise participated.



*Question*—Can a copy of the proclamation that was issued be obtained anywhere?

*Answer*—I will search for one, and if I succeed in finding a copy I shall produce it.

*Question*—At that time, who were the proprietors of the printing presses?

*Answer*—I do not know for certain, but Mustuffeh Khan's press was the one I heard of, and there were several others.

*Question*—Do you remember the person who came to you on the part of Sha Ali?

*Answer*—I do not know who the person was.

*Question*—When you saw Mrs. Greenway, who were the others in confinement with her?

*Answer*—There was Mr. Thomas Greenway's mother, Mr. Edward Greenway, his wife and daughter, and two small children; besides these there were the wife of Mr. Jacobi and child, there was nobody else.

*Question*—On the second occasion of your visit to Sha Ali, do you know who the chuprassie was that summoned you in person? Could you recognise him?

*Answer*—I never saw him before, and therefore could neither recognise him, nor do I know where he lives.

*Question*—Previous to the British quitting the entrenchments, was there any rumour afloat in the city of the intended treachery that was afterwards displayed?

*Answer*—I heard no rumour of the kind.

*Question*—How many greatcoats were prepared by you, and what profits did you realise?

*Answer*—I do not remember the exact number of greatcoats I prepared, but I think sufficient to have supplied half of one regiment. My servant was once paid six hundred rupees by Baba Bhat; I received nothing more.

*Question*—Who brought the money you received?

*Answer*—I cannot say, but it was one of my own servants. The money was sent to the tailors for their hire and was distributed among them.

*Question*—Who is Kidarnath?

*Answer*—Kidarnath was once an agent of mine, but I discharged him; since then he has been in my employ again.

*No. 25.—Statement of Ram Deen, Khazanchee, Collectorate of Cawnpoor, son of Moonshee Adjoodhia Pershad, resident of town of Baligram, lately resident of Cawnpoor, age 24 years : service.*

*Question—*When the troops mutinied at Cawnpoor where were you ?

*Answer—*I was present in the station at the time, but four or five days after, from fear of oppression on the part of the rebels, I fled to the village of Rodhapoor, from whence I only returned when the British troops came to Cawnpoor. A great many people know this.

*Question—*As long as you stayed in Cawnpoor after the breaking out of the disturbances, state what you saw.

*Answer—*Previous to, and after the outbreak, I was in the service of Government as treasurer. In the month of May, intelligence came to Cawnpoor of the outbreak at Meerut. The troops here were suspected on receipt of this news, and the General commenced making an entrenchment. The Nana Dhoondo Punt, Mahratta, was summoned to Cawnpoor by the Magistrate; he came, and brought along with him some cavalry and infantry and a couple of guns. The Magistrate entrusted to him the keeping of the treasury. On the night of the 4th June the troops at the station mutinied, robbed the treasury, set fire to the bungalows, and released the prisoners in jail, after which they marched to Kullianpoor; the Nana became their leader and marched them back to Cawnpoor. My bungalow No. 100, which is situated on the grand parade, was now burnt by them and plundered. I heard a few shots fired in the Nunne Nawab's house, the sowars took the Nawab away, and the whole commenced firing on the entrenchments. The sepoys and sowars were guilty of great oppression in the city, and seeing this I quitted it through fear.

*Question—*When you were at Cawnpoor, did you see or hear of a Mahomedan flag been planted ?

*Answer—*There was a Mahomedan flag planted.

*Question—*Was there a proclamation issued inviting all classes to flock to the flag ?

*Answer—*Proclamations were issued.



*Question*—What was written in those proclamations?

*Answer*—The proclamations invited the Mahomedans and Hindus to unite in common for protection of their religions.

*Question*—State the truth: who raised the flag? By whose order were the proclamations issued, and did you see the flag with your own eyes?

*Answer*—I did not see the flag with my own eyes, nor am I aware who the person was that first of all got it up. The proclamations were issued from the press of Musseh-oz-zuman, one of whose scholars furnished me with a copy.

*Question*—Do you know whether it was Kazi Waseeooddeen or Moulvie Salamut Oollah who planted the flag?

*Answer*—I only know that both these persons used to accompany the flag.

*Question*—Did you upon any occasion furnish money for the sowars? If you did furnish it, who were the recipients? What quantity did you give, and on what account?

*Answer*—The fact is, that one day a servant of Kazi Waseooddeen's came to me from his master to say that the cavalry moonshee and sowars intended plundering my house, and that it was therefore necessary that I should give them some money. Having said this, the man departed. About three hours afterwards, some fifty sowars came to my house and fired a few shots, then demanded ten thousand rupees of my servants; whereupon I fled to the house of a Bengali and concealed myself. It was settled between my servants and the sowars that I should pay five hundred rupees; my servant paid this sum and thereby saved his life.

*Question*—Do you know who that cavalry moonshee was, and where he used to live?

*Answer*—I do not know what his name was, but he used to reside with the Kazi.

*Question*—Who was that servant of the Kazi's that came to your house about the money?

*Answer*—I do not know who he was, but he accompanied the Kazi to my house when the latter visited me on two or three occasions.

*Question*—Who was that servant of yours that paid the money with his own hands?

*Answer*—He was a relative of mine, by name Bhugwan Dass.

*Question*—Are you aware that the food prepared for the sowars used to be cooked at the Kazi's house?

*Answer*—I was not aware of this.

*Question*—How do you know that those proclamations that were issued were printed by Musseh-oz-zuman, and do you know the name of his pupil that used to distribute them?

*Answer*—I heard the proclamations were printed at Musseh-oz-zuman's press, but I do not know the name of his pupil who distributed them.

*Question*—State any further particulars you know of the Nana's durbar; who his chief officers and advisers were, and the ringleaders in the revolt.

*Answer*—I know nothing more.

*Question*—All that you have now stated relative to the planting of the flag, &c., did you upon any occasion reveal to anybody in authority?

*Answer*—Nobody ever enquired anything of me before, and I consequently related nothing to anybody. Now that I have been called upon to do so, I readily comply.

*Question*—Do you know anything concerning the batteries the rebels placed in position against the English entrenchments?

*Answer*—I know nothing whatever concerning these batteries further than having heard of their erection by the Nana and his followers.

*Question*—Did you hear the names of the officers who commanded the batteries?

*Answer*—No, I did not.

*Question*—Did you hear that Ahmed Ali Khan Vakil, Kazi Waseeooddeen, Akber Ali, and Kazi Ahmud were in the habit of visiting the Nana, and if so what was their object in so doing?

*Answer*—I know nothing of these people nor did I ever see them, but a certain Mohamed Istemal, Tahsildar, reported my absence from my own house to Deputy



Ramlall. I can produce the Urzie with the Tahsildar's signature affixed to it.

*Question*—Where is your servant Bhugwan Dass ?

*Answer*—He is at Lucknow.

*No. 26.—Statement of Lalla Gunga Pershad, senior, tent-maker of Thundie Ram, caste Khutree, resident of Cawnpoor, age 66 years, contractor and mahajun.*

*Question*—When the troops mutinied at Cawnpoor, where were you ?

*Answer*—I was present in my house at Cawnpoor.

*Question*—State any particulars you know concerning the outbreak.

*Answer*—On the night of the 4th June 1857, the troops mutinied. On the day following, they plundered the treasury, set fire to the bungalows and marched off to Kullianpore. The Nana, Mahratta, brought them back from Kullianpore. Disorder and confusion were the order of the day. I concealed myself from fear in my own house.

*Question*—Were you in the habit of visiting the Nana ?

*Answer*—A servant of Mr. Palmer reported to the Nana that I had money in my possession belonging to his master, whereupon a guard of the Nana's came to my house and commenced quarrelling with me. I reported the circumstance to Kutwal Hoolas Sing; he sent a chuprassie and persuaded the guard to depart. Hoolas Sing sent me with one of his own men to the Nana, who received me very kindly and enquired what amount of money I had. I told him that I had four hundred and sixty rupees, house-rent money. He then ordered me to go to Azimoolah Khan at the kutwalli. I did not go, but returned to my own house.

*Question*—When you saw the Nana, was there anybody else with him ?

*Answer*—Yes, there were present with him all the old Government officials, i.e., amlahs.

*Question*—Mention their names.

*Answer*—There was Bilas Rai, sheristehdar foudari. I do not know the names of the others.

*Question*—Did you ever again visit the Nana ?

*Answer*—Many days after my first visit, Hoolas Sing, Kutwal, sent for me and ordered me to go to the Nana, stating that I should be employed in making tents. When I arrived at the Nana's and he saw me, he got very angry and told me to make him some tents unless I wished to be disgraced. I would not agree to do so, a guard was accordingly sent to my house which perforce carried away five tents from my premises.

*Question*—Whom did you see among the Nana's chief advisers and officers ?

*Answer*—I saw the following :—Baba Bhut, Bala Rao, Azimoolah Khan, Jwalla Pershad, Brahmin, and Tantia Topie and many others.

*Question*—Was there any religious flag raised at Cawnpoor ?

*Answer*—I heard the Mahomedans had raised a flag of this nature.

*Question*—Who was the person that put up the flag ?

*Answer*—I heard it was Moulvie Salamut Oollah. Numbers of Mahomedans flocked to it. I likewise heard that a single cannon ball from the entrenchments dispersed them.

*Question*—Did you receive any money for the tents ?

*Answer*—Yes, and in this manner ; when the Nana fled, Hoolas Sing, Kutwal, sent for me and informed me that he had some money which he requested me to keep. He gave me about four hundred rupees. I did not ask for it.

*Question*—Was there anybody else present when you received the money ?

*Answer*—There was an agent of Bhugwan Dass, mahajan, present, and he received some money likewise.

*Question*—Mention the names of any other of the chiefs whom you know, followers of the Nana.

*Answer*—I know nothing about them.

*Question*—Did you hear that Nunne Nawab was in the habit of going to the batteries ?

*Answer*—I did hear that Nunne Nawab was constantly going about with the sowars, but whether he went I do not know.



*Question*—Who was Bhugwan Dass's agent?

*Answer*—I do not know his name. I only know he was a servant of Bhugwan Dass.

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*No 27.—Deposition of Luckmun Pershad in the employ of Shew Pershad, Khazanchee, resident of Cawnpoor.*

*Question*—Where were you at the time of the mutiny at Cawnpoor?

*Answer*—I was at Lala Shew Pershad's house at Cawnpoor, and was his servant.

*Question*—Relate what you know of the mutiny.

*Answer*—About two or three days after the mutiny we heard that a Mahomedan flag had been raised, Lala Shew Pershad sent me to see it and to ascertain what was going on. I went and at Mogul Ke Serai, I saw a great crowd of about 2 or 3,000 men and a green flag raised. I went amongst the crowd, and asked whose flag it was; they said it was a Mahomedan flag, and raised by Moulvie Salamut Oollah. I saw the Moulvie sitting near the flag with a rosary in his hand, and heard that the Moulvie had said he would see about the enemy to-morrow. I then returned and told what I heard and saw to Lala Shew Pershad. I know nothing more.

*Question*—Did you hear the Moulvie say that this was an ill-omened day to attack his foes and that he would go to-morrow?

*Answer*—Yes. I did hear it.

*Question*—In the crowd did you recognise any other Mahomedan?

*Answer*—No. None.

*Question*—Besides this, did you see anything else during the mutiny?

*Answer*—I never left the house, except when Lala Shew Pershad sent me to see about the flag.

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*No. 28.—Deposition of Azeezun, prostitute, and resident of Cawnpoor.*

*Question*—Before the mutiny, what sowars of the 2nd Cavalry were in the habit of paying you visits?

*Answer*—I was in the keeping of Kulloo Mull, mahajun; therefore no sowars of the 2nd Cavalry were allowed to visit me.

*Question*—About two days before the mutiny, Shumshuddeen Khan, sowar, came to your house and said that in one or two days more the Peishwa's rule would be established and the Nana would be supreme?

*Answer*—Before the mutiny, Shumshuddeen Khan, sowar, never came to my house, I don't know the man. He may have come without my knowing it.

*Question*—What do you know about the religious flag raised at Cawnpoor?

*Answer*—I heard that it was raised by Azeemoollah Khan, who took Moulvie Salamut Oollah with him. The Moulvie in vain attempted to resist. He also took all the residents of the city, and said "if you don't come I will blow you from the mouth of cannon;" he must have also taken Kazi Waseeooddeen. The sowars collected all the people, and took them to a house near the canal and they took me also. There were about 1,000 persons, men and women, collected there. The Nana and Azeemoollah ordered the people to attack the entrenchments. Moulvie Salamut Oollah and the people said, "you first attack them, then we will." They then sent the people away, and I also returned home. I remember seeing the Nunne Nawab; Azim Ali Khan, Darogah; Agha Meer Shah Alie; Reear Alie; Moulvie Salamut Oollah; Baker Ali; Kazi Waseeooddeen; and Ahmed Ali Khan, Vakil; Moulvie Ubdul Ruhman; Hoolas Sing, Kotwal; and Rahim Khan, Native Doctor, and all the Government officials were present, and a good many from the city whose names I don't know.

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*No. 29.—Statement of Jowahri Sing, Dafadar of the Cawnpoor Police Battalion, son of Bullum Sing, caste Brahmin, resident of Koder Kotai, zillah Etawah, age 45 years: service.*

*Question*—When the rebels were at Cawnpoor, where were you?

*Answer*—I was at Cawnpoor and in the service of the mother of Nunne Nawab.

*Question*—In those days where was the late Kotwal Hoolas Sing?

*Answer*—Hoolas Sing resided in the "Khoord Mahal" at Cawnpoor.



*Question*—Did Hoolas Sing ever give a grey Arab horse to Nunne Nawab ?

*Answer*—The day the Nana and the rebel force fled from Cawnpoor, Hoolas Sing at night gave Nunne Nawab a grey horse in my presence.

*Question*—Who mounted that horse, and where did he go ?

*Answer*—Nunne Nawab and Nawab Doolah that night along with their families fled and went to Ghatumpore. I likewise accompanied them. The horse was with us, but I do not remember who mounted the animal.

*Question*—What became of the horse ?

*Answer*—The Nawab had the horse until we reached Humeerpore, and then the Nawab brought the animal back to Cawnpoor. After this I heard the Nawab gave the horse to some gentleman.

*Question*—You were at Cawnpoor throughout the disturbances. State how often and in what manner were the ladies and gentlemen murdered, and who were the officers present with the Nana, and who accompanied the rebel forces to fight against the English troops.

*Answer*—I only went twice in the direction of the Nana's forces. On one occasion when the Mahumdee flag was planted, I went to the Nunne Nawab with "pan." The Nunne Nawab was seated in a palankeen in the compound of the present telegraph office. I gave him the "pan" and returned to my house. I saw nothing more.

*Question*—What was the Nawab doing there, and who else was with him ?

*Answer*—I do not know whom he went to see, or on what account he went. There were only two or three sowars with him at the time.

*Question*—Where was the Mahumdee flag planted, who raised it, and who were present ?

*Answer*—I did not see it, but heard a Mahomedan flag was planted somewhere, and that Moulvie Salamut Oollah took the flag to the spot. And on the second occasion when the Nunne Nawab fled across the Ganges, I was with his wife who was captured at the ghat in a chaise gharry.

*Question*—What did you see of the Nana's army ?

*Answer*—I only saw the Nana's court (darbar). I know not how the ladies and gentlemen were murdered.

*Question*—Whom did you see in the Nana's court ?

*Answer*—I saw a great number of people but do not know their names, nor could I recognise them.

*Question*—How many days before the Nana fled, did the Nawab run away, and what was the reason of his leaving ?

*Answer*—About seven or eight days before the Nana fled, the Nawab ran away.

*Question*—Who were the sowars attending Nunne Nawab, and why with him ?

*Answer*—I do not know why they were escorting him ; they belonged to some corps of the army, and wore a blue uniform.

*Question*—The rebel Kotwal Hoolas Sing lived in the same house you occupied. You cannot therefore be as ignorant as you pretend ; it is better to state all you know of rebel doings.

*Answer*—I used to shut the door of the house and only left it on one or two occasions when the Nawab sent for me. I know nothing of rebels, and only heard that they had killed Europeans.

*Question*—If you were not guilty of rebellion why did you leave Cawnpoor on the approach of the British forces ?

*Answer*—I was under the Nawab's orders, being his mother's servant ; he ordered me to accompany him, so I went.

*Question*—What was your object in going to Humeerpore, then occupied by rebels ?

*Answer*—I was in the service of the mother of the Nunne Nawab and went with him ; he must know why we went.

*Question*—How long were you at Humeerpore ?

*Answer*—Seven or eight days. When we heard that the Nana had fled and Cawnpoor retaken by the British, we returned.

*Question*—How long have you been in the Nunne Nawab's service, and how did you get into Government employ ?

*Answer*—I have been 20 years in the service of the Nawab's mother, and the Nunne Nawab was my security.



*No. 30.—Deposition of Moonshree Zuhoree, son of Jyesook, Suseper, Abkaree Darogah, Cawnpore.*

In May 1857, I heard of the Meerut outbreak and of the interruption of daks. About the end of the month the entrenchments at this place were commenced. At this time the 1st Regiment of Infantry and 2nd Cavalry stationed here seemed to be in an excited state, when a sepoy named Jan Mahomed went to the cavalry and held a consultation, which proceeding was brought to the notice of the General by Subadar Bhowanee Sing, and led to the confinement of Jan Mahomed. On the 4th June 1857, at night, the 2nd Cavalry and 1st Light Infantry suddenly broke out, and proceeded towards the treasury at Nawabgunge, and on the next morning, the other two infantry regiments, *i.e.*, 53rd and 56th, joining them, broke open the jail, and plundering the treasury, proceeded towards Kullianpore; and it was rumoured that the Nana had also joined these mutineers. On the next day, *i.e.*, Saturday, the 6th June, all the mutinous troops returned to the station accompanied by the Nana, who placed himself in command. The first shot fired by the mutineers was from the Subadar's tank, on the house of Azim Allee, Darogah of Oudh, who then presented himself before the Nana, accompanied by his son; the Nana sent for Bakur Ali, and Nizam-ood Dowla, who also joined him. After this they fired a cannon against the house of the Nunne Nawab and took him a prisoner, plundering all his property. I heard of all these occurrences whilst at the residence of Jeea Lall, Jemadar, at Gwaltola, and believe them to be true. The same day the mutineers commenced firing at the entrenchments; the city was in a great uproar, the burning and plundering of bungalows commenced, and all Christians, both men and women, were put to death wherever found. From the place of my concealment at Gwaltola, by the assistance of 15 men whom I had engaged, I had provisions conveyed during the night to Captain Sir George Parker, Cantonment Joint Magistrate, General Wheeler, and Major Larkins, in the entrenchments. The fight continued, and a battery was erected near the church and racquet court, under command of the Nunne Nawab, where Buldeo Sing Zemindar of Mouzah Seesa Mow, Jajmow, always remained in company with the Nawab. A second battery under Nawab Bakur Ali was erected near the riding school, and a third under command of the Nana on the mall. I did not see all these batteries, but was informed of them by different people. The sweepers who were unfriendly to me took and made over the members of my family to the mutineers an

told them that they were a Christian family. When they were taken prisoners, the people of the city interposed and stated that they were sweepers and not *Christians*, and should therefore, not be put to death : on this representation the mutineers released them, after which they concealed themselves in the house of Bara Sweeper. On the 9th June, I heard that a number of ladies and gentlemen, and children, together with their servants, about 126 souls, were taken prisoners by Heera Sing, Jowahur Sing, and Puhlwan Sing, Zemindars of Nuwabgung, and made over to the Nana. And I heard they were massacred by his orders on the 10th June near the Savada house. Jowahur Sing left the station on that very day, but Heera Sing, the brother of Jowahur Sing, and Puhlwan Sing, a relative of his, are still there. After this, I heard of many European travellers being killed at different places. On the 14th June I sent to the entrenchments, by Kulloo, Bhodoo and thirteen others, a supply of eggs, sugar, bread, butter, &c., to Major Larkins of the artillery ; these people were taken prisoners by the mutineers and blown away from guns on the next day. At the time of their capture, they confessed that they had been sent by me, consequently a search was made for me, when I stealthily left the station, bearing a note from Major Larkins to Allahabad with a gold ring set with five diamonds given to me by the Major's lady ; these I delivered to the authorities at Allahabad. I returned to Cawnpoor in company with the European troops.

*Question*—You have stated that a battery was erected near the racquet court under command of Nawab Nunne, and that Buldeo Sing, &c., were with him. Did you see the Nawab ?

*Answer*—From the place of my concealment I observed for many days Nawab Nunne, Nizam-oo-dowla, and Bakur Ali Khan, brother of the Nawab, together with Buldeo Sing and Munsub Ali, &c., zemindars, and a number of other people going daily to the batteries accompanied by a number of armed men, and was also told by others that these people were going to the batteries. I saw the Nawab and his brothers mounted on horseback.

*Question*—Did you hear whether the Nawab went of his own accord to the batteries or was he taken there as a prisoner by the Nana's men ?



*Answer*—I do not think he went there as a prisoner. But certainly on the first day, when the mutineers returned from Kullianpore he was taken a prisoner to the Nana, but after that, he went about the batteries of his own accord, accompanied by a host of attendants. It was also rumoured that the Nana had promised to make over Cawnpore to the Nawab. Thousands of persons, residents of this place, know all this. When the members of my family were taken prisoners on 8th June, I left Gwaltola and went to Buldeo Sing Tewarry's house, in Kirswan, and hid myself on the housetop, from whence I could see Nunne Nawab going to the batteries daily, and also Teeka Sing and Jwalla Pershad, who were commandants of the mutineer forces.

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*No. 31.—Deposition of Seo Pershad Panday, son of Bane Pershad, Brahmin, resident of Cawnpore, age 50 years.*

*Question*—When the mutiny broke out at Cawnpore, where were you?

*Answer*—I was in the station.

*Question*—State clearly and truly the occurrences that came under your observation?

*Answer*—In the month of May, I heard a rumour of the mutiny of the Meerut troops; the Nana came from Bithoor with guns. Suddenly one night a fire broke out at the cavalry lines, and in the morning I heard that the troops of the station had mutinied, broken open the jail, and plundered the treasury, after which they went away towards Kullianpore. On the next morning I was told that the Nana had brought back the mutinous troops, which caused a great commotion. Europeans were put to death, wherever met with; and the sepoy commenced plundering; cannons were discharged in the direction of the church, and it was rumoured that the Nunne Nawab had been plundered. The troopers were scattered about, at the different mahajuns' residences, extorting money. When the fight commenced at the entrenchments, all the bad

characters of the city joined the mutineers, and all Christians were massacred, wherever found. There were four batteries erected against the entrenchment: Nunne Nawab was in charge of the battery near the racquet court, and the battery near the artillery stables was, I think, commanded by Nawab Bakir Ali; the other batteries were occupied by the sepoy and troopers and the Nana's men.

*Question*—Did you personally see these men on the batteries, or only hear of them?

*Answer*—I saw them personally, and on one occasion, at noon, I was sitting at a well near the horse artillery bazar, when a trooper made a prisoner of me and taking me to the Nawab's battery told me to remain there in attendance on the sepoy giving them drink. I was then compelled to remain there till the evening, and it was then that I saw the persons on the different batteries.

*Question*—State who this Nawab was, and how was he engaged?

*Answer*—He was the Nunne Nawab, and was seated in a chair in the racquet court, with a hookah placed before him. The sepoy and a number of other men were in attendance. Guns were being fired. Sometimes the Nawab would be walking up and down the racquet Court, and at other times he would come out of the place.

*Question*—Was the Nawab in confinement or was he free?

*Answer*—He was not under any restraint, but appeared to be the commander and master of the place: every one obeyed the orders given by him.

*Question*—You have stated that the Nawab was plundered by the mutineers; how then was he on their side and engaged in giving orders?

*Answer*—I have stated whatever I heard and saw. On the first day the Nawab's house was plundered, but afterwards I heard that he and the Nana and the mutineers had made friends, and the Nawab was in full authority, and always remained at the battery giving orders. This fact is well known to thousands.



*Question*—When you were brought a prisoner to the Nawab's battery, did you see any other Brahmin there whom you knew?

*Answer*—Yes, there was another man named Bajay Lall, a Brahmin, who was taken up the same time as myself, and there were two others, named Muttra, a Brahmin, and Ram Pershad Tewarry, who were engaged in giving drink to the sepoy.

*Question*—Where are the two latter named persons now?

*Answer*—They are living at Poorana Gunj, at Cawnpore.

*Question*—How often did you see Europeans murdered?

*Answer*—It is impossible to recollect this, but I often heard that as many Europeans as were found at different times were always massacred. On one occasion I saw a number of Europeans massacred in the Savada house about 4 P.M. by the Nana's orders.

*Question*—When the Europeans left the entrenchments for the ghats, what occurrences did you observe?

*Answer*—I did not leave my house on that day, but heard of the massacre, and that several ladies and children who escaped it were put into confinement, and that a trooper had carried away Major-General Wheeler's daughter. I also heard that this lady put an end to the trooper, and threw herself down a well.

*Question*—Did you hear where this took place, and into which well the lady threw herself?

*Answer*—I do not know anything regarding this.

*Question*—Do you know anything of the massacre of the ladies and children, who were in confinement?

*Answer*—When the European troops reached Futtehpore, and the Nana and his troops fled, the massacre took place. I did not hear by whom and how they were massacred.

*Question*—Had Nunne Nawab any arms at the battery?

*Answer*—He had a sword and telescope by him, and used to go to the guns and direct the artillerymen what to do.

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*No. 32.—Deposition of Bajay Lall, Brahmin, age 42 years, resident of Cawnpore.*

*Question*—When the mutiny broke out at Cawnpore, where were you?

*Answer*—I was at my house in Cawnpoor.

*Question*—State what you know of the outbreak.

*Answer*—In the month of May, a rumour reached Cawnpoor that the Native troops had mutinied at Meerut. Some days after this, the regiments at this station also broke out, and I heard that the 2nd Cavalry and the 1st Native Infantry took the lead. The next day, the other regiments also broke out, and all of them conjointly broke open the jail and plundering the treasury proceeded towards Kullianpore. I also heard that on the invitation of the Nana all the mutineers returned to the station, and a fight ensued between them and the European troops within the entrenchments. A number of Christians were killed, their houses set on fire, and all their property plundered and destroyed. I became alarmed and retired to my house from whence I could perceive all that was going on. Batteries were erected, and the fight commenced.

*Question*—At what places were the batteries erected?

*Answer*—There were four batteries erected, one near the racquet court, one near the church, another on the mall, and the fourth near the cavalry lines opposite the nullah.

*Question*—Who did you see engaged at these batteries?

*Answer*—The Nunne Nawab was at the battery near the racquet court, Nawab Bakur Ali was at the one near the church, and on the other two, the sepoy, and a number of the Nana's men.

*Question*—How do you know that the Nunne Nawab was at the battery near the racquet court?

*Answer*—I frequently saw the Nawab's conveyance going to and returning from the battery in question, and I often saw him seated there on a chair with a table placed before him. On one occasion, about three o'clock in the afternoon, some of the Nawab's men took me forcibly to the battery and told me to remain there, and supply water to the men. I spoke to the Nawab and begged of him to let me go, stating that I was a poor Brahmin, when he told me that as I was a



Brahmin, I would only have to give drink to the men, and that I should therefore remain. I was thus compelled to stay. I saw several other persons there.

*Question*—Did you recognise any of them and what were their names?

*Answer*—There was one Sheopershad Pandy, a Brahmin, taken up at the same time that I was. In the evening, finding an opportunity of escaping, I left the place.

*Question*—Did you see the Nunne Nawab there as a prisoner?

*Answer*—He was not a prisoner, but had full authority over the troops.

*Question*—Was the Nawab in a tent or in a house?

*Answer*—He occupied the racquet court and when I was taken to him, he was seated on a chair in the open plain.

*Question*—Did you see any Europeans killed?

*Answer*—When the fight was going on within the entrenchments, I saw a number of persons shot to death on the plain near Savada house, and was told that they had come from some other station. On the same day, a person named Mr. Williams, a writer, was brought a prisoner from Colonelgunge. He was known to me, and I went some distance with him, but when I saw the massacre, I left the place.

*Question*—State what you observed on the day the Europeans left the entrenchments.

*Answer*—I will state truly whatever I saw. In the morning (the date I do not remember), I was told that the Europeans were going to leave the entrenchments, and I saw thousands of persons proceeding to see the sight. I accompanied them and saw a number of Europeans, some carried by elephants, others on palanquins, proceeding towards the ghat, escorted by a number of armed troopers and sepoys. When the Europeans were getting into the boats, the sepoys and troopers discharged a volley of musketry, and setting fire to the boats, opened on them with guns: seeing this, I left the place and returned to my house. All the Europeans, both male and female, together with children were massacred. Some of them that were

not dead but severely wounded, were brought away and confined in the Savada house. I also heard that Europeans coming in from other stations were also massacred at Savada.

*Question*—Did you hear anything of the murder of the Colonel of the 1st Regiment, Native Infantry?

*Answer*—I heard nothing of this occurrence.

*Question*—When the Europeans were massacred at the boats, did you see or hear of a lady being carried off by a trooper?

*Answer*—I did not see the occurrence, but heard of it; and I also heard that the lady in question killed the trooper.

*Question*—What became of the ladies confined in the Savada house?

*Answer*—I heard that when news of the advance of European troops reached Cawnpore, they were all massacred.

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*No. 53.—Deposition of Perma Nund, Jemadar, in the employ of the late General Wheeler*

I was in the service of General Wheeler when the mutiny broke out at Cawnpore. There were first reports that a disagreement had arisen between the sepoys and their officers regarding cartridges; then intelligence came that the Meerut force had risen against the Europeans; then I heard that some Sahib had fired at a sowar, and that a well-known Subadar or Jemadar of the troops here, Teeka Ram, had taken advantage of this circumstance to excite disagreement and insurrection. When the Sahibs were all living in the hospital within the entrenchment, the report spread that at midnight of the 4th June the cavalry regiment had got under arms and sounded their trumpets, and that the 1st Native Infantry had followed their example. When these two regiments formed outside their lines, the gentlemen went outside the entrenchment and stood looking on. I was with them. The two corps marched off towards Nawabgunge, and, I heard, went to the treasury and made arrangements for the disposal of the treasure, going afterwards to the jail and breaking it open, and liberating the prisoners. The next morning, after daybreak, the 53rd and 56th Native Infantry also marched out and joined the others, some of their officers however left them and came into the entrenchment; I do not know their names.



I then heard that the whole force went to Kullianpore, *en route* for Delhi, and that the Nana called them back.

On the 6th June the firing on the entrenchment commenced, and from that day ingress or egress became difficult. Sometimes servants who got out made their way with difficulty as far as the bazar of the European lines. All the gentlemen, ladies, and Europeans, to the number of from 500 to 550, were within the entrenchment, with three or four guns which were disposed at the four faces. Fighting went on, and on the 18th of June one of the guns became disabled by the fire from the Nunne Nawab's battery; soon two more broke down, and the English began to despair. The positions of the batteries of the rebels were as follows: The first, "the Nunee Nawab's," was near the racquet court; the second, "Nawab Bakur Allee's," near the stables; the third, "the Nana's," in the direction of the mall; the fourth, "the sepoys" towards the nullah. Men outside of these batteries were visible from the interior of the entrenchment, and hundreds of spectators used to look on. Nawab Bakur Allee is a prisoner now, and I believe the Nunne Nawab has been forgiven.

The English then negotiated a treaty with the Nana. Some merchant's wife went out and made her way to him. The retirement of the English to Allahabad was agreed upon, the Nana taking a solemn oath. Two men named Azeemoollah and Jwalla Pershad came to the entrenchment to convey the Nana's ratification on oath of the agreement, and I heard that a written treaty signed by him was also received.

The fighting then ceased, and the Nana sent some food for the garrison. On the morning of (I think) the 26th June, elephants, palkees, doolies, carts and beds, and other means of conveyance were brought, and all the English set off on them. The General, his lady and his two daughters, mounted one elephant, and I, Ramdeen, bearer, Khoda Bukhsh, khitmutgar, and Hingun, cook; and all his servants who were with the General in the entrenchment accompanied on foot; and the General, his lady and daughters, the Adjutant-General, Brigade-Major, Captains Thompson and Delafosse, and we four servants embarked in one boat, depositing the things we had in it. The other English were embarking in other boats when a shot was heard, two or three boats were set on fire, and a great outcry and noise arose. At this we all became terrified, but the General gave the boatmen a present of a bag of Rs. 1,000 and they pushed off. When we had gone a little

way below the village of Chajhmow, about a gunshot distant from the Suttee Chowra Ghat from which we had started, a cannon ball hit the stern of the boat. I do not know from which bank it came. The boat swung round and all the sahibs became terrified. Captains Delafosse and Thompson jumped out, and one of the General's daughters followed, whether the elder or the younger, I cannot remember. We four men then leaped out too. I do not know what became of Captains Delafosse and Thompson, or which side the boat went to. I however saw a cavalry sowar take Miss Wheeler out of the nullah. We ran off and hid in a jhao jungle; when we came out, Raja Suttee Pershad of Sheorajpore, who was there on horseback, arrested us, and put us in confinement in Mouzah Sheorajpore. We remained there in confinement eleven or twelve days. When the intelligence of the approach of the British Army arrived, we were sent to the house of Ram Bukhsh, Babu, in Dhoondeea Khera, who kept us prisoners in the stocks for 20 days. He then released us on our promising not to enter the service of Europeans again, sending us across the Ganges. I went to Cawnpoor, and the other three to their homes, the locality of which I am not aware of.

*Question*—What happened after the sowar took Miss Wheeler out of the water?

*Answer*—I did not see whether he took her away or killed her.

*Question*—Did you know and recognise the boatmen to whom the General gave the Rs. 1,000 in your presence?

*Answer*—He gave the bag in my presence, and I looked well at the boatmen, but I do not know their names. The General had many bags with him, and when we left the entrenchment he wished to give each of us a bag of Rs. 1,000 as a present, but we said we would not accept them until we had seen him safe to Allahabad. He gave Rs. 1,000 to an ayah who had remained in the entrenchment, but whose name I do not know; and she brought the money out of the place when the garrison evacuated it. A sepoy however snatched it from her and gave her a blow with his tulwar. I saw this from a distance as I was going along with the General.

*Question*—How do you know that the Nunne Nawab and Nawab Bakur Alee were in the attack batteries?



*Answer*—We used to see them every day from the entrenchment, and hundreds of men of the regimental, artillery, and other bazars in Cawnpoor know they were; having actually seen them there. One day the Nunne Nawab with about 50 of the cavalry made an assault on the entrenchment at about 3 P.M., and fought with Captain Vibart, of the 2nd Cavalry, and a sergeant who were on the embankment. I myself saw the Nawab shoot the officer through the chest, and the sergeant was wounded by a shot from a sowar. The alarm was given, and the Nawab and his sowars all turned and ran away. Both the captain and the sergeant died that day.

*Question*—When you accompanied the General out of the entrenchment did you see Colonel Ewart of the 1st Native Infantry?

*Answer*—I did not know the names of the officers of that regiment, but I know that the Colonel of the corps was wounded by a bullet and was carried out of the entrenchment that day on a charpoy, his wife accompanying him. I know nothing more about him.

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*No. 34.—Deposition of Jhokun, servant of the late Colonel Williams, of the 56th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

I entered Colonel Williams' service about November 1856 at Bousee. On our arrival at Cawnpoor, there was no sign of what was to follow. The cartridge question used to be talked about, but it did not seem to engross much attention. The 53rd and 56th Native Infantry showed great lukewarmness until the mutiny actually broke out. The 1st Native Infantry and 2nd Cavalry were at the bottom of it, and were the instigators. I had no idea of what was likely to take place until I had gone into the entrenchments with my master. But on the 1st Native Infantry and 2nd Cavalry breaking out I felt that the troops were irresistibly gone. The officers I left in their tents at the regimental lines, ten days before they went into the entrenchments. All ladies and house servants used to go down to the lines at night and the chowkidars and syces used to remain at the houses. The Colonel used to converse with the men in the evening and do his best to allay their apprehensions regarding the cartridges and apparently

with success. I don't know what took the officers into the entrenchments, as there was no active demonstration on the part of the troops to lead me to suppose that it was from fear of an immediate attack. I could not hear of any meetings among the sepoys taking place before the officers went into the entrenchments; they may have done so without my knowledge. My work kept me at my master's house and I had no opportunity of hearing anything. I accompanied my master into the entrenchments. All the servants went also, with the exception of the syces. My master took but one horse, the syce of which went with him. Baichoo Singh, sepoy of Light Company, went into the entrenchments with Colonel Williams. For the first four days the orderlies used to attend on their officers. On the night of the 4th June, after the occupation of the entrenchment, the 1st Native Infantry and 2nd Light Cavalry broke out and marched to Kullianpore. The officers in the entrenchments were aware of the cavalry going, for they saw their lines on fire and made ready for an attack. There was a report that the 1st Regiment, Native Infantry, had gone off with the cavalry, which proved correct in the morning. On the 5th June, all the officers in the entrenchments, keeping two or three servants with them, told the others to load all their property in the bungalows on boats, and when this was done to inform them; after which the boats were to go to Allahabad. On this order I left the entrenchment and assisted in taking my master's property to the boats. He could get no coolies, so we had to carry the things ourselves. After the 1st Native Infantry and 2nd Light Cavalry had gone, the officers of the 53rd and 56th went down to the lines of their respective regiments, who were assembled according to the orders of their officers on parade. I had gone away to help to load the boats. After this I never entered the entrenchments. I was occupied on the boats on the 6th of June, when about 10 A.M. we all heard the first gun fired by the rebels, and leaving work ran towards the entrenchments, but found it was surrounded by rebel sepoys who would not let us pass. I did not see them turn out, but, as I was taking some things to the boat on the morning of the 5th, I saw the colonel's guard leaving and asked them where they were going; they said the regiment had left the lines, and they were going to join it. Baichoo Singh, above mentioned, did not go with the regiment. He told me that the Nana from Bithoor had met the 1st Native Infantry and cavalry, at Kullianpore, and persuaded them not to carry out



their design of going to Delhi, but to return to Cawnpore, plunder the treasury, and fight the English. I don't know how the 53rd and 56th came to join the others, but I know that, after they met, they became one. All I know about the sepoys is what Baichoo Singh told me. He told me that the Nana, Tautia Topie and Bala Rao had assumed the control of the rebel forces. They were all three present when the rebels opened on the entrenchments. Baichoo Singh joined his regiment the day after the first attack, but used to come to the servants, who remained at the house, to ask about the colonel and his lady, and told us to give him all the information we could about them. We could, however, give him none, as we had no means of getting any ourselves. For nineteen days the fight went on with only slight cessations at night. The guns of the rebels were freely answered by the besieged for the first four days; after this the fire was very slack, and it was only at long intervals they fired, except in the case of an assault, when the firing was more rapid. The last two days there was a cessation from firing while some treaty was being made. On enquiring from Baichoo Singh the cause of the sudden cessation, he told me that a letter had been received by the Nana from the entrenchment, and that both parties were treating, and that in a short time the officers would come out. Even after the cessation of hostilities we were not allowed to go and see our masters. On the morning of the 26th June, three officers of the 56th, named Goad, Fagan, and Warde, mounted on an elephant, and two Europeans whose names and regiments I don't know, mounted on another elephant, came out of the entrenchments and went to the river to inspect the boats. The gardener and I, taking some grapes, went up to the officers and told them that we were in a starving condition and wanted to come to our masters in the entrenchment. They said "No, you can't come with us, but we shall come out to-morrow and you shall accompany us down to Allahabad in boats." Messrs Goad and Warde each gave me Rs. 2. After inspecting the boats they returned to the entrenchments. I asked these officers about my master and mistress and the other officers of the 56th. They told me that my master, Colonel Williams, Major Prout, and Captain Holliday had died natural deaths. Lieutenant Chalmers had been shot, the rest were well. They also told me my mistress was well but slightly wounded, and that Miss \* \* was dead. Her death was caused by fright at the cannonade, and that she was not wounded. On the 27th June, a little before 6 A.M., as many as could walk came out: some of the

wounded in doolies, others of whom were left behind in the entrenchments. This part of my narrative was witnessed by me. The party from the entrenchment was unarmed and surrounded by sepoys. I had great difficulty in reaching my mistress. I saw Baichoo Singh at the ghat and asked him to procure an interview with my mistress for me. He said it was impossible: that the men would shoot him if he attempted such a thing. After much persuasion he took me to the havildar-major of the 56th Native Infantry, who said the thing was impossible. I appealed to him, and begged him to remember the kindness he had received from the colonel. After persuasion, he said he could not show his face before the colonel's lady, but directed four sepoys to take me to my mistress and to prevent my being disturbed. The havildar's name was Amundee Deen Misser. I was then taken to my mistress, with whom were her two daughters, Miss \* \* and Miss \* \*. They were in a wretched plight, scorched and blistered by the sun. My mistress had a slight bullet-wound on her upper lip. She told the same story as the gentlemen of the 56th, above named, that my master had died on the night of the 8th of June. My mistress then asked about the property left in the house, and enquired about all the servants; she enquired particularly after the cook, who, I told her, was residing in "General Gunge." She then told me to go and fetch him, as she wanted him to go down to Allahabad with her, and told me to go to her son in the hills and inform him of all that had occurred. I replied that my child was in Cawnpore and that I could not leave him. She told me then to take my child to my house, and then to make every endeavour to join her son as soon as the roads should be open, and to show her son the spot where the colonel was buried. I told her I did not know the spot. She said the syce who remained with them in the entrenchment would show it. I then went to call the cook. As I was returning with him to the boats we heard musketry, and both of us ran to the river to see what was the matter. On reaching the banks of the river, I saw that the Europeans were all on board the boats, and being fired into: five of the boats were on fire. Men and women jumped into the water which was over their waists; when the sepoys went in with their swords, and cut them up. I could not bear the sight any longer, so went away to the bungalow. I heard from Baichoo Singh that 112 women and children had been saved and taken to the Savada. He told me that Miss \* \* and Mrs. \* \* were there. I then went to see them,



but could not get near them on account of the sentries, but saw that food was being distributed to them. It consisted of native bread and milk. I remonstrated with Baichoo Singh and begged of him to supply people, who had lived in a very different way, with better food. He gave me eight annas to go to the bazaar and buy some sweetmeats. I did so. But on my return was prevented going to the ladies. The havildar-major again got me permission to go to them. Miss \* \* and Mrs. \* \* came into the verandah to meet me. Miss \* \* repeated her mother's injunctions about my going to her brother. I gave them the sweetmeats, and had little time to speak to them; for, seeing me, the other ladies came out into the verandah, on which the sentries turned me out. I got four annas from Baichoo Singh and started off the next morning towards my house in Oudh. I reached my home, and, placing my child there, I started for Colonel Williams' son. I got as far as Byram Ghat, where I was stopped and not allowed to proceed further. I then returned again to my house. On Lucknow being occupied by the British, I again went and attempted to get to Colonel Williams's son; but was this time made a prisoner on the suspicion that I was seeking employment among the British, and kept in confinement for a month in the Begum's camp at Boondee. Since then I have been seeking for Mr. Williams.

*Question*—On what day were the officers' houses burnt?

*Answer*—The day the attack on the entrenchments commenced.

*Question*—Did all the drummers go into the entrenchment?

*Answer*—Yes, nearly all.

*Question*—What became of the servants who went on board of the boats?

*Answer*—White or black, they were indiscriminately murdered.

*Question*—Did you see any boat get away?

*Answer*—One boat with twelve men got away. On board of it were two officers, Murray and Anderson of the 56th, and the Quartermaster-Sergeant of the same regiment. I don't know who the others were.

*Question*—Were the guns brought to play upon the boats?

*Answer*—Yes. And on the boat that got away guns played with round shot from both sides of the river, but none struck.

*Question*—Did this boat escape entirely?

*Answer*—No. It was captured some short distance down the river, and I saw the gentlemen brought back bound. They were brought back by the road.

*Question*—What became of these prisoners?

*Answer*—I left Cawnpore the next morning and do not know their fate.

*Question*—Who captured and brought back these prisoners?

*Answer*—The 2nd Light Cavalry alone.

*Question*—Were the Nana, Tantia Topee, and Bala Rao present when the embarkation was taking place?

*Answer*—I only saw Tantia Topee; he was dismounted, and his horse standing close by.

*Question*—Was there any order among the sepoys, or were they all mixed up together, when the massacre was taking place; and did you see any men of any one particular regiment more active than the others.

*Answer*—They were not drawn up in any order, but extended in a long line down the banks. It was impossible to see who was most active. The sepoys fired for about half an hour, but it was the Nana's people and men of a local regiment, that had come over from Lucknow, that cut up the Europeans in the water with their swords: the Feeda Hoosein Regiment.

*Question*—How was it that 112 women and children escaped from the heavy fire you describe?

*Answer*—The thatch of the boats stopped the bullets.

*Question*—Who stopped the massacre, so that those people were saved?

*Answer*—I don't know who gave directions to stop the massacre.

*Question*—Were there any influential men from the city mixed up with the sepoys or in the Nana's confidence?

*Answer*—No. I know of none. I didn't go among the sepoys, but heard all I have related above from Baichoo Singh.

*Question*—When did you again visit Cawnpore?

*Answer*—Not till after the British authority had been re-established.

*Question*—Are you certain that the officers were four days in the entrenchment before the attack commenced?



*Answer*—Yes. I am certain they were in the entrenchments four days before being attacked. The 1st Native Infantry and 2nd Light Cavalry broke out on the 4th night, and the fighting commenced on the sixth day.

*Question*—Did you see General Wheeler at the ghat?

*Answer*—No, I did not. But I saw him in the entrenchment before the attack.

*Question*—After the massacre at the ghat, were all the ladies taken to the Savada, and do you know of any of the sepoys or others taking any of the ladies away?

*Answer*—They were all taken together to the Savada, and I know of no lady being taken away by any sepoys.

*Question*—Did you see any children destroyed, and, if so, how were they killed?

*Answer*—I did not see any killed at the ghat.

*Question*—Do you know of any servant who escaped from the boats?

*Answer*—I only know of one, and believe her to be a solitary instance. She was wet-nurse to my master's child. She came out of the boat almost naked. The mob were going to kill her, but were prevented by the sepoys. I asked her what had become of the child. She said her master had thrown it into the river, and told her to leave the boat.

*Question*—Did you see any Christian female dishonoured in any way while at Cawnpore?

*Answer*—I did not.

*Question*—Did you see any of the officers of the 56th at the ghat?

*Answer*—I saw Messrs Goad, Warde, Kempland and the Doctor on board the boats. This was before I went for the cook. On my return I did not see them.

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*No. 35.—Deposition of Choonee Lal, Mahajun, resident of Nanoo.*

I reside near the encamping ground at Choteypore. When the mutiny broke out at Cawnpore, the men of my village took advantage of it to plunder and create disturbances.

Two days after the Cawnpore mutiny, a detail, consisting of two troops of the 7th Cavalry and two companies of the 48th Native Infantry, from Lucknow encamped at Choteypore. On their arrival, the disturbances immediately ceased; but the next day we heard rumours that this

party had also joined the Nana. On the following day (it was Tuesday, the 9th June), about noon, a bugle sounded, and there was an uproar in the camp. I went to the top of my house and saw three Europeans mounted. They fled by the road to the east of the encamping ground, and were pursued by the sowars. Finding the road to the east occupied by sepoys, they turned to the south, followed by the troopers who were firing at them. Some men of my village joined the mutineers. The three officers were murdered about a mile from the encamping ground by the village of Tinheca. The troopers shot them. Being on bad terms with some of the Rajpoots of my village, they took advantage of the disturbance to bring some of the sepoys to plunder my house. I fled to Bithoor and took refuge with Geshree, Putwarie, who told me shortly afterwards that the troops encamped at Choteypore had brought in the heads of some Europeans. At dark I went to the house of the Rao, the Nana's nephew, where the heads were exposed. There were thousands looking on, and I recognized the three heads as those I had seen at Choteypore. A gentleman and a lady were also brought into Bithoor by the mutineers. The lady was in a dooly. They were not murdered whilst I was there, and I do not know what became of them.

*Question*—Can you give a description of the three murdered officers?

*Answer*—I only saw them from a distance, and could not describe their features.

*Question*—Describe the gentleman and lady brought in prisoners.

*Answer*—The gentleman was middle-aged; and the lady, young, and pregnant.

*Question*—Can you name the men of your village who joined the mutineers in murdering the officers?

*Answer*—Yes, some of them. Lochun Sing, Bhugwan Sing, Geshrie Sing, Dulman Sing, Munrahan Sing, with others whose names I do not recollect.

*No. 36.—Deposition of Maun Sing, Brahmin, resident of Nanoo.*

Two or three days after the mutiny at Cawnpore, some sepoys and sowars, accompanied by three Europeans, encamped on the Choteypore encamping ground close to my village, and near to which I was, at the time, engaged in watching some mango trees. One day I heard a disturbance in the camp and shots fired. I saw three gentlemen on



horseback pursued by sowars. Some Thakoors and Rajpoots joined the mutineers, on seeing which I fled to my home. The next day I saw the headless corpses of the three gentlemen on the road from the encamping ground to Tinheea.

*Question*—Who were the men that joined the mutineers?

*Answer*—Bijool Sing, Meerahedun Sing, Geshree Sing, Puncum Sing, Bhugwan Sing, and several others.

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*No. 37.—Deposition of Mungna, Aheer, resident of Nanoo.*

My house is close to the encamping ground at Choteypore. I do not remember the day, but, after the mutiny at Cawnpore, some troops encamped there. On the third day, in the afternoon, there was a disturbance in the camp, and, from the top of my house, I saw the sowars pursuing three gentlemen who were on horseback. Some of the Rajpoots of my village joined them. I heard that the Europeans had been shot by the sowars, and afterwards saw three headless corpses lying on the road between Choteypore and Tinheea.

*Question*—What became of the bodies?

*Answer*—I do not know.

*Question*—What are the names of the villagers who joined the mutineers?

*Answer*—They were Lochun Sing, Meerahun Sing, Dewan Sing, Geshree Sing, Bijolie, Oojogur and Ruttun Sing.

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*No. 38.—Deposition of Appajee Luchman, Bhakree, son of Luchman Punth, Bhakree, age 67 years, resident of Bithoor.*

*Question*—When the disturbances broke out at Cawnpore, where were you?

*Answer*—I was at Bithoor at the time. On the 6th June, when the Nana's rule was proclaimed, Goordeen, Agent of Meina Bais, and Tutec Bace, the late Peishwa's widow, together with his family were put to death by the Nana's orders, and Appa Shastree and myself, with five others, were put in confinement with irons. On Tuesday, 9th June, two troops of cavalry and two companies of sepoy brought in to the Rao at Bithoor the heads of three Europeans, together with a gentleman and lady. The latter was pregnant. On reaching the Rao, the sepoy wished to put them

to death, but Mainta Bae and her daughter interfered, and said that, if the lady was put to death, they would put an end to themselves; on which the Rao ordered the lady to be kept in the *Burra Sahib's* house, and sent the gentleman and the three heads to the Nana. Four or five days after this, about 40 or 45 persons, ladies and children inclusive, were sent into Bithoor, by Jussa Sing, zemindar of Futteypore Chourasie. They reached the place in the evening. The Rao treated them very kindly and sent food for them. At this time the Rao had no evil intentions towards these Europeans. On the next day, a messenger sent by Bala and the Nana from Cawnpore reached the Rao, and, in accordance with the instructions received by him, he sent away all the gentlemen and ladies to the Nana. Two or three days after the lady, who was kept in the *Burra Sahib's* house, was delivered of a daughter, and great care was taken of her. Whatever news regarding the Nana reached the Bae's was conveyed by them to me, and I forwarded it on to Lala Manuck Chund's Gomashtha, by means of Teekagee Punth and Appa Shastree, who wrote letters for me. After the entrenchments were vacated, the Nana and Bala both came to Bithoor, and the former took his seat on the throne. Presents were offered to him, salutes fired, and the place illuminated in honour of the occasion. After this, Bala returned to Cawnpore, and the Nana remained at Bithoor. When news of the approach of British troops at Futteypore reached Cawnpore, Teeka Sing who was made a General, accompanied by a number of sepoy and sowars, came to Bithoor, on account of a dispute having arisen between the troops regarding payment, and took away the Nana with him to Cawnpore. When the European troops reached Cawnpore, the Nana left it, came to Bithoor during the night, and commenced having boats prepared. Choonnee Sing, Chowdree, an old servant of the Nana's, got all the Nana's property loaded on



boats, elephants, and hackeries, and despatched them across the river from Teekapore ghat on the same night. The Nana left in a boat on Friday night, the 17th July. When he was leaving, he gave orders to put to death the lady who was confined in the *Burra Sahib's* house, and the guard of sowars of the 7th Cavalry, placed over her, murdered her and the child. The Nana forcibly took away with him the Baees. I was confined at the Thanah. Bulwunt Sing, the brother of the Baee, came and gave me all this information, and advised me to take off my fetters, and leave the place. On the next day, British troops reached Bithoor, and I presented myself to General Havelock. He saw the lady's corpse lying at the place where she was massacred by the Nana's orders, and was very much grieved.

*Question*—Was there with the Nana any Mahomedan woman named Begum, and if so, what was her occupation, and from what period had she been with him?

*Answer*—The Nana had four slave girls belonging to the Peishwa, one of them was named Taj Bebee; a second, Chundur Khanum; a third, Gatee Ufroz; and the fourth, Hossainee Khanum, who was also called Begum; she was an attendant on Oula, a courtesan kept by the Nana; this girl Oula had by her lakhs of rupees' worth of property belonging to the Nana.

*Question*—Give a description of the woman called Begum?

*Answer*—She was of a fair complexion, tall, and about 25 or 26 years of age.

*Question*—Do you know where Choonnee Sing, Chowdree, is now?

*Answer*—I am not sure where he is, but I was informed that he is living somewhere towards Oreyah.

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No. 39.—*Deposition of Appa Shastree, son of Ramchunder Punth, Brahim Duhnee, of Poona, at present residing at Bithoor; age 51 years.*

*Question*—When the outbreak occurred at Cawnpore, where were you?

*Answer*—I was at Bithoor at the time. One day, the date of which I do not remember, Bapoo Datar, a Mahratta, accompanied by 20 or 22 persons, both horses and foot, went to the thanah of the old cantonments at Bithoor, set up a flag there, and another at the Government thanah. From that time it was known that the Nana's rule had commenced, and that all the troops were subject to him. After this, the Nana blew away from a gun Goordeen, the *Baee Sahib's* agent, and his family; also confined me, Lalla Ram, and Appa Jee Punth, at the thanah, and put fetters on us; and, until the re-establishment of the British rule, we remained in that state, together with a number of other persons connected with the Baee.

*Question*—State the occurrences you observed during the disturbances at Bithoor?

*Answer*—As I was not liked by the sepoy and the Nana's men, I did not venture to stir from the thanah, but Appa Jee, Luchmum Bhakree, Lall Ram and Juggunnath Deechut used to go out of the place and witness what was going on. The Baees' men used to come every day to see me, bringing me food and giving me all the news. I remember having heard that on Tuesday, the 9th June, a gentleman and a lady, who was with child, and three heads of some Europeans were brought into Bithoor by some sepoy and sowars who carried them to the Rao; and that, when the sepoy intended putting the two former to death, the Baees interfered and had their lives spared. So the lady was kept in the Burra Sahib's house, and the gentleman together with the heads were sent to the Nana. These facts were communicated to me by Bulwunt Rao, the Baee's brother. Some days after the lady above alluded to was delivered of a daughter, and the Baees caused great care to be taken of her. Five or six days after this, a boat, containing 45 or 46 Europeans together with some ladies and children, was sent to Bithoor by Jussa Sing, zemindar; their boat was brought and moored



opposite the thanah. I saw it from a distance, but Appa Jee Punth and Lalla Ram went out of the thanah and saw the boat, and Choonee Sing Chowdree, who was appointed thanadar, called out to Juggunnath Deechut, now deceased, to come out and see his friends the English. He accordingly went out to see them. I was informed that the Rao treated these Europeans very kindly and sent them food. The next day, in accordance with instructions received from Bala, they were all sent to Cawnpore. Koosaba Khranee-gir and Koondoo Punth, two of the Nana's officers, were sent in charge of them. When the entrenchment was vacated, the Nana and Bala came to Bithoor; the former took his seat on the throne, in honour of which salutes were fired, the city and other places illuminated, and khilluts distributed; after which Bala returned to Cawnpore, and the Nana remained at Bithoor for five or six days, when he also returned to Cawnpore owing to a dispute having arisen with the troops regarding the distribution of salary and rewards. A short time after this, when European troops reached Cawnpore from Allahabad, and the Nana was defeated, he came back to Bithoor, and, taking away his valuables, retreated towards Teekapoor Ghat, and the European troops came into Bithoor. The Nana left during the night, and I quitted the thanah the next morning, had the re-establishment of the British rule proclaimed, and prevented Government property being removed from the palace. When General Havelock reached Bithoor, I sent to him Appa Jee Punth, and gave intimation of the Government property which the son of Narain Rao Subadar had removed, and whatever Government property I could collect I made over to them.

*Question*—What became of the lady who was kept in the Burra Sahib's house?

*Answer*—The day that the Nana left Bithoor the guard placed over her put her to death by his orders.

*Question*—Where is Bulwunt Rao, the brother of the Bae, now?

*Answer*—He is at Gwalior.

*Question*—When Koosaba Khiranee-gir and Kundoo Punth accompanied the Europeans from Bithoor, did you see them?

*Answer*—I did not see them go with the gentlemen, but, when Koosaba Khiranee-gir returned, he told me he had gone in company with the Europeans to Cawnpore. He is still here, and will not I think tell a falsehood, if put on oath.

*Question*—Where is Koondo Punth?

*Answer*—He left this in company with the Nana.

*Question*—Do you know anything further regarding the Nana's doings?

*Answer*—Whatever news of the consultations and proceedings of the Nana reached Rao was communicated to me by the Bae's brother, Bulwunt Rao, and her elder brother; and I conveyed this intelligence to Lalla Nanuck Chund's agent through Teeka Jee Punth, who is now at Bithoor.

*Question*—How long did the 45 Europeans remain at Bithoor?

*Answer*—They only remained at Bithoor for one night, in the Burra Sabib's house.

*Question*—Did Koosaba Khiranee-gir tell you the number of ladies and children?

*Answer*—He did mention it to me, but I do not recollect now; he will be able to give a correct account.

*Question*—What other news did you convey to Lalla Nanuck Chund, and what was your motive for doing so?

*Answer*—I with several others were in the service of the Peishwa's widows, and engaged in fighting out their case against the Nana. I was therefore convinced that, as the Nana's rule was predominant, there was no chance of any of us being spared. I was also confident that in a short time the British rule would be re-established, and, if the Nana were taken alive, such a record would be very useful. Lalla Nanuck Chund is the Baes' agent; I therefore sent him all the news I could collect.



*Question*—Was there a woman named Begum in the Nana's service?

*Answer*—Yes; there was a slave girl of the Peishwa's time, named Hosseinee, who was called Begum.

*No. 40.—Deposition of Nana Ubbhunkoor, son of Kesho Rao Bhunkoor, Brahmin, 30 years.*

*Question*—Where were you at the time of the outbreak at Cawnpore?

*Answer*—I was at Bithoor.

*Question*—State all you saw at Bithoor during the outbreak.

*Answer*—A day or two after the troops mutinied at Cawnpore, and agreed to be on the side of the Nana, he caused a flag to be set up at the thanah of Bithoor, and it was reported that the Nana's rule had commenced; in honour of which a salute was fired. Jumma Jee Rao deserted through fear of the Nana, by whom Bulwunt Rao and others, relatives and servants of the Bae, were put in confinement. I remained at home through fear, and very seldom ventured out. About eight days after this, a boat, containing some gentlemen from Furruckabad, was brought in. There were two batteries erected; one at Bundee Mata Ghat, and the other at Shookul-deo Ghat. When the boat arrived opposite the latter ghat, shots were fired at it by the Nana's people, and, from the other side of the river, the people of Jussa Singh, zemindar of Futtehpoor Chourassee, were firing. I saw all this from a distance. The Europeans in the boat also fired; after this, a gentleman put out a flag from the boat, on which firing on both sides ceased, and the people of Jussa Singh came in a boat from the other side of the river, and took away the boat containing the gentlemen to the thanah; and then, taking it to Shookul-deo Ghât, caused the gentlemen, ladies and children to leave it, and, putting them on two hackeries covered with sirkee, took them to the Rao at the palace. It was about 9 P.M. when they reached the palace; it was raining at the time; and the Rao, seeing

the Europeans, ordered them to be taken to the *burra sahib's* house, which was done. In the morning food was sent to them, the gentlemen and ladies were about 45 in number, and one of them was called Colonel. On the same day, on receipt of an order from the Nana, the Rao sent them all to Cawnpore.

*Question*—Did you see the gentlemen sent from Bithoor to Cawnpore? How many were there?

*Answer*—The Europeans were brought to the palace about 9 P.M. and were sent from it to the *burra sahib's* house, and on the next day about 3 P.M. they were all sent away on carts to Cawnpore, and were accompanied by sowars and sepoys. Through fear I did not approach them so close as to be able to count how many ladies and children were with them.

*Question*—Which of the Nana's officers accompanied the Europeans from Bithoor to Cawnpore?

*Answer*—Kosaba Ghiranee Gir, Mahratta Bapoo Kan Kutta, and several others, whose names I did not remember.

*Question*—Were any other Europeans brought into Bithoor?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—What became of the lady who was pregnant, and was kept in the *burra sahib's* house at Bithoor?

*Answer*—When the Nana retreated from Cawnpore, and passed through Bithoor, he ordered the sepoys and sowars to put her to death, which was done. I only heard of this occurrence and did not witness it.

*Question*—When did Nana reach Bithoor, and when did he leave it?

*Answer*—I believe he came on Thursday, the 16th July, and left Bithoor on Friday night, the 17th July.

*Question*—Was there a woman called Begum in the Nana's employ?

*Answer*—There was a slave girl named Hosseinee Khanum, of the Maharajah's time, who was called Begum.

*Question*—Were there any other slave-girls besides the one above named?

*Answer*—There were two or three others, but I do not remember their names.



*Question*—Give a description of the woman called Begum ?

*Answer*—She was tall, fair-complexioned, and about 25 or 30 years of age.

*Question*—When the Nana was at Cawnpore, where was this Begum ?

*Answer*—She generally was in attendance on Oula, a prostitute, and was with her at Cawnpore.

*Question*—Where did the woman named Oula reside ?

*Answer*—She lived with the Nana.

*Question*—Did you ever see her ?

*Answer*—Yes, I frequently saw her.

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*No. 41.—Deposition of Hingun, Ayah.*

I was in the employ of Mr. J. Palmer, Deputy Collector of Furruckabad. Some time in June last, I think it was in the beginning of the month, my master, with his wife and eight children, left Futteyghur. A party of nearly 190 Europeans, including women and children, embarked at 10 P.M., in five boats, intending to proceed by water to Cawnpore. Whilst passing Dhurmpore at noon, the Zemindar Hurdeo Bux tried to persuade us to remain with him, it being unsafe to go on. The Judge and Collector of Furruckabad, with two or three military officers, all in one boat, remained at Dhurmpore. We had not proceeded more than two coss when we were fired at by a large body of insurgents. I believe there were about 5,000. One boat was plundered, the Europeans fled, and I know not what became of them. Rupees 2,000 was raised and paid for permission to depart, when the three remaining boats proceeded on to Koosunkhore, about two coss. Here the insurgents again attacked us, their fire was returned from the boats, and I heard Mr. Palmer say that they had killed three men, but on our side only Mr. Toes was wounded. He was wounded on the thigh, and reached Cawnpore alive. On the second day we arrived opposite Bithoor, were fired at, and the boatmen were hailed from the bank, and ordered to bring the boats to ; they said this could not be done as the boats contained 700 Europeans. It was however found impossible to proceed as the rebels had posted guns on the banks between Nawabgunge and Cawnpore. The Lucknow bank was swarming with insurgents and the boats were, therefore, brought to on the Cawnpore side. A messenger was first despatched to gain information of the Europeans at Cawnpore, but could not get into the entrenchments. We heard the

firing of cannons. A communication was then opened with the Nana. What answer was returned I do not know, but no further letters were sent. On the third day, early in the morning (it was between five or six o'clock, whilst the gentlemen were drinking tea) firing suddenly commenced from the Cawnpore bank. A cannon-ball struck the boat. I was with my master in one of Mr. Brierly's boats, like a budgerow. The Europeans jumped into the water nearly up to their waists. All the arms they had (a large number) were thrown into the river. On the second shot being fired, we crept into some high grass near the boats. This was set on fire and two ladies were burnt. We then again rushed into the river; about 100 sowars of the 2nd Cavalry rode into the water and took us prisoners. Our hands were tied behind our backs, and then attached to a long rope. We were taken to the Subadar's Tank at Cawnpore. It took us a long time to get there, for the ladies and children were without shoes and stockings, and their feet were bleeding. It was evening when we reached the Subadar's Tank. The hard-hearted sowars would only allow a handful of water to each European and refused to give them more. At this place 16 hackeries were procured, for the Europeans said they could go no further, and in these all 190 were taken to a plain beyond the canal. All the servants had fled but an ayah, a dhai, four mehtraneees, and a sweeper, with myself, who followed the party. Early in the morning we reached the rebel camp at Jewhee Medaun. It was about 700 paces from the entrenchment, and firing was going on between the British and the rebels. The European gentlemen were made to sit in one row, their hands were all tied, and the ladies and children were placed in front of them. A resaldar and subadar, mounted on horseback, came and ordered the whole of the Europeans to be killed. The sowars of the 2nd Cavalry with some 300 sepoyes commenced firing on them, and some poor children, who were not killed by the musketry, were cut in half, dividing them at the legs into two parts.

*Question*—Did you see this?

*Answer*—Yes, I saw all this with my own eyes, for I was sitting about 30 paces on one side. The Nana was not present. May God take vengeance on him and these cruel men! Two pits were dug and all the bodies thrown in. I was kept in confinement three days, when a sepoy released me and told me to fly. I do not know his name.



The 2nd Cavalry and a native regiment were encamped at this place, and they had a number of guns firing at the entrenchments; the British I heard had only two guns.

*Question*—Were the prisoners ill-treated?

*Answer*—No, they were not ill-treated beyond what I have stated.

*Question*—Were the ladies dishonoured?

*Answer*—No, they were not.

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*No. 42.—Deposition of Nanuck Chund, Mahajun, of Cawnpore.*

*Question*—In the narrative of events furnished by you, under date 7th June, you state that Ahmed Ali, Vakeel, went about armed in company with Baba Bhut: who are the witnesses to this?

*Answer*—He was seen by many. But the people of this city do not give a correct account of the disturbances, though I think, if questioned, some would state the truth. Munshi Kalka Pershad, in the employ of the late Mr. Greenway, and Futteh Sing could give evidence regarding Ahmed Ali. It is a well-known fact that, when the Nana gave orders for the imprisonment of the Nunne Nawab, on the supposition that his great intimacy with the Mahomedan sowars arose from a plot against the Nana, the Nawab was released on the security of Ahmed Ali, Vakeel. The Nunne Nawab told me that Ahmed Ali was the means of saving him from imprisonment.

*Question*—Who are the witnesses to the murder of the Superintendent of Roads, and the gentlemen of the Canal Department, by Komeer Sing, as stated under date of June 8th?

*Answer*—Many of the villagers were witnesses of these murders. Komeer Sing concealed himself till the amnesty, when he returned, and, having great influence in his village, it will be difficult to gain evidence against him.

*Question*—Under date 11th and 13th of June, you state that you saw many European corpses floating down and on the banks of the river: how many were there? Could

you recognize any ? Do you know from whence they came ?

*Answer*—On the 11th June, whilst on my way to Jagmow, I saw 18 or 20 bodies, most of them ladies and children, between the Suttse Chowra Ghat and Dulha Nullah. On the 13th, I saw a number of corpses of ladies and gentlemen, also the bodies of a number of natives. I cannot tell the exact number, but they extended here and there about a mile. I did not recognize any near the ghat. I saw the bodies of three young ladies. They all had their clothes on, but the low-caste people had commenced to take the clothes from the bodies ; and the animals had torn some of the corpses. I heard from the people of Gunsham Sing, zemindar (who was afterwards hanged), that the bodies were those of the party who had come from Futtehghur.

*Question*—Under date 15th June, you state that 40 ladies and gentlemen from Furruckabad had been seized by Gunsham Sing, of Futtehpore Chowrassie,—can you state the exact number, and who they were ?

*Answer*—I since heard from Appa Shastree and Appa Lutchmun that the numbers were 46. Koosaba Khiranee, a Mahratta Brahmin now at Bithoor, accompanied the ladies and gentlemen to Cawnpore, when sent for by the Nana. He must have all the names, as he kept an account of the expenditure. He could give a good deal of correct information, but being, under the influence of Narnain Rao, son of Subadar Ramchunder, he will not permit him to disclose anything. Kooshabha Khiranee did not willingly join the Nana, but, being a good accountant, was forced to take the accounts ; he would tell the truth, as he is not addicted to falsehood.

*Question*—Who gave you the information regarding the meeting at the Nana's in which it was decided that the Europeans should be massacred on leaving the entrenchment, as stated in your narrative under date 20th June ?



*Answer*—I received the information from Jugger Nath Ditchit, of Bithoor, who heard it from Gunga Dhur, Tantea, an officer in the Nana's army. Jugger Nath Ditchit was shot by the Europeans by mistake, but I have the letter he sent me containing the intelligence.

*Question*—Under the head of 26th June you state that Brigadier Jwala Pershad, Tantis Topee, Azeemoollah, Sha Ali, Ahmed Ali, and Bala were ordered to arrange with Chowban zemindars, and to be prepared to attend at the Suttea Chowra Ghat. Who was your informant?

*Answer*—Munshi Kalka Pershad and Futteh Sing.

*Question*—What has become of the boatman Kulloo, who aided in killing the Europeans on the 27th June? What are the names of the other boatmen?

*Answer*—Kulloo is said to be dead, and I do not know the name of the others. Goordial, ghat manjie, and Baba Luchmun Dass could perhaps give information.

*Question*—Who are the witnesses of the seizure of the gentleman, on the 28th June, by Huttee Sing and Chundee Sing, and of his being sent as a prisoner to the Nana?

*Answer*—The witnesses are Theen Sing and Madhoo Komar, of Budouka.

*Question*—Who did you hear from that Ihmud Yar and Rajab Ali were present at the massacre of the 15th July?

*Answer*—From Gunga Deen Saith.

*Question*—From whom did you learn the particulars of the massacre of the 15th July?

*Answer*—From Futteh Sing and his men.

*Question*—Who arranged the attack at Suttea Chowra Ghat?

*Answer*—A resaldar in the Nana's employ named Teekum, who had been a sowar in the 8th Irregular Cavalry. He is a resident of Mousinpore near Cawnpore.

*Question*—What Mahrattas took the lead in the Nana's force?

*Answer*—Raghopunt Apta commanded his artillery, and was at the battle of Futtehpoore; Pandoojee Sabre, Bittulpunt, and the brother of Ram Bhow, Mahratta, were cognizant of the Nana's doings; these are now at Bithoor. Ahmed Oollah, Tehseeldar of Bithoor, was one of the Nana's councillors. I heard from Hur

Pershad that Ahmed Oollah, with four or five others, brought an European to the kotwalie, and afterwards took him to the Nana. At the commencement of the outbreak, Raheem Khan, a sowar in the Nana's employ, and Muddud Ali, a horse-dealer, were employed to tamper with the troops; and held consultations about the mutiny. Muddud Ali was at Cawnpore the other day. He told me he had been plundered by Sha Ali, the former kotwal, and had therefore left the Nana's force in disgust. He could give valuable information, but he has again left Cawnpore. I will search for him.

*No. 43.—Deposition of Futteh Sing, son of Roop Sing, Rajpoot, age 28 years, resident of Mouza Biagowan, Tehseel Jajmow, Cawnpore.*

*Question*—When the mutiny occurred at Cawnpore, where were you?

*Answer*—I was at Cawnpore, and was employed to guard Lalla Nanuck Chund's house in the city. On the 5th June, about 10 o'clock in the morning, the troops mutinied. Hearing the uproar, Lalla Nanuck Chund desired me to ascertain the cause. I therefore proceeded towards Faithful Gunge and saw that the sepoys and sowars were moving about, and several places were on fire. Seeing this I returned to the Lalla's house. On the next day the troops plundered the treasury, and took possession of the magazine, after which they moved off to Kulleeanpore. When the mutineers were proceeding to plunder the treasury, I saw the troopers shoot Mr. Murphy, Road Overseer, on the road to the south of the city. When the troops went to Kulleeanpore, after setting fire to the public offices, a few troopers remained who set fire to the bungalows, and commenced their riotous conduct. On the 6th June the mutineers returned from Kulleeanpore, and the siege of the entrenchments commenced. On the same day some Christians, who had taken refuge in the shops of the city, were shot by the troopers, who set on fire the shops they



had taken shelter in. Two or three Christians were also massacred opposite the abkaree godowns. A lady and gentleman, with a child, who had hid themselves in a bungalow near the staging bungalow, were found and taken by the sowars and sepoy to the Nana, by whose orders they were shot on the plain opposite the staging bungalow. On the 7th June I went towards Gwaltola on the road to the Customs Ghat, and saw Mr. Mackintosh (a merchant) with his wife and child, dressed in Hindustanee clothes, hiding under a bridge; they were also massacred towards evening. Another gentleman was murdered on the parade-ground, near the Subadar's Tank. On the 8th June, another gentleman of the road department was sent wounded to the Nana from the Nawabgunge thanah, together with his wife and child, who were all shot by the sepoy. On the 9th June, about 10 A.M., the guns placed at the magazine were fired. It became known that some Christians had taken refuge in Gunga Roee Kuttra. I went towards the magazine and saw that Jowahir Sing, zemindar of Nawab Gunge (who has since been hanged), going towards the Kuttra, accompanied by a number of sepoy, and the guns ceased firing. On the next day, i. e., on the 10th June, Jowahir Sing and his companions brought to the Nana the gentlemen and ladies, together with their children, who had taken refuge in the Kuttra, all of whom, about 135 in number, were kept in confinement at the Savada house. On the same day the Nana's cutcherries were opened, and I heard that an order had been issued for the apprehension of Lalla Nanuck Chund. I gave him notice of this and he went across the river, telling me to remain at Cawnpoor, and appoint persons to collect news regarding Europeans. I kept five persons for the express purpose of obtaining information, and formed an intimacy with Utbul Sing, pay-havildar of the cavalry, for the purpose of getting news. He was always in attendance on

the Nana, and from him I obtained news of the doings of the Nana's cutcherries, and gave information to Lalla Nanuck Chund's gomashita. On the same day three heads of some gentlemen, and a gentleman, were sent in from Bithoor by the Rao, who was the Nana's nephew. The gentleman was massacred and the heads thrown away. On the 11th June, about 2 P.M., the Nana sent for the people, who were brought prisoners from the Kuttra, to his tent, which was pitched on the plain to the south of the Savada house. I was at the time with Utbul Sing, Havildar. Bala, Azeemoollah, Ahmed Ali Khan, Vakeel, and some zemindars were within the tent. Many zemindars, &c., were collected outside. When the gentlemen were brought to the tent, the Nana commanded them to be kept prisoners, but Bala ordered them to be shot; a dispute arose between him and the Nana; but afterwards I heard Bala gave an order for them to be massacred, and that the sowars took away the gentlemen to the plain on the west of the Savada house, when I told Baboo Sing, who was standing close to me, to go and see how the Europeans were murdered. He went, and, on his return, stated that the sepoy of the 1st and 56th Regiment and the troopers of the 2nd Cavalry shot the gentlemen, and that afterwards some of the budmashes killed some with their swords who were only wounded. Baboo Sing saw all this, and, when the gentlemen were sent for by the Nana, the ladies were taken away to the Savada house. The gentlemen were about 117 in number. When Bala gave order for their massacre the Europeans asked him not to kill them, but keep them in confinement, and said that there would be no good derived from murdering them, and that England would never be emptied of Europeans. From that day to the 14th I did not hear of any gentleman having been killed, but the fight at the entrenchments continued. On the 15th, about 4 P.M., some gentlemen were sent in from Bithoor with a message to



Jwalla Pershad, Brigadier, stating that Jussa, zemindar of Futtehpoor Chowrassee, had sent them. He gave an order for them to be taken to the Savada house. Their number, inclusive of ladies and children, was about 45. On the 16th the Madaree Regiment and Fidda Hossein's Regiment, and some artillery, came from Lucknow, and said that they would take the entrenchment in two days. On the 18th, after 12 o'clock, the gentlemen of the party of 45 above mentioned were sent for to the Nana's tent. The ladies and children were kept in the Savada house. Only the males (eighteen in number) came, and they were shot. Besides these there were three others who held a conversation with the Nana; (Jwallah Pershad, Brigadier, Azeemoollah, and Shah Ali, were with the Nana.) The three gentlemen promised the latter they would have the Fort of Allahabad given up to them; so they were sent back to the Savada house, and the other eighteen shot by the orders of the Nana. There were many *jullads* there also, who took out in my presence gold mohurs from inside the shoes of these gentlemen. All the *jullads* were residents of this place, and, if I saw them, I think I could recognise them. The persons whom I employed could do so likewise. After this, and until the 22nd, no gentlemen were massacred. On the 23rd the fight at the entrenchments ceased, and Jwalla Pershad, Azeemoollah, and Sha Ali had an interview with an old lady, (a relative of Mr. Jacobi, the watchmaker,) at the Savada house; who was then taken by them to the Nana's tent, where a consultation was held, and she engaged to have the entrenchments vacated. Utbul Singh told me that in a day or two the entrenchments would be vacated. The next day the same old woman left the Savada house in a doolie about 9 A.M., and went to the entrenchments; she returned about 1 P.M., went to the Nana's tent, and had a talk with Azeemoollah; after which a rumour spread that the Europeans were going to evacuate the

entrenchments, and that the Nana had agreed to see them safe to Allahabad. The next day, the same old lady, Azeemoollah, and Jwalla Pershad went to the entrenchments; and we heard that they had confirmed all arrangements for the evacuation of the entrenchments. In the evening of that day, the Nana gave orders to Hoolass Sing, the Kotwal, to procure boats. On the 26th I heard that an agreement had been made between the Europeans and the Nana, on oath, that all the treasure and magazine were to be made over to the Nana. About sunset, of the same day, Nana, Bala, Jwalla Pershad, Shah Ali, Kotwal, and several others assembled in a tent. After the consultation, an order was given that some sepoy and sowars, with zemindars, were to be present at the ghat, and that the artillery should also be there. When I heard this, I enquired of Utbul Sing the reason of these troops being required at the ghat. He told me that the Nana and his comrades did not intend to be faithful to their oath, and intended massacring the Europeans. He also told me that the troopers did not agree to the murder of the Europeans by treachery. I returned during the night to Utbul Sing's tent, and told my servants, Shunker Sing and Bikhee Sing, to proceed to the ghat in the morning with the troops, and report all their proceedings. On the next morning, the 27th, about 3 A.M., 500 sepoy and troopers went to the ghat, and took two guns and placed them at the Sutte Choura Ghat opposite the boats. About daybreak Shunker Sing returned and informed me of the position in which the guns had been placed, which Shunker Sing and Bikhee Sing can point out; the sowars and sepoy were in ambush close by the guns. About 8 in the morning the Europeans commenced quitting the entrenchments, when I and Utbul Sing, together with Golab Singh and Jowahir Sing, my servant, went to the entrenchments. Shunker Sing and Bikhee Sing were at the ghat. I observed that the Europeans were



leaving the entrenchments, mounted on elephants, palanquins, doolies, hackeries, &c., and that their property was being removed; there were also thousands of spectators there. When all the Europeans had got clear of the entrenchments, Utbul Sing returned to the Nana's tent. I accompanied him and saw that the Nana was walking up and down outside the tent. Bala, Jwalla Pershad and Azeemoollah mounted and went to the ghat, and Ahmed Ali Khan, with two or three Mahrattas, remained with the Nana. A short time had elapsed, when reports of guns and musketry were heard, and a trooper came galloping down. I recognised him well; his name was Makun Sing; he was said to be a resident of Mouzah Khandeepoor, Pergunnah Jajmow, in the Cawnpoor district, and a Brahmin by caste; he was one of the Nana's personal attendants. He told the Nana that the enemy were being destroyed. About two hours after this, Bala and Azeemoollah returned to the Nana and stated that they had put an end to the enemy (meaning the Europeans) and taken possession of all their property, and that only one boat had escaped, to take which Sadho Sing, Jemadar, together with some sowars had been despatched and that the females and children, who had escaped the massacre, were being brought in. After this, my servant Bikhee Sing returned, and gave me a full account of the proceedings. He stated that a few gentlemen had got on the boats, when Bala and Azeemoollah told the 2nd Cavalry troopers it was the Nana's orders to kill all the Europeans; on hearing which, volleys of musketry were fired, and guns also from the banks of the river. Jwalla Pershad, Brigadier, was near the boats, and ordered the boatmen to set fire to them. The Europeans also fired, but they were all massacred. A number of ladies and children met with the same fate, though some of them managed to reach the other side of the river, and Jwalla Pershad and Azeemoollah ordered that they should not be killed. He also

related to me other facts, which I do not remember, but Bhikes Sing and Shunker Sing, who were eye-witnesses to all that was perpetrated at the ghat from the commencement to the end, are alive. A short while after, ten or twelve sepoy brought in seventeen or eighteen ladies, and some children, and presented them to the Nana, who ordered them to be confined in the Savada house; many of these ladies were wounded, two of them I observed well as being wounded in the leg and under the arm. All the ladies' clothing was wet and soiled, and some of them were barefoot; and in this manner two or three batches of ladies and children were brought in and kept in the Savada house. There were altogether about 100 or 125 of them. On the same day after 12 P.M., a sowar came and informed the Nana that Ali Shah, a sowar, had brought away a lady, whom he had concealed in his hackery; this sowar was immediately summoned, and the Nana persuaded him to give up the lady, from whose statement, it appeared, that, when the Europeans quitted the entrenchments and proceeded to the ghat, this sowar had carried her way. The Nana sent this lady to the Savada house where all the others were. I also heard that some sowars had carried off General Wheeler's daughter, but could gain no satisfactory account of what became of her. About 4 P.M., on the same day, the sowars of the Sultanpoor force, who were encamped on the other side of the river, brought in seventeen gentlemen, who it appeared had managed to escape from the boats when the firing commenced and had reached Kuttra Gunge; the Nana on seeing them ordered them to be put to death. The sepoy and troopers shot them on the plain opposite the Savada house. Six or seven *jullads* were also present, who, after the gentlemen were shot, fell on them with their swords, and stripped them of their clothes. The next day, the 28th, about 10 o'clock, Sadboo Sing, Jemadar, together with the thanadar and several other persons,



brought in ten or twelve gentlemen, with some ladies and two children, and presented them to the Nana, who ordered the former to be separated from the ladies and children and shot, and the latter to be sent to the Savada house opposite which the gentlemen were killed. One of the ladies who had a baby about a year old would not part from her husband: they therefore both met the same fate as the gentleman. Two or three days after this, about 10 A.M., some 40 or 50 zemindars, &c., brought in a gentleman bound, from the other side of the river, intimation of which was conveyed to the Nana, when Baba Bhut came out of his tent, and gave an order that he should be killed. But the zemindars who brought him refused laying hands on the gentleman, urging as a reason that he was bound and helpless, after which a sowar wounded him on the arm with a sword, and five or six *jullads* falling on him despatched him with their tulwars. I do not remember the names of these men, but would recognise them if I saw them. After this, in the evening, the Nana and Bala both went off to Bithoor. Baba Bhat, Jwalla Pershad, Brigadier, Azeemoolah, and Shah Ali, together with a number of other persons, continued superintending all operations. For several days the Nana did not come from Bithoor, but Bala returned. When it was rumoured that European troops were coming up from Allahabad, Bala wrote to the Nana pressing him to come quickly to Cawnpoor, as the enemy's troops were coming on but, when he did not respond to this invitation, Subadar Teeka Sing, who was made a general in the Nana's army, went to Bithoor, and brought the Nana. Preparations were then made for proceeding to Futtehpoor, and arrangements commenced for procuring supplies. On the 9th or 10th July, the rebel troops, accompanied by the artillery, marched for Futtehpoor but after proceeding twelve or thirteen miles returned. On the next day, Jwalla Pershad, Brigadier,

accompanied by infantry, cavalry and artillery, proceeded to Futtehpoor, and news arrived of his having been defeated, and of the European troops having arrived at Sukeepoorah, which caused great confusion amongst the rebels. Bala went out with some more troops, but on the next day, i.e. 15th July, he returned to Cawnpoor, being slightly wounded. On the same day in the afternoon, Bala, Baba Bhut Jwalla Pershad, Brigadier, Ahmed Ali Khan, Vakeel, and several other attendants of the Nana assembled at the hotel, which was the Nana's residence, and had a long consultation. Utbul Sing told me that they were all much alarmed and were purposing to murder all the ladies and gentlemen who were in confinement; otherwise, if they were left alive, they would reveal everything, and thus everyone concerned in the rebellion at Cawnpoor would be known. While all this was going on, a man came and informed me that sowars were plundering my house, and creating a disturbance in the village. I mentioned this to Utbul Sing who desired me to go and see who the sowars were, and I started to proceed to my village but left there my three companions, Bikhee Sing, Baboo Sing and Shunker Sing. On the same day, in the evening, three or four gentlemen who were in confinement were massacred near the assembly rooms, and after this all the ladies and children met with the same fate. On the next day, about nine in the morning, the persons whom I had left at Cawnpoor came to me, and stated that the gentlemen were first massacred, and that an order was then given for the massacre of the ladies, but the sepoys objected to fire at them, and then Surwur Khan, a Vilaitee, who was an old servant of the Nana's, and two or three others went in and killed all the ladies and children with swords. After which their bodies were thrown into a well and one or two ladies and children, who were still alive, were also thrown in. On the



same day the European troops arrived at Cawnpoor, and the Nana and his troops left the station. After this Lalla Nanuck Chund wrote to me desiring me to appear, whenever called upon.

*Question*—When the Europeans left the entrenchment you were there, did you see any sick and wounded left at the entrenchments? If so, what was their number, and what became of them?

*Answer*—No Europeans were left within the entrenchments. With the exception of five or six soldiers who had expired, and two or three broken guns, nothing was left there.

*Question*—Did you hear where General Wheeler was killed?

*Answer*—I heard that the General was amongst the gentlemen brought in by Sadho Sing, zemindar, but I was not acquainted with the General, and therefore could not recognise him. Baboo Sing, however, who I think knew the General by sight, might be able to give some account of him.

*Question*—Do you know the number of the ladies who were confined in the Beebeeghur?

*Answer*—As long as the ladies were at the Savada house I saw them, but when they were removed to the Beebeeghur I did not see them, and, at the time they were massacred, my people saw them. I do not know their number.

*Question*—It is stated that a woman named Begum used to carry food to the ladies, and that she visited the Nana's tent also: did you ever see her?

*Answer*—I do not know what woman used to carry food to the ladies, but a woman named Begum used to visit Adila, a prostitute in the service of the Nana. This woman I had seen frequently visiting the Nana's tent.

*Question*—Give a description of the woman named Begum?

*Answer*—She was of a fair complexion, tall, and aged about 25 or 30 years.

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*Re-examination of Futtch Singh.*

*Question*—In your deposition of the 24th February you have stated that on the 18th June 1857, out of the 45 or 46

Europeans who had been sent in from Bithoor, eighteen were put to death by orders of the Nana, and that three of them were sent back to the Savada house, as they promised to have the Fort of Allahabad evacuated; but, from depositions which have been taken, it does not appear that these gentlemen reached Cawnpoor on the 18th June: you are therefore requested to state clearly and correctly when these gentlemen came to Cawnpoor.

*Answer*—I remember well that on the 18th June when some Europeans were put to death, two or three gentlemen were not killed, but were sent away in my presence to the Savada house. I also afterwards saw these gentlemen there, on several occasions, together with an indigo planter, but I did not know any of them; neither do I know their names. The fact of these gentlemen having made a promise to have the Fort of Allahabad evacuated came to my knowledge in the following manner. When news came of the European troops having arrived close to Futtehpoor on the 11th or 12th July, I heard a consultation in the Nana's tent, in which it was proposed to ask those gentlemen what they had to say regarding the evacuation of the Fort of Allahabad, as, instead of this being effected, troops were coming to Cawnpoor from that direction. After this, Azeemollah went to them, and from him I ascertained that out of the gentlemen who were confined at the Savada house, the indigo planter had promised to send for some money, and that the other three gentlemen, who had come from Furruckabad and held high positions, were the persons who had promised to have the Fort of Allahabad evacuated. From this I suppose that those very gentlemen, who were not put to death on the 18th June, were the persons who promised to have the Fort of Allahabad evacuated.

*Question*—Did you see any Europeans come from Furruckabad in July 1857?

*Answer*—I remember well that no Europeans came.



*Question*—In one of the depositions, it is stated that five or six days previous to the massacre of the ladies and children, one day towards the evening, three gentlemen and several ladies and children were brought in to Cawnpoor, and that the sepoy said they had come from Furruckabad, and that out of the three gentlemen one was a judge, and the other two were colonels, and that these were the gentlemen who promised to have the Fort of Allahabad evacuated: you are therefore requested to state whether you saw these gentlemen or not.

*Answer*—I did not see these gentlemen, neither did I hear anything concerning them, nor were any gentlemen again ever massacred before me. But I well remember that in the month of June some of the gentlemen who came from Furruckabad were kept in confinement, amongst whom was also the indigo planter, but I cannot say which of them promised to have the Fort of Allahabad evacuated.

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*No. 44.—Deposition of Golab Sing, son of Shere Sing, Thakoor, Rajpoot, age 20 years, resident of Mouzah Jounraze, Tehseel Jaymow, Zillah Cawnpoor.*

*Question*—Where were you when the troops mutinied at Cawnpoor?

*Answer*—I was at Mouzah Khursal. Four or five days after the outbreak, I came to Cawnpoor, having been sent for by Futteh Sing.

*Question*—Where did you reside whilst at Cawnpoor?

*Answer*—With Futteh Sing.

*Question*—Where did Futteh Sing live?

*Answer*—Near Utbal Sing's tent, who was a havildar in the Nana's service, and occupied a tent close to the Nana.

*Question*—State what you observed during the outbreak.

*Answer*—A long time has now expired since the outbreak occurred. I will answer all questions that may be put to me.

*Question*—Did you ever witness the massacre of any Europeans?

*Answer*—I remember having witnessed the massacre of Europeans on three occasions. Two days after I had come to Cawnpoor, about 117 *Sahib log* were drawn up in a line opposite the Savada Kotee, close to the Nana's tent. Bala, Azeemoollah, and several other persons were present. I heard the former give orders to massacre the Europeans, which was accordingly done by the sepoy's of the 1st Native Infantry and the sowars, 2nd Cavalry, firing at them; and afterwards by *jullads* and other budmashes, who used their swords. Their bodies were then carried on carts and thrown into the river.

*Question*—Where had these Europeans come from?

*Answer*—They had come from Furruckabad.

*Question*—Do you know the names of any of the *jullads* that were present?

*Answer*—I do not know their names, but, if I saw them, I think I would recognize them.

*Question*—Who were the other persons present, when Bala gave orders to massacre the Europeans?

*Answer*—There were a number of other persons whose names I do not remember. Eight or nine days after, 45 gentlemen, ladies and children, were brought in from Bithoor, of whom the latter were confined in the Savada house, and the former, seventeen or eighteen in number, were put to death on the plain opposite Savada. I do not remember the date, the sepoy's and sowars shot them down, and the *jullads* also cut them down with swords; many of whom found gold mohurs deposited in these gentlemen's shoes. On the same day, two or three Europeans were put in confinement.

*Question*—Who gave the orders for their death, and who were the sirdars present?

*Answer*—The Nana gave orders personally to put them to death, and Shah Ali, Kotwal, told the sepoy's to take them away, and put an end to them. Azeemoollah, Jowala Pershad (Brigadier), and several others were present on the occasion.



*Question*—State when you witnessed the third massacre of the Europeans.

*Answer*—At the Suttee Choura ghat. The day the Europeans vacated the entrenchments, I and Futteh Sing, together with Jowahir Sing and Utbul Sing, Havildar, went to the entrenchments, and saw that it had been entirely vacated, but two or three bodies of some soldiers were lying there, and two guns which had burst, together with a lot of other property which the villagers were carrying away. Futteh Sing and Utbul Singh returned, and I, separating from them, proceeded to the ghat, and met thousands of persons going there. On my arrival at the ghat, I found the people making a great noise; sepoy and sowars were running about the place; and shots were being fired. Many of the Europeans were standing in the river behind the boats, and the sowars rushed into the water, cutting them up. A gun was being fired from the other side of the river, and by 10 o'clock all the Europeans were massacred, and the ladies and children, about 125 in number, some of whom were wounded, were taken away by the sepoy and sowars to the Savada house.

*Question*—Did you again witness the massacre of any Europeans?

*Answer*—On the evening of the same day, some Europeans were brought in, and I think, once or twice, some more were massacred but I did not personally witness the occurrence.

*Question*—What was the number of the boats provided for the Europeans?

*Answer*—I did not count them, but I think there were about twenty-one boats.

*Question*—Did you recognize the boatmen who were on the boats?

*Answer*—When I had reached the ghat, there were no boatmen on the boats, and two of them were on fire.

*Question*—Who were the Nana's officers present at the massacre?

*Answer*—Azemmoollah, Bala, Brigadier Jwala Pershad, General Teeka Sing, and several others and also a ressalidar named Nukee, appeared to be the managers of all operations.

*Question*—Where were you when the ladies and children were massacred at the Beebeeghur?

*Answer*—I was not at Cawnpoor, but had accompanied Futteh Sing to his home.

*No. 45.—Deposition of Bukkes Singh, son of Punchum Singh, Thakoor, age 25 years, resident of Mouzah Tumrae Tehseel Jajmow.*

*Question*—When the mutiny broke out at Cawnpoor, where were you?

*Answer*—I was at Mouzah Tumrae. In the month of June 1857 the outbreak occurred at Cawnpoor; I do not remember the date. Four or five days after this, Futteh Singh, Lumburdar of Sherampore, who was at Cawnpoor, sent for me. Futteh Singh had put up opposite the tent of Utbul Singh, havildar of the 2nd Cavalry, and whatever work he assigned to me I performed.

*Question*—Where was Utbul Singh's tent?

*Answer*—Close to the Nana's tent, which was pitched near the Savada house.

*Question*—State what you know of the disturbances at Cawnpore.

*Answer*—As I do not read or write, I kept no account of what I saw, and it is impossible to remember all now, two years having elapsed, but I will answer any questions which may be put to me.

*Question*—State how many Europeans were massacred.

*Answer*—The first massacre that I witnessed was of about 125 Europeans formed up in a line on the plain opposite Savada, in the afternoon, and shot by the sepoys and sowars, and afterwards despatched by *jullads*. A great number of the bad characters and zemindars were present, and on the evening of the same day all the corpses were carried away on carts, and thrown into the river.

*Question*—Where did these Europeans come from?

*Answer*—It was rumoured that they had come from Furruckabad. The ladies and children, who had accompanied them were confined in the Savada Kotee.

*Question*—Do you know any of the *jullads* who were present at the massacre, and took a part in it?



*Answer*—I do not know their names, but would be able to recognise them if I saw them.

*Question*—At the time the Europeans were drawn up in a line, who were the sirdars that were present, and by whose orders were they massacred?

*Answer*—I think Bala, Mahratta, gave the orders; the Nana was also present in the tent, but Bala called out aloud, saying it was the Nana's orders that the Europeans should all be massacred. I do not remember the names of all that were present there, but amongst them was Azeernoollah, and Ahmed Ali Khan, Vukeel, When the Europeans were massacred, I left the place, but Baboo Singh, my companion, remained there a long while and saw everything that occurred.

*Question*—After this, were more Europeans from Furruckabad massacred?

*Answer*—I often heard of the massacre of Europeans, but I never witnessed any personally, except at the ghat.

*Question*—State what you saw at the ghat.

*Answer*—The night previous to the massacre at the ghat, Futteh Singh desired me and Shunkur Singh to go there in the morning and see what occurred. Accordingly I and Shunkur went very early next morning to the ghat in company with the sowars and sepoy's proceeding thither. When we reached the ghat, Shunkur Singh separated from me, but I remained there, looking on. Very early in the morning, about four or five hundred sepoy's and sowars, with two guns, started for the ghat, and placed themselves in a nullah called *Chore Ghate*, in Mouzah Korean, near Sutte Choura ghat, behind some timber heaped up there. In the morning, thousands of spectators were assembled at the ghat. The Europeans commenced arriving on palanquins, doolies and elephants, and on foot, and were engaged in placing the property on the boats. The entire number of the Europeans, inclusive of ladies and children, was about 400. Some of them had got into the boats, and others were in the act of doing so when two sowars of the 2nd Cavalry came galloping up, and told the crowd to move off, otherwise they would all be

killed; the people commenced moving off, when a bugle sounded, and two boats were set on fire; the cavalry fired; after which the big guns commenced, and the Europeans, jumping off the boats, sought protection behind them; and then the gun placed on the other side of the river was fired, and a number of the Europeans were killed. The sowars rushed into the river on horseback, and commenced using their swords. I also remember that two of the boats were pushed off, one of which grounded on the opposite bank of the river, and I do not know what became of the other boats. All the Europeans were massacred, and only about 125 ladies and children escaped, some of whom were wounded; all these were surrounded by sowars and brought to the Savada house. I then left the place, and related all the occurrences to Futtah Singh.

*Question*—What was the number of the boats collected at the ghat?

*Answer*—They appeared to be about 20. Some of them belonged to the lower provinces, and were of the kind called *Kona*, and some had come from the upper provinces.

*Question*—Did you recognise any of the boatmen?

*Answer*—I recognised two or three of them, but do not know them all.

*Question*—Give the names of those you recognised.

*Answer*—Two were well-known boatmen of Bithoor, named Ramdeen and Dabeedeen, and they were present; and Goordyal, boatman, resident of Sutte Choura Ghat, was also present near the boats.

*Question*—Did you see which of the boatmen set fire to the boats?

*Answer*—I did not take notice of this.

*Question*—Do you know which of the Nana's officers, and which of the influential men of Cawnpore, were present at the ghat at the time the bugle was sounded?

*Answer*—The following were some of them:—Jwalla Pershad (Brigadier,) Bala, and Azeemoollah, mounted on horseback and several others, whose names I do not remember. The commanders of the sowars appeared to be Teeka Singh, and a Mussulman ressalidar called Nukee,



*Question*—Did any sowar carry off a lady from the ghat?

*Answer*—I did not see any one taking away a lady, but heard that a sowar had carried away a lady. On the same day sixteen or seventeen Europeans were brought from Gunga Kuttra by the sowars and zemindars. They were taken before the Nana, who ordered them to be put to death. All were shot on the plain opposite the Savada Koti by the sepoys, and afterwards despatched with swords by *jullads*.

*Question*—After this, did you witness any other Europeans being massacred?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—State what you know regarding the massacre of the ladies at the Beebeegurh.

*Answer*—Futteh Singh had gone away to his house in the afternoon, but I and Shunkur Singh and Baboo Singh remained in the Nana's camp, and a short time after we heard it stated in Utbul Singh's tent that the ladies and children would be massacred on that day. Hearing this I went off to Futteh Singh, but Shunkur Singh and Baboo Singh remained there, and witnessed the massacre of the ladies. I did not witness it.

*Question*—What became of the corpses of those Europeans who were massacred in your presence at the ghat?

*Answer*—Those bodies that fell in the river were carried off by the stream, but those that were on the banks still remained there.

*Question*—Did you ever visit the place the ladies were confined at?

*Answer*—No, I never went there.

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*No. 46.—Deposition of Goordial, chowdree of boats, son of Mud-daree, boatman, resident of Gola Ghat, Cawnpoor, age 26 years.*

*Question*—Where were you during the outbreak?

*Answer*—I was at Cawnpoor.

*Question*—State what you know of the disturbances.

*Answer*—Two or three days before the outbreak, I had provided boats for Mr. Thomas Greenway and the Barrack

Master, to convey them to Allahabad. Bhola, a relative of mine, had also provided a boat for Mr. Saunders. When the outbreak occurred, the sepoy and sowars plundered Bhola's house and property, and made a search for me; hearing of which I went to a village called Ulwapoor, on the other side of the river, about nine miles from Cawnpoor; put up with Sookha, a boatman (who lived near Juggurnath), a Brahmin. When the fight at the entrenchments ceased, and a requisition for boats was made, Dabeedeen, a boatman in the Nana's employ (who also kept all accounts connected with boats), accompanied by two sepoy, came to Ulwapoor, and took me away. I reached the ghat at 2 P.M., and found Buddreenath *alias* Bhoodoo, a commissariat contractor, and Holass Sing, kotwal, having the boats put in order. A short time after this a captain sahib, whose name I do not remember (he was, I believe, Superintendent of Bazars), accompanied by another gentleman and two soldiers, mounted on an elephant, came to the ghat, and, seeing the boats, disapproved of them, and asked me why I had not the boats put into proper order. I told them that I had only just come; after which I had the requisite fittings of the boats completed. Badul, a Mussulman jemadar, an old servant of the Nana's, was superintending the coolies working on the boats; he had about four hundred men under him, and he had the boats completely fitted out during the night; they were 24 in number. The next morning I was at the ghat, and about eight o'clock the Europeans made their appearance, some on elephants, palanquins, doolies and hackeries, and a number of them on foot. The soldiers carried their own property and placed it on the boats. They came by the road opposite the European bazar and over the wooden bridge, and passed behind Hurdeo, boatmen's temple; they were about 400 in number, inclusive of ladies and children. Some of them were on the boats and others were round about them when firing commenced. The troops had come to the ghat



during the night previous, and others came in rear of the Europeans and commenced firing volleys from the wooden bridge. A gun was placed at Gola Ghat, to the east of a temple known as Soor Dass, built by a subadar, and another behind a village called Koreean, and a third in the compound of the bungalow formerly occupied by Mr. Henry, a merchant. To the west of the bridge, and behind this bungalow, in a nullah, called Chore-ghattee, a number of sepoys and sowars had concealed themselves. Two boatmen set fire to a boat: the name of one was Ramdeen of Bithoor, the other was also a resident of Bithoor, but I do not know his name. Ramdeen received a reward of 500 rupees from the Nana for this act. A number of the Nana's sirdars were present at the time, but Brigadier Jwalla Pershad, a Brahmin, who was close to the boats, gave an order to Dabeedeen, boatman, to set fire to the boats; and a bugle was sounded by orders of Bala, Mahratta, and Azeemoollah; on which volleys were fired, and the sowars rushed into the river and commenced firing their pistols. A gun placed on the the other side of the river then commenced firing. The Europeans managed to push off three of the boats, two of which grounded on the other bank of the river, and one of them, which contained General Wheeler, went down the stream; a shot from the gun placed on the other side of the river struck it, which turned it round, but it still went on and reached Sheorajpoor, about 24 miles from Cawnpoor. Sowars, sent in pursuit, kept firing at the boat from the banks of the river, and the Europeans returned the fire. The boat grounded on a sand-bank at Sheorajpoor, and an encounter with the sowars took place, in which General Wheeler was killed, and the rest of the Europeans were brought in prisoners the next day. This account regarding the capture of the boat was related to me by Tilluck Sing, a sowar. Some of the boats had come from the east, and others from the west; only five of them belonged to Cawnpoor.

There were four or five boatmen to each of the boats from the east, and two or three to each of those from the west, and there were no boatmen to the boats belonging to this station, as they were moored at the Permit Ghat and brought away from there. When the boats were completely fitted out, I told Holass Sing, kotwal, that there were not sufficient boatmen for all the boats, and asked him to make arrangements accordingly; he was angry at this, and told me that it was no business of his. I was not acquainted with the names of any of the boatmen until the value of the boats was given, and the money distributed.

*Question*—State who were the persons that received the money, and who were the owners of the boats that belonged to Cawnpoor.

*Answer*—Munshi Dabeedeen, a boatman, received the money from Tanteea Topee, amounting to Rs. 4,467 or 4,465, and distributed it. My brother Lochun was along with me at this time. The following were the owners of the boats belonging to this station:—Muheshree Sheo Pershad, son of Dyr Kishen, residing in the city; Baboo Mull, Muheshree; and Jankee Pershad, Ugurwalla; and two boatmen, viz., Bancee, residing in the village called Koreean, and Muttra, of the same village. The above five persons were paid in my presence, and the rest of the owners were paid by Munshi Dabeedeen. I do not know who they were.

*Question*—Are the above-named three bunnecahs and two boatmen now at Cawnpoor or not?

*Answer*—Yes, they are here.

*Question*—What occurred to the ladies and children who went to Suttee Chowra Ghat?

*Answer*—When the Europeans were massacred, a number of ladies and children met with the same fate, after which a sowar brought an order from the Nana to spare the ladies and children. At this time there were about 150 of them, who had escaped the massacre; some of them were wounded; the sepoy



and sowars took all of them away to the Savada house; and subsequently I heard that the number of the ladies and children was 155.

*Question*—Besides Bala and Azeemoollah and Jwalla Pershad, did you see any other influential resident of Cawnpoor present at the ghat?

*Answer*—There were a number of sirdars and zemindars present, whose names I do not remember. There were two or three resaldars also, mounted on horseback. I was told that the name of one was Nukee, and of the other Huneef; the latter was formerly a coachman in the service of Captain \* \* \* Commissariat Officer, and latterly a merchant. He was heading a number of sowars.

*Question*—Did you recognise well the above-named persons, Nukee and Huneef?

*Answer*—I was acquainted with Huneef from a long time, and knew him well. It was the first time I had seen Nukee, but I think I could recognise him if I saw him now; besides these two persons, a number of Mussulman and Hindoo sirdars were present.

*Question*—Did you witness any other massacres?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Do you know anything of the massacre of the ladies at the Beebeeghur?

*Answer*—I only heard of it. As I was employed by Mr. Thomas Greenway I was looked on with suspicion, and therefore did not move about much. A boat, containing 500 maunds of saltpetre belonging to Mr. Greenway, was moored opposite my house, which I concealed in a stream running out towards the banks of the Ganges and after the restoration of British authority made over the saltpetre to Mr. Greenway's gomash-tas.

*Question*—Are the occurrences enumerated in your deposition quite true, or have you been influenced by any party to make the statements therein contained?

*Answer*—I have stated truly and correctly what I know, and the authorities can make any enquiries they think proper.

No. 47.—*Deposition of Lochun, chowdree of boats, son of Mudaree, age 41 years, resident of Gola Ghat, Cawnpoor.*

*Question*—Where were you during the mutiny, and what occurrences did you observe?

*Answer*—I had provided boats to convey the Barrack Master and Mr. Thomas Greenway to Allahabad, when the mutiny broke out. On the 4th June, the bridge-of-boats was broken. On the 5th, some of the boats were set on fire, and the fight commenced at the entrenchments, when a search commenced for all Christians, and those connected with them. Dabee-deen, Munshi over the boatmen, proceeded to arrest me; hearing of which, I hid myself in my village and remained concealed until the 23rd June, when Goordial, my brother, being brought in a prisoner from Ulwapore, on the other side of the Ganges, I was also summoned by Holass Sing, Kotwal, who gave me an order to have boats ready, and to be in attendance. I replied that I have no boats, and was quite unable to make arrangements to procure any. On this, the kotwal abused and ill-treated me, and I was forced to tell him that there were a number of boats at the Customs Ghat belonging to traders, and requested to send for them. A person named Buddoo, accompanied by sowars, went and brought away the boats, about 23 or 24 in number. Some of them belonged to Furruckabad, and others to places lower down. All of them had *chappers* on, but repairs and bamboo challee or flooring were needed.

*Question*—Who assisted in the repairs, and making of challee?

*Answer*—A person name Badul, in the employ of the Nana, brought three or four hundred coolies from Bithoor, and had the repairs completed. I only marked out the places where the bamboos should be placed, and at the time of the bamboos being put together for the flooring, I was not at the ghat, but my brother Goordial was present. He mentioned to me, the day previous to the *Sahib log* entering the boats, that two gentlemen, accompanied by two soldiers, mounted on



elephants, came to inspect the *chappers* of the boats, and were much vexed, and ordered him to complete the *chappers* quickly. Goordial did his best, and had the work completed. After this, during the night, a chuprassie, in the service of the Nana, brought Dabeedeen, Ramdeen, Guzeea and Choonee to my house, and gave me orders to be present at the ghat positively on the next day; otherwise I would be severely punished. Accordingly, very early in the morning on the next day, I went to the ghat and saw that a number of sepoy and sowars had located themselves in Mouzah Koorina, which is close by Suttee Choura, on the banks of the Ganges. Some sepoy had also placed themselves in a nullah near Mr. Christie's bungalow. In both the above places, there were about four or five hundred persons, and a gun was also in position near the above-mentioned bungalow. A second was placed in Mouzah Koorina, and another in the middle of this mouzah, and a fourth one at Koela Ghat. From about seven in the morning the *sahib log* commenced leaving the entrenchments for the boats, and the soldiers carried their property on their heads. About half-past eight, the entrenchments were cleared, and its inmates were carried to the boats on elephants, palanquins, and doolies; some of them had got on the boats, and others were in the act of doing so, when two sowars came galloping up, and told the people to move aside, otherwise they would all be killed. Hearing this the lookers-on all got out of the way. A bugle then sounded, when troops made their appearance. At this time some Europeans were passing over the wooden bridge; a volley was fired at them; and another from the nullah called Suttee Choura; a third from Mouzah Koorina. The ladies and gentlemen jumped off the boats into the river, where the water was waist-deep. Guns were fired from the places they were concealed in. Jwala Pershad, Azeemoollah, Baba Bhut, and Bala, &c., attendants of the Nana

were witnessing these occurrences. Jwala Pershad, Brigadier, and Azeemoollah made a sign to Dabeedeen, Moonshee over the boatmen, to set fire to the boats, and Ramdeen, boatman, fired one of them, which ignited all the other boats. Musketry and guns were being discharged at this time incessantly. Two guns with a number of sepoys were placed at the Kuttra on the other side of the river: volleys were also discharged by them. From the firing on this side of the river, those that escaped being burnt to death in the boats were killed, and those that had taken refuge behind the boats were killed by the shots from the other side of the river. After this, by order of Tantia Topee, the sowars rushed into the river, and put an end to all the Europeans with their swords and pistols. The Europeans managed to push off three boats, but two of them grounded on the opposite bank near the Kuttra, and one of them went down the stream, which was struck by a shot from the gun placed at the Koela ghat, but it managed to escape, and a number of sowars and sepoys went in pursuit. A short time after this an order came from the Nana to spare all the women and children who had escaped the massacre. Accordingly, the sepoys and sowars surrounded them and took them away to the Nana at Savada; some of these were wounded; and all of them were dripping wet, and could hardly walk; they were about 150 in number. The Nana ordered them all to be kept in the Savada House.

*Question*—When the *sahib log* left the entrenchment what was their number, and of which place were the boatmen residents who set fire to the boats, and to whom did the boats belong, and who were the persons remunerated for the loss of their boats, and by whom were they paid, and after this massacre, were there any other *sahib log* killed?

*Answer*—The boatmen were Moonshee Dabeedeen, a resident of Gola Ghat; Ramdeen Choonnee, and Guzeea, residents of Bithoor. The Europeans ladies and children,



who left the entrenchments were about 400. I do not know the names of the owners of the boats which had come from down the country, but amongst the boats that were taken up there were five belonging to mahajuns and others of the city, as follows :—one to Jankee Jawun ; one to Dya Kishun, Maheshree ; and one to Battoo, Maheshree, mahajuns ; one to Muthra Mullah ; and one to Phuttay Mullah. These people were paid the value of their boats which were burnt, amounting to Rs. 4,467, through Moonashee Dabeedeen, by orders of Tantia Topee. Of this sum, a balance was left with Dabeedeen, which he took for himself. Some 18 gentlemen were brought in prisoners the same afternoon, from the other side of the river, by Chedee Singh and Huttee Singh, and three followers. I heard that they were murdered on the plain opposite Savada.

*Question*—When the Europeans were embarking, did you recognize General Wheeler ; on which boat was he, and where was he killed ?

*Answer*—I did not see the General, but heard Dabeedeen, boatman, say that he was on one of the three boats that had been pushed off into the stream. One of these boats floated down as far as Sheorajpore, the inmates of which were brought in the next day, but the General was not amongst them.

*Question*—Do you know who carried away General Wheeler's daughter ?

*Answer*—I heard that a sowar had carried away General Wheeler's daughter.

*Question*—Where are the boatmen now who set fire to the boats ?

*Answer*—When the Nana's troops retreated to Bithoor, the boatmen accompanied them. I do not know where they are now. It is now a year since Dabeedeen was killed near the Chowkee of Rhai Ruwan.

*Question*—When the Europeans had come to the ghat, which of the Nana's attendants were there ?

*Answer*—Baba Bhut, Jwalla Pershad, Brigadier, Azeemoollah and Bala were there ; and many others, whose names

I do not remember. A ressalidar in the Nana's service, named Nukee, was very busy in giving orders regarding the massacre of the Europeans.

*Question*—You have stated that the money for the boats was paid by Tantia Topee: where was this person on that day, and how was he engaged?

*Answer*—He was with the troops engaged in the massacre, and was seated near a temple at the Sutte Chowra Ghat, close to Mouzah Kooreea. By his orders the bugle was sounded, and the guns fired. He also gave the order to the sowars to plunge into the river, and massacre the Europeans. All orders regarding the massacre, issued by the Nana, were carried into execution by Tantia Topee.

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*No. 48.—Deposition of Buddhoo, commissariat contractor of boats, Cawnpoor, son of Ram Kurn, caste Buqal Ugarmat, age 40 years, resident of Nareeul Bazar, Cawnpoor.*

*Question*—When the mutiny occurred at Cawnpoor, where were you?

*Answer*—I was at Cawnpoor. A month previous to the outbreak, I was appointed commissariat contractor of boats. In the beginning of June 1857, the troops mutinied at Cawnpoor, the Europeans went into the entrenchments and the Nana and mutineers commenced fighting. Owing to the mutineers plundering and murdering all employed by Government or connected with it, I remained concealed at my house. When it was agreed on that the Europeans should leave the entrenchments and proceed to Allahabad, and boats were required for this purpose by the Nana, one night about 9 P.M. a couple of chuprassis took me to the kotwallee. The Kotwal, Holass Singh, ordered me to collect 40 boats immediately. I told him that, when I received orders from the Europeans to procure boats, I was advanced money and allowed a month or fifteen days' time to collect the same, and that it was impossible to procure boats on so short a notice. On



this the kotwal was much annoyed, and said that was only putting him off, and ordered his attendants to take me to the Customs Ghat, give me a good beating, and make me get boats; they did as ordered, and kept me there the whole night, beating me, and threatened to blow me away from guns, if I did not comply with their request; they continued threatening me until 12 A.M., but I did not get them any boats. During this occurrence, a chuprassi named Gunga Singh, who was in the employ of Lochun, ghat manjhee, came there, accompanied by four or five sowars, and commenced having the boats moved off, which were stationed at the Customs Ghat. Gunga Singh sent me away in charge of the sowars to Suttee Chowra Ghat, where there was a large temple, near which I saw Tantea Topee, Mahratta, Nana and Jwalla Pershad, who had been created a Brigadier, seated on a scaffolding of planks; and a number of people were assembled. About two hundred and fifty paces from it, on the river side, a gun was placed and a company of sepoy of the 56th Regiment Native Infantry. I was made a prisoner here by Tantea's order, who told me that my hand and nose would be taken off. I saw that some of the boats had *chappers* on them; others were completed by Goordial, brother of Lochun, the ghat manjhee. The boats were about twenty-two in number. The next day, before sunrise, the gun and sepoy placed on the river side were removed and hid in the ruins of the burnt bungalow close by. About eight in the morning the Europeans commenced reaching the ghat, and getting on the boats; some had effected it, and others were in the act of doing so, when a bugle was sounded, and guns and musketry were fired. The boats caught fire. The Europeans that had got into the boats jumped off them and stood in the water on the opposite side of the boats, when shots were fired at them from the other side of the river. By this time, the Europeans had managed to get

away three boats, rowing them themselves. One of these got into the stream and pushed off, but the other two grounded on the opposite bank. I saw these occurrences personally from the place of my confinement; after which I remained there a prisoner for ten or twelve days, when my father gave some money to Hoolas Sing, Kotwal, who sent for me, and kept me in the kotwalee for about two days. He allowed me to go home in charge of two peons, for the purpose of taking my food; after which he released me, with an order to present myself whenever ordered.

*Question*—Whose were the boats that were taken up, and how many of them were burnt?

*Answer*—Some of the boats had come from Furruckabad, and some were of this station, and I had heard that seventeen or eighteen boats were burnt.

*Question*—Did you hear to whom the boats of this station belonged?

*Answer*—When I was released I heard that one of the boats belonged to Dya Singh Mistree, residing in Muneegunj, and another to Bubboomull Mistree, who lived in Pooranagunj, and four or five of them belonged to people living in the city whose names I do not know. I also heard that the value of the boats which were burnt was paid from the Nana's treasury to Lochun, the ghat manjhee, who partly remunerated the owners of the boats, and kept some of the money for himself.

*Question*—State what you saw at the Sutte Chowra Ghat, and how, previous to the massacre, were Gunga Singh, chupprasi, and Goordyal engaged?

*Answer*—I saw Goordyal and Gunga Singh there from morning to noon; the former was engaged in having the chappers put on the boats, and the latter, accompanied by sowars, was busy pressing coolies.

*Question*—Who were the boatmen at the ghat?

*Answer*—There were a good many there, but I do not know any of their names.



*Question*—On the day the Europeans went on the boats, how were Goordyal and Gunga Singh engaged ?

*Answer*—There was such an assemblage at the time on the ghat, that I did not observe Gunga Singh and Goordyal there.

*Question*—Where are these persons now ?

*Answer*—They had concealed themselves for a long time, but Goordyal and Lochun have made their appearance, and are here, but there is no trace of Gunga Singh.

*Question*—Did you hear how and where General Wheeler was massacred ?

*Answer*—I did not hear anything regarding him.

*Question*—Did you hear of any sowar having carried away General Wheeler's daughter ?

*Answer*—When I obtained release from confinement, I merely heard as a rumour that some sowar had brought away the General's daughter.

*Question*—What was the number of the persons massacred at the ghat, and what was done with their bodies ?

*Answer*—I was in confinement at a distance from the place where the massacre was perpetrated, and could not therefore tell the number of the victims, but saw about 50 or 60 bodies floating down the river, and a number were left lying on the banks.

*Question*—Did you see the ladies and children brought to the Savada House ? What was their number, and what did you hear regarding them ?

*Answer*—Being in confinement, I did not see them personally, but heard the sepoys say that about 125 ladies, inclusive of children, had escaped the massacre and were confined.

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*No. 49.—Deposition of Narain Kachee, son of Golab, age 25 years.*

*Question*—Where were you during the disturbances, and what occurrences did you observe ?

*Answer*—For some years, I kept a granary at Lutchmun Ghat, in Bithoor. In June 1857, when the outbreak occurred at Cawnpoor, I was at Bithoor; the second

day after this, a flag was set up at Bithoor in the Nana's name; a proclamation issued; and Choonnee Singh, Choudree was appointed Thanadar of Bithoor, which convinced me that the Nana's rule had commenced. Two or three days after this, the heads of three gentlemen were brought in to the Rao by the sowars of the 7th Cavalry and some sepoy; a gentleman and a lady were also brought in. I heard that the widow of Baji Rao, hearing that the lady was pregnant, pleaded hard in her behalf with the Rao, and told him that if anything happened to the lady she would put an end to herself, and therefore the lady was kept in a house, and an old Mahomedan woman was sent to attend on her. The gentleman was sent away somewhere; I do not know what became of him, as I never saw him again. Koosaba Khiranee Gir had all the accounts and arrangements regarding the troops, and used to visit the Nana at Cawnpoor. Ragho Punth Aptay, Ubba Dhunoor Sharee, Pandona Shablee, Bitthul Punth Bishkeer, Azeemoollah, and Jwalla Pershad, the Nana's resal-dar, who was appointed Brigadier, and several others, remained in constant attendance on the Nana, and often came to Bithoor from Cawnpoor. Eight or nine days after this, a boat containing a number of Europeans came from Furruckabad. On the other side of the river, at the Kuttra, were Jussa Singh, of Futtehpore Chourassee, and his party encamped. Some sowars and sepoy with a gun were posted at Kulwara Ghat; another gun was placed opposite the thana; and a third at Bunde Mata's ghat. Sepoy and sowars were placed at different posts. When the boat came opposite Kulwara Ghat, the guns commenced playing on it, and Jussa Singh's party commenced firing from their position on the other side of the river, and the sepoy and sowars from this side of the river; on which the boat stopped opposite Kulwara Ghat, and the Europeans in it commenced firing also. A short time after, a gentleman put out a flag from the boat,



on which the firing on both sides ceased; Jussa Singh's party crossed the river, and took away the boat to Kulwara Ghat, and afterwards to the thanah. In the evening, whilst it was raining, the Europeans were put in three or four carts, covered with sirkee, sent by the Rao, and were conveyed through Bhara Mull's Kuttra bazar to the palace. The gentlemen and ladies were all formed up in a line; the Rao inspected them, and gave orders that they should be kept in the old Residency. Koosaba Khiranee Gir took and placed them there, but all the property belonging to the Europeans was placed in the palace. Food was sent for them in the morning by Koosaba Khiranee Gir, and on the next day they were all despatched to the Nana, at Cawnpoor, and I heard that they were massacred. One day, about noon, it was rumoured that the Europeans would leave the entrenchments at Cawnpoor for Allahabad, and that peace had been made with the Nana. Hearing this, a number of persons left Bithoor for Cawnpoor to witness the departure of the Europeans. I also accompanied them, and reached Cawnpoor on Friday, 26th June, and, as I was acquainted with Narain, a servant of the Nana's, I went to the Nana's tent. In the evening Tanteea Topee, who was a captain in the Nana's army, came to the Nana's tent, and remained there a short-time. I was informed by Narain, the Nana's servant, that Nana Dhoondeo Punth and Bala had given orders to Tanteea Topee to massacre the Europeans when they entered the boats. On the same night 500 or 600 sowars and sepoy were despatched to the ghat, and on the next morning (Saturday) the people commenced proceeding to the ghat, and I accompanied them, to witness the Europeans leaving Cawnpoor. Thousands of spectators were assembled, and the soldiers and others were loading the boats with property. About 8 or 9 in the morning all the Europeans, about 400 or 500 in number, commenced arriving at the ghat; about half of them

had got on the boats; and the others were proceeding higher up towards the ghat from behind the wooden bridge, when two or three hundred sepoy and sowars arrived and fired a volley from the bridge. Tanteen Topee was seated on a *chubootra* of a temple, to the right of the road leading to the ghat, and he gave orders to the troops in concealment close to him, and they fired. Shots were also fired from the nullah to the left, and Ramdeen, a boatman, set fire to the boats by orders of Jwala Pershad (Brigadier). The Europeans jumped off the boats into the river; Tanteen Topee gave orders to the sowars to cut them up; and the troopers of the 2nd Cavalry rushed into the river on horseback, and despatched them with their swords and pistols. Three of the boats pushed off: one of them went down the stream to the east, and the other two went towards the kuttra on the other side of the river. I witnessed this personally. A short time after, a sowar came from the Nana, and gave orders to spare the ladies and children who had escaped the massacre. The sepoy and sowars then surrounded them, and took them away to Savada. A resaldar of Hindoostanee cavalry, named Nukee, was very busy in giving orders for the destruction of the Europeans. Nana Dhoondoo Punth gave orders for the ladies to be kept in the Savada House.

*Question*—Who set fire to the boats, and do you know Tanteen Topee, and which of the Nana's officers were present at the ghat?

*Answer*—Ramdeen, Chain and Guzeca, boatmen, old servants of the Nana, set fire to the boats, and I know them; besides these, there was a boatman, named Lulla, of Bithoor. The following were the Nana's officers:—Baba Bhut and Bala, brothers of the Nana; Narain Dewan; Ragho Punth Aptay; Pandona Shablee; Bishnoo Punth; Patun-gir; Kesho Bhut Mullun-gir; Anund Bhut Gootay; Narain Mohnee; Gunput Rao; and Sundhayree; and several other Mahrattas. Besides the above, the following sirdars were also present:—



Jwalla Pershad, Brigadier ; Azeemoolah ; Ahmed Alie Khan, Vakeel ; and the former Kotwal, Holass Singh, and another person, a Mussulman, whose name I do not know, he was of a tall stature and spare body.

*Question*—How did you recognise Ahmed Alie Khan, Vakeel ?

*Answer*—He used to visit the Nana at Bithoor occasionally, and when the Nana came to Bithoor, after the evacuation of the entrenchments, Ahmed Alie Khan accompanied him, to place him on the throne, and I then saw him ; he had put up in Raja Heera-jee's house and I had also heard that he was to get a khillut.

*Question*—How long have you known Tanteea Topee, and how were you in such close proximity to him as to have heard him giving orders ?

*Answer*—I have known him for the last seven or eight years, as I frequently saw him pass my shop in company with the Nana, and, as Narain Ahmed was standing near Tanteea Topee, I went close to him, for the pillars of the temple afforded shelter from the shots fired, and in my presence and hearing Tanteea Topee sent for Teeka Singh, subadar of the 2nd Cavalry, known as a general, and gave him orders to rush into the water, and spare none.

*Question*—Where are the boatmen now whose names you have given above ?

*Answer*—They all left with Nana Dhoondoo Punth ; some of them are perhaps still here in concealment.

*Question*—Where are the Mahratta officers named above ?

*Answer*—They are at Bithoor.

*Question*—How is it they did not accompany the Nana, but remained at Bithoor ?

*Answer*—They did leave at first, but it appears they gave an immense sum of money to Nana Narain Rao, who has concealed the fact of their implication.

*Question*—Can you furnish any proofs in support of your statements ?

*Answer*—I shall endeavour to furnish proofs as far as possible.

*Question*—Do you know anything further ?

*Answer*—No.

*No. 50.—Deposition of Nundeedeen Aheer, son of Ramdeen, age 26 years, resident of Bithoor.*

*Question*—Where were you during the outbreak, and what circumstances did you witness?

*Answer*—I was employed by Dagee, a Mahratta Brahmin, to look after his garden. It was in June 1857, when a flag was set up in the Nana's name at Bithoor, and Choonee Singh, Chowdree, appointed thanadar. Two or three days after this, the heads of two or three Europeans were brought into Bithoor by some sowars; they also brought a gentlemen and lady with them. The latter was kept in the old Residency, and I do not know what became of the former. Eight or nine days after this, about 50 gentlemen and ladies were brought in from Kulwara Ghat, and the Rao ordered Koosaba Khiranee Gir to keep them in the old Residency. In the morning food was sent to them; after which they were all sent away to Cawnpoor on carts, accompanied by Koosaba Khiranee Gir. About eight days after this, it was rumoured at Bithoor that an understanding had been come to between the Europeans and the Nana, and that in a day or two the former were to vacate the entrenchments and proceed to Allahabad, and that the Nana's rule would be established. Hearing this, on Friday, 26th June, a number of persons left Bithoor for Cawnpoor. I also accompanied them, and reached the place in the night, when I heard that, on the next morning, the Europeans would embark at the Suttee Chowra Ghat. I went early next morning at gun-fire, and saw a great crowd assembled. There is a temple to the right of the road near the bridge, leading to Suttee Chowra Ghat, near which was seated Tanteca Topeca on a *chubootra*, and to the right-hand side of the temple, towards the east, is a village, where a gun was placed with two or three hundred armed sepoy and sowars; and to the left-hand side of the temple, some two or three hundred paces from it, a number of sepoy and sowars had placed themselves behind some timber lying there.



About seven or eight o'clock in the morning the soldiers and other people commenced putting the Europeans' property on the boats, and two or three hours after this, the Europeans came from the entrenchments, and commenced entering the boats. At this time, a messenger was sent by Tantea Topee to order the bugle to be sounded, as soon as the Europeans reached the bridge. A short time after this, the bugle was sounded and firing commenced. The shots fired by the party placed at the right of the temple killed and wounded some ten or fifteen Europeans, but I did not see what occurred at the place where the sepoy had concealed themselves, in a nullah behind the timber, though shots were fired by this party also. A boatman named Ramdeen set fire to one of the boats, which ignited the others. On the other side of the river some sepoy and cavalry were placed, who commenced firing guns at the boats. I was standing concealed in a corner, close to where Tantea Topee was seated, and I heard him tell Teeka Sing, a subadar of the 2nd Cavalry, who was known as the general, to order the sowars to go into the water, and put an end to the Europeans; and accordingly they rushed into the river and murdered them. A short time after, an order came from the Nana to spare the ladies and children who had escaped the massacre; the sepoy and sowars surrounded them and took them away to the Nana, but I did not go there.

*Question*—How many Europeans left the entrenchments, and how many ladies escaped the massacre? Were all the gentlemen murdered?

*Answer*—They were about four or five hundred in number inclusive of their servants. I did not count them, neither did I make enquiries regarding their number. Two boats floated down to the kuttra on the banks of the Ganges, and a third boat went down the stream to the east. A number of sepoy and sowars went in pursuit.

*Question*—Do you know who were the boatmen who set fire to the boats, and of which place were they residents, and by whose orders did they set fire to the boats?

*Answer*—I recognised Ramdeen and Chain, boatmen, but I do not know who the others were. I am not aware by whose orders they set fire to the boats.

*Question*—Which of the Nana's officers were present at the ghat?

*Answer*—Jwalla Pershad, Resaldar, an old servant of the Nana's; Nana Bhut and Bala, the Nana's brothers; and Azeemoollah: the latter had been to England on account of the Nana; Narain Dewan, a Mahratta; Rajhopunth Aptay, and Ahmed Alie, Vakeel, who often visited the Nana at Bithoor; Shah Ali, formerly a thanadar and afterwards kotwal of the city of Cawnpoor; and several others whom I could not recognise. A number of people were plundering the property from the boats.

*Question*—How did you manage to approach so close to Tantea Topce, and from what time have you known him?

*Answer*—I have known him from a long time, as I frequently saw him pass my garden. As the temple where Tantea Topce was seated was a convenient place to see the departure of the Europeans, I took my stand on an elevated part of it, as at that time there was no apparent danger, neither was I aware of any; but when shots were fired I concealed myself behind a pillar of the temple in question, about ten paces away from the place where Tantea Topce was seated.

*Question*—What was the number of the ladies who escaped the massacre?

*Answer*—They were about 100 or 150. I did not count them, neither did I make any enquiry regarding their number. All their clothing was wet, and some of the ladies were wounded.

*Question*—Do you know anything further?

*Answer*—Yes, when the Nana went to Bithoor, the officers named above, *i. e.*, Ahmed Alie, Vakeel, and others, went along with him to place him on the throne.



*Question*—How did you recognise Ahmed Alie Khan, Vakeel?

*Answer*—I was employed with Narain Rao, whose Vakeel was Ahmed Alie Khan, and I frequently saw him there. He also often visited Nana Dhondoo Punth's palace. I therefore knew him well.

*Question*—Where are the above-named officers who were in the Nana's employ?

*Answer*—Some of them are at Bithoor. They are intimate with Narain Rao, and are under his protection. They have, therefore, escaped being taken up.

*Question*—Can you state the whereabouts of those that are at Bithoor?

*Answer*—If I am ordered by the authorities I will give information regarding their whereabouts.

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*No. 51.—Deposition of Juggernath, son of Petumnath, resident of Gopalpore, Pergunnah Sarh Sulempore, Zillah Cawnpoor, age 24 years.*

*Question*—Where were you when the outbreak occurred at Cawnpoor.

*Answer*—The day that the outbreak occurred, I was at General-gunj at my shop, kept by Keshree Bunneeh, and heard a great uproar, but did not stir to see what was the cause of the disturbance. Five or six days after this, Kamta Pershad and Deechut Nath, called Daroga, Brahmins, residents of Gopalpore, who were confined in the jail, joined the band under Teeka Sing, who was afterwards called a general; and Luchmun Sing, zemindar of Palee, together with about 150 of their men. These two persons, *i. e.*, Kamta Pershad and Deechut Nath, together with Thakoor Sing, a dacoit, Jowahir Sing, Chowdree, in company with five sowars, came to Keshree's shop, took me away, and confined me in Kamta Pershad's tent. Teeka Sing said to me that as I dealt in indigo I must know where saltpetre was manufactured, and therefore must let him know the different places, and the sowars demanded 500 rupees of me. I told them that I was a poor man, and only dealt in

indigo. I therefore did not know where saltpetre could be obtained, and that I had no money. I was still kept in confinement, and, during this time, I saw Luchman Sing, Ojaghur Sing, Bijey Sing, and Thakoor Pershad of Palee, and Kamta Pershad of Gopalpore, accompanied by their bands, visit Teeka Sing, and go with him to the batteries. For fifteen days I saw these proceedings, after which time they released me. The day that the Europeans left the entrenchments for the boats, a number of people was assembled at the ghat, and I also went there. It was about eight in the morning, and I went to the ghat by the road leading to it from the European bazar, which road was also taken by the Europeans. There was a temple on the banks of the Ganges, near which Tantea, Mahratta, was seated, and a number of sepoy and sowars together with a great many zemindars were assembled at the ghat, and between the temple and Suttee Choura Ghat thousands of people were assembled. At this time a person came to the place where Tantea was seated, and said that the boatmen were very few, on which the sirdars were angry, and ordered him away. Some of the Europeans had got on the boats, and others were on the point of doing so, when shots were fired, and the sepoy and sowars fired volleys from all sides, which killed a number of the ladies, gentlemen and children, on which the people assembled fell back, and I did the same, and the boats were set on fire. Where I was standing there were a number of Mahratta sirdars, whose names I do not remember, and the following persons were also there:—Teeka Sing, general; Hoolas Sing, kotwal; and Ukber Alee, who was appointed tehseeldar by the Nana, and Luchmun, &c., zemindars, were mounted on horseback and firing shots; and, when the Europeans had jumped off the boats into the water, I heard Hoolas Sing, Teeka Sing, Ukbur Alee, and Luchmun Sing calling out to the sowars, ordering them to go into the water, and despatch



those standing in it; on which they rushed in and made an end of all they came across with swords and pistols. After this the crowd dispersed, and I returned to my shop. Hundreds of persons have witnessed this.

*Question*—Did you witness the massacre of any other Europeans?

*Answer*—No

*Question*—Did you see Teeka Sing, Hoolas Sing, and Ukbur Allee, firing on the Europeans?

*Answer*—Yes; I saw them at the ghat firing on the Europeans, and several others saw them doing so. The fact is well known of Hoolas Sing having ordered the boats to be prepared, and of Teeka Sing having arranged the distribution of the sepoy and sowars at the ghat.

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*No. 52.—Deposition of Bikhee Sing, son of Chotoo Sing, Thakoor, age 40 years, resident of Mouzah Chundunpoor, Pergunnah Sarh Sulem, Zillah Cawnpoor.*

*Question*—When the troops mutinied at Cawnpoor, where were you?

*Answer*—In the month of June, when the outbreak occurred at Cawnpoor, I was employed with Nynsookh, contractor, who had taken the contract of the lines of the 56th Native Infantry and was living at his house in the European regimental bazar, and remained there till the station was again occupied by the European troops.

*Question*—As you were at Cawnpoor all through the outbreak, state what occurrences came under your notice.

*Answer*—A long time has now elapsed, and I do not remember all the occurrences, but whatever questions may be put to me, I will answer.

*Question*—Did you ever witness the massacre of any Europeans during these disturbances?

*Answer*—A great many Europeans were put to death and a number of persons are witness to this fact. I remember that a few days after the outbreak 118 or 119 Europeans were put to death on the plain opposite the Savada Kotee, at noon.

*Question*—Who gave the order for the massacre, and who executed it? And which of the Nana's officers were present?

*Answer*—There were a number of persons assembled, both Mahrattas and city people. I do not remember all of their names, and I believe the order was given by the Nana. The sowars and sepoy's shot the Europeans, after which *jullads* despatched them with swords.

*Question*—State the names of the Nana's officers who were present at this massacre, as far you remember.

*Answer*—There were a number of zemindars and Mahrattas, whose names I do not remember, and the Nana's officers were:—Ahmed Alie Khan, Vakeel; Ukber Alie, Mookhtiar; Shah Alie, the former Kotwal; and Holass Singh, the then Kotwal.

*Question*—How was Holass Singh engaged?

*Answer*—He was along with all the others, and at the time that the Nana gave an order for the massacre of the Europeans I was standing at some distance, and therefore could not hear what orders were given by the officers in question. But I think Ukber Alie ordered the *jullads* to despatch the Europeans.

*Question*—Besides this massacre of Europeans did you witness any other?

*Answer*—Yes: once at the Suttee Chowra Ghat. About 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning I saw the Europeans from the entrenchments passing by the bazar I lived in, and proceeding to the ghat, where there was a great assembly. There is a pukka temple on the right-hand side of the road leading to the ghat. At this place Tantea, Mahratta, and a number of other sirdars were present, and from that temple, at a short distance, sepoy's and sowars were concealed in the Chore ghattee, and a gun was in position between the Chore ghattee and the temple. As the Europeans were getting into the boats, volleys were fired, which killed them.

*Question*—State who were the sirdars in company with Tantea, and who gave orders for the firing.

*Answer*—I do not remember the names of all the sirdars, but I remember seeing one or two persons coming running



from the place Tantea was seated at, and giving orders for the bugle to sound; after which Teeka Singh, Subadar; Holass Singh, Kotwal; Ukber Alie, Mooktiar, and several others armed and mounted on horseback, came galloping up to the boats and gave orders to the sowars to despatch the Europeans standing in the water; according to which they rushed into the river and put them to death.

*Question*—Are you sure you heard Teeka Singh, Holass Singh, and Ukber Alie, give orders to the sowars to massacre the Europeans?

*Answer*—I remember well having heard these people give distinct and strict orders to the sowars to massacre the Europeans, who were standing in the water, and there was several other sirdars who gave the same orders, but I do not remember their names. Teeka Singh, Holass Singh, and Ukber Alie were armed with English pistols which they fired at the Europeans, and a shot fired by Ukber Alie, Mookhtiar, struck a gentleman on the breast and killed him. Several ladies and children were wounded, and some of them were killed. Shortly after, I heard that the Nana sent orders to spare the ladies and children who had escaped the massacre, and accordingly those that were alive were brought and confined in the Savada House. After this I did not see any Europeans put to death.

*Question*—What was the number of Europeans at the ghat?

*Answer*—I cannot state this as I did not take any notice of their number, and, as I went to the ghat by the road leading from the European Regimental Bazar, I did not see the entire number as they were all scattered about on the boats and the banks of the river; there was also a great assemblage, and a number of persons were galloping about on horseback.

*Question*—Did you see the wounded ladies and children brought in from the ghat?

*Answer*—I had left the ghat previous to the ladies and children being taken away from there, but only saw them coming in from a distance.

*Question*—Did you see any other occurrences ?

*Answer*—I did not see anything else particularly, but a great many occurrences took place during the outbreak, which I do not recollect now.

*Question*—What were the names of the zemindars who were present at the massacre of the 118 or 119 Europeans ?

*Answer*—I do not remember the names of all, but the following are some of them :—Luchmun Singh, Ojaghur Singh, Bijay Singh, Thakoore Pershad, and Jado Rao, the two latter named were these zemindars' *karindas*, and these people had encamped in tents on the race-course.

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*No. 23.—Deposition of Peer Bux, commissariat camel sowar of Agra.*

In June 1857 (I do not remember the exact date) I was sent from Agra with a letter to General Wheeler at Cawnpoor; when near Mutteapore, I met a number of Bengalis (some 150 in number), who had been plundered and maltreated by the residents of that village. As I approached, I saw them drawn out prepared to stop my progress, but, being mounted on a swift camel, I avoided them. They were armed with swords, spears, bows and arrows. At Juswuntnugger, I saw the gang of dacoits under Gunga Sing plundering that village, and which they had set on fire. On reaching Etawah, I found that the residents had just beaten off an attack made by some mutineers, and firing was still going on at the ghat. I saw the bodies of eight rebel sepoys, who had been killed at the outskirts of the town whilst plundering. I put up at the house of Narain Dass, a gomashtha of Lala Joti Pershad, and, hearing that the road to Cawnpoor was very unsafe, left my arms and the camel at the gomashtha's house, disguised myself as a faqueer; hiding the letter in the sole of my shoe, I travelled on foot by cross-roads till I entered the Grand Trunk Road at Choteypore. The insurgent villagers were plundering each other, but I was not molested except once when I was searched on suspicion of carrying letters, and was released with a slap on the face. From Choteypore to Cawnpoor I passed five police stations, at each of which there were ten sowars posted, who were the Nana's servants. I reached Cawnpoor at four in the afternoon, and went first to Kali Khan, jemadar of camel sowars, and then to Kasim Khan, mahout, whom I had known at Umballa.



I found him with the rest of the elephants near the Mogul Serai. He was just starting with an old Christian woman to the Nana's tent pitched in the compound of the Savada, and I learnt that a treaty had been made between him and the British. I accompanied them, and whilst they went inside the tent I remained outside. I recognized the Chackendie Raja, whom I (when formerly at Cawnpore as orderly sowar to General Parsons) had often seen. The old Christian woman and Kasim Khan, after remaining in the tent, went to the entrenchments with a letter from the Nana to General Wheeler. I, believing them to be faithful, mentioned that I had a letter for the General, which I made over to them. They entered the entrenchments leaving me outside. At dark they returned and Kasim Khan told me that the Europeans would leave the entrenchments early the next morning, and that I was to wait at the Suttee Choura Ghat, when the General would give me a reply to the letter. I remained all night at Kasim Khan's, and at about half-past three awoke, hearing that the elephants were getting ready. Kasim Khan placed a howdah on the elephant the General used to ride on, and a second elephant had a pad on his back; the two elephants were taken to the entrenchments and I proceeded direct to the ghat. About sunrise the Europeans began to arrive; the soldiers were on foot, but the ladies and children were on hackeries. On the pad elephant there were four ladies, and on the General's elephant in the howdah I saw Lady Wheeler and her two daughters, who were put on board the first boat. The General came down to the ghat on a galloway, but, meeting the elephant, got on it, and was put on board his boat. Kasim Khan made me a sign to ask for a reply to the letter, which I did. The General told me to wait a few minutes, and I should receive one. Kasim Khan with his elephant was waiting by General Wheeler's boat, when all of a sudden firing commenced from both sides of the river; the fire was returned from the fourth boat on the line, by which two rebel sepoys were killed close to me. The boats were set on fire and were burning. The two first boats, however, managed to get into the stream: one of these was the first on the line, and contained the General and his family. Sowars and sepoys were sent in pursuit of them. Those who were in the boats set on fire leaped into the river, and were shot down by cannon and musketry. The sowars then rushed into the river to cut down the survivors, and, when all the men had been murdered the ladies and children were taken out of the water and placed on the bank. Many of them were wounded.

*Question*—Did you recognize any of the parties present at the massacre?

*Answer*—There was a very large crowd: residents of the city and of the surrounding villages. I was not a resident of Cawnpore and could not therefore recognize any of them.

*Question*—Did you see any of the city people or villagers take part in the massacre, and were they armed?

*Answer*—The villagers were armed with swords, spears, and battle-axes, but I did not see any of them use their weapons.

*Question*—Did you see any of the children killed?

*Answer*—Beyond being shot with others, whilst standing in the water, I did not remark any special cases of murder.

*Question*—What became of the ladies and children who were spared?

*Answer*—They were taken to the Savada House. I followed in the rear, and, passing the entrenchments, went in to look at them. I saw the bodies of eleven Europeans; they were on quilts on the floor; some of them still breathing, though dying from severe gun shot wounds. There were three useless brass guns that had been split, two leathern bottles of ghee, and a sack of soojie, which the villagers were plundering. I heard shortly afterwards that the wounded Europeans who were alive in the entrenchments had been shot. On returning to Kasim Khan's in the evening, I heard that he had gone across the river. I, therefore, went to Kali Khan's, and there met a sowar of the 2nd Cavalry named Guggore Khan, who told us that the General's boat had been captured at Nujjufgurh. The next morning I left Cawnpore, and, on reaching Etawah, resumed my arms and camel. I found Feerozabad had been burnt by the insurgent villagers of Kyer and was detained eight days at Futtehabad, the road being closed by insurgents; after which I reached Agra in safety and made my report.

*Question*—Give a description of Kasim Khan.



*Answer*—Tall, fair and pock-marked, grey eyes and high nose, small beard and mustachios, age about 40. I do not know his village, for all his family resided with him at the elephant sheds.

*Question*—What was the name of the other elephant-driver?

*Answer*—I do not know his name, but he was under the order of Nunney Khan, jemadar of elephants. He was tall and very dark, small eyes, with a high nose, much hair on the head, small mustachios and no beard, age about 30.

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No. 54.—*Deposition of Dhurm Dass, son of Peen Raj, Kaeth, resident of Mouzah Budurka, Pergunnah Arah, Zillah Onao, age 45 years.*

*Question*—When the mutiny broke out at Cawnpoor, where were you?

*Answer*—I was at my home in Mouzah Budurka.

*Question*—Did Lalla Nanuck Chund visit your house during the outbreak?

*Answer*—Yes, he remained concealed in my house for about a month.

*Question*—During the outbreak, did any Europeans ever come to your village?

*Answer*—The day after the entrenchments at Cawnpoor were vacated, and the Europeans massacred, a gentleman of tall stature, about 40 years of age, was concealed in a nullah of Mouzah Kurroundeea, close to Mouzah Budurka. The boys of the first-named village saw this gentleman, and gave intimation to Sheo Sahoe, zemindar of Mouzah Kurroundeea, who brought him away to his house, and asked him where he wished to go to; he said he was desirous of going to Lucknow; and Sheo Sahai told him that if he went on in his present state he would certainly be killed; he would therefore see him safe out of the village, and provided him with food. During this time about 250 armed persons were sent by Chundee Singh, zemindar, and Kalka, kanoongoe. A person named Sheo Churn, an aheer, was at the head of this party; he asked

Sheo Sahai to give up the European; and, after a short debate, took him away by force, and sent him into Cawnpoor.

*Question*—Where are Chundee Sing and Kalka?

*Answer*—They have absconded.

*Question*—What other persons witnessed the above occurrence?

*Answer*—Thousands of people, residents of Mouzah Budurka and Kurroundeeah, are eye-witnesses to this fact.

*No. 55.—Statement of Dabie Deen, son of Nachul Lall, caste Kait, village Bhuttoora, Zillah Fyzabad, age about 30 years, service.*

*Question*—When the outbreak occurred at Cawnpoor, were you in the service of the rebel Nana?

*Answer*—I did not serve of my free will, but was seized and made to do so, and then I was only employed four days.

*Question*—State how you were seized and made to serve.

*Answer*—I was residing in privacy at my house at Gurreeh Ghat, Cawnpoor. When the Nana's rebel forces marched towards Futtehpoor, about the 6th or 7th July 1857, four sowars of the 2nd Cavalry seized me at my house and first of all took me before the Nana, who ordered me to be taken to Tantees Topee. Tantees Topee was in charge of the commissariat and gave me orders to accompany the 2nd Cavalry to Futtehpoor. I made several excuses, alleging I was unequal to the work. Tantees Topee said "You were formerly in the commissariat and are up to the work." I again protested, upon which he scolded me and declared that, unless I went with the 2nd Cavalry, I should be blown from a cannon. Being helpless, I agreed to go. I was then put in charge of fifteen carts and proceeded to Futtehpoor. I was only four days with them (the 2nd Cavalry). The first march we made was to Jugpoor, the second Aong, the third Mulladan, from whence we marched towards Futtehpoor; on the way we had an engagement with the British; the rebels were defeated, and fled. I fled to Aong, and from thence to Cawnpoor.

*Question*—What number of troops went to Futtehpoor?



*Answer*—Two regiments of infantry (one the 1st Native Infantry, the name of the other I do not know), the 2nd Cavalry, a regiment of newly-raised horse of the Nana's, and a battery of guns.

*Question*—What sirdars and other officers accompanied the rebels?

*Answer*—Jwalla Pershad, Brigadier, and Teeka Sing the General, also the Allahabad Moulvie; there was another individual, by caste a Hindoo. The lumberdar of Futtehpoor, who resides there, was present in the action; he was among the superior officers, and used to court the Nana at Cawnpoor; there were many inferior officers present, with whose names I am unacquainted.

*Question*—Whom of the superior officers did you yourself see at Cawnpoor with the Nana?

*Answer*—The Commander-in-Chief was Tanteea Topee, then Azeemoollah, Mussulman, Jwalla Pershad, and a great many others.

*Question*—Who were subordinates in Deputy Ramlall's cutcherry?

*Answer*—I do not know.

*Question*—On the day the Europeans were massacred at Suttee Chowra Ghat, where were you?

*Answer*—I was at my own house when the massacre took place. There was a great uproar and I went to the ghat; numbers of the citizens were assembled there. When I reached the spot, all the gentlemen had been murdered, but the women were being brought by the sowars and sepoys to the Savada House.

*Question*—State what officers and citizens were present at the ghat.

*Answer*—I do not remember the names of any. Owing to the confusion and uproar I was unable to discern.

*Question*—Did you clearly see the ladies being brought in?

*Answer*—I only saw them from a distance.

*Question*—How many times in your presence were gentlemen murdered at Cawnpoor?

*Answer*—I never once witnessed a massacre with my own eyes.

*Question*—Did you ever see any of the rajahs or zemindars who were in the habit of visiting the Nana, or do you know the names of any?

*Answer*—I used to hear that all the rajahs and zemindars were present but do not know the names of any, nor yet did I see any with my own eyes.

*Question*—When you returned from Futtehpoore where did you reside?

*Answer*—I stopped all along in my own house. When I heard that a proclamation had been issued by the Government pardoning us, I came to Cawnpoor, and went to the commissariat, in which department I was formerly employed on a security of fifteen hundred rupees, for which I produced receipts. I received back two hundred rupees, and for the remaining thirteen hundred was granted receipts. After a short time a command was going to Agra, in which I was employed in the commissariat. I have stated the whole truth.

*Question*—In the 2d Cavalry, or among any other sowars, did you know a man called Gunput Nameh?

*Answer*—I knew no sowar of that name.

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*No. 56—Deposition of Peeroo, Duffadar of sweepers in Government employ at the Cawnpoor Kotwali.*

*Question*—Where were you when the troops mutinied at Cawnpoor?

*Answer*—I was at the Cawnpoor Kotwali, but know nothing.

*Question*—Do you know anything of the men the Nana employed to attend the ladies and children?

*Answer*—Mittoo and his wife were employed to attend on the ladies; they were sent from the Kotwali, but no one else that I know of.

*Question*—Where is Mittoo?

*Answer*—He accompanied the English troops to Lucknow, being attached to the General Hospital. I do not know where he is at present.

*Question*—What jullads or executioners were sent from the Kotwali to massacre the Europeans?

*Answer*—Itbarri (who has since been hanged), Bahadoor and Chota; these three were the head jullads or executioners, and with them all the other jullads used to



go. I only saw the above three men sent from the kotwali, but I heard that the rest used to accompany them.

*Question*—By whose orders were those executioners sent?

*Answer*—By orders of Hoolas Sing, Kotwal.

*Question*—Who carried out the orders of the Nana at the kotwali?

*Answer*—Hoolas Sing, kotwal; Hurpurshad, mohurrir; and a Musulman jemadar, whose name I have forgotten. The Naibi Bukshee Zainoolabdeen, paid the sweepers, bhisties, chowkidars and gariwans. These used to do the work. Arsoom Bukshee never came to the Kotwali.

*Question*—Where have Bahadur and Chota gone?

*Answer*—Bahadur was killed at Bithoor, but I do not know where Chota has gone: he is not here.

*Question*—Is there a son of Bahadur's here?

*Answer*—There may be, but I do not know. Kunkawara, sweeper of the Bransphor caste, resident of Bithoor, was employed by the Nana in cutting off heads. I know this to be true.

*Question*—Where is Kunkawara now?

*Answer*—I don't know where he is, but I know he has a brother still in Bithoor.

*Question*—Do you know who used to cook the food for the ladies, and where?

*Answer*—Gilharie, cook, resident of Muchie or fish bazar, who has since died. The food used to be cooked at his shop; there were a few other cooks as well. I don't know their names, nor anything regarding them. Eedoo, who lives in the Chuckla Mahal, used to cook food, but I don't know who used to take it.

*Question*—Describe Kunkawara's brother, and state his name.

*Answer*—A stout man, middle height, rather fair, with small mustachios. I do not know his name.

No. 57.—*Deposition of Cherunjoo, Brahmin, son of Sheo Dyal, age 22 years, resident of Oghoo.*

*Question*—Do you know anything regarding the massacre of the ladies at Cawnpoor?

*Answer*—Yes, I am acquainted with the facts of the massacre. I came to Cawnpore during the outbreak in July, to look after my brother Gokul, who was a sowar in the 8th Cavalry. I made enquiries regarding him from Kaseenath, Brahmin, a resident of Cawnpore, who told me that he had heard nothing about him. I put up at Muthra, Brahmin's, during the night, and at 4 P.M. the next day, as I was returning home, I passed by the place the ladies were confined in, and, looking into the compound, saw them washing their dirty clothes. There were two or three other persons standing there, whom I asked if there was no one that could get the ladies clothes washed by a washerman. One of the sepoy on guard hearing this, abused me, gave me a slap on the face, and made me sit by him for a short time; after which he called another sepoy, and sent me away to the guard-room, where I remained confined all that night, until the next day about 4 o'clock, when it was rumoured that European troops were approaching and that they had passed Futtehpore. The Nana sent orders for the massacre of the ladies, but the sepoy on guard refused to do so; after which the Nana sent for other people, out of whom three Mussulmen with naked swords rushed towards the building the ladies were confined in, and two Hindoos, who had *chundun* applied on their forehead, with drawn swords also accompanied them. When these five men entered the building there was a great noise and disturbance, and all the sepoy rushed to the place. Taking advantage of the absence of the guard, I escaped from my place of confinement.

*Question*—Do you know the three Mussulmen and two Hindoos, who entered with drawn swords?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—If you saw them again would you be able to recognise them?

*Answer*—I am not sure, but I think I could.

*Question*—Did you see these people engaged in the massacre?

*Answer*—I did not see them, but heard the shrieks and cries of the ladies.



*Question*—How far were you from the building ?

*Answer*—I was in the guard-room, which was about 74 paces from the place the ladies were confined in.

*Question*—Did the sepoy also fire at the ladies ?

*Answer*—No, they did not fire.

*Question*—How long did you remain there ?

*Answer*—I left the place at about 5 o'clock.

*Question*—Can you give any description of the three Mussulmen ?

*Answer*—Two of them were fair, and one was dark ; they all wore beards. They were about 40 and 45 years old ; had dark hair.

*Question*—How were they dressed ?

*Answer*—Two of them had white clothing, and one red.

*Question*—Can you state of what tribe or caste they belonged to.

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Describe the two Hindoos.

*Answer*—One of them was about 40 or 45 years old, and the other about 30 or 32, and both of them had white clothing.

*Question*—Had you seen them before ?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Where was the Nana at that time ?

*Answer*—Next the building in which the ladies were confined was another bungalow, and in the compound of this the Nana was standing.

*Question*—What was the distance between the two places ?

*Answer*—About 75 paces.

*Question*—How do you know that it was the Nana ?

*Answer*—I heard the sepoy saying that he was the Nana.

*Question*—Was there any other person beside the Nana ?

*Answer*—There were a number of other people standing round him, about 20 or 25.

*Question*—Do you know any of them ?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Did you hear whether the Nana had promised any reward to the five persons who perpetrated the massacre ?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—At the time that these five persons rushed in to massacre the ladies, were there any sepoy round about the place?

*Answer*—Only those of the guard: about four or five in number.

*Question*—Was there any one in confinement with you?

*Answer*—No.

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*No. 58—Deposition of Punchum, seller of betel leaf, resident of Ooghoo.*

*Question*—Did you hear how the ladies were massacred during the Nana's rule?

*Answer*—In the month of July, a year and-a-half ago, I was at my house in Ooghoo, when ten or eleven persons, guards in the Nana's employ, who had fled from Cawnpoor, came to my shop and asked for pan (betel leaf). I showed them new betel leaf, when two of them told me to fetch old betel leaf; otherwise they would take my head off. I accordingly went to another pan-seller and brought the kind they asked for, and told them the price of the same, *i.e.*, ten pice. The two men said they would only give me two pice. I replied that the betel leaf was worth ten pice, and that they ought at the least to give me eight pice. On which they said that they would kill me and all my family. I stated I was a poor man, and had got the betel leaf from another person. They then said that they had shown no pity to the ladies and children whom they had just massacred, and who clung to their feet, and that they would not have pity on me. I wept, and my mother, hearing me cry, came out, and begged of them not to hurt me, and that she would let them have more betel leaf; after this they drew water from a well close to my house, near a temple, and, conversing amongst themselves, I heard their companions ask the two men how many ladies they had killed; they replied that they had massacred 21 ladies and children, and had received a reward of 21 rupees, and added that at first the Nana ordered



the sepoys to massacre the ladies, but they refused, and that they two, with three others, carried out the Nana's orders.

*Question*—Do you know the names of those two men?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—If you saw those persons, would you recognize them?

*Answer*—Yes, I think I would be able to make them out if I saw them.

*Question*—Were those persons Mussulmen or Hindoos?

*Answer*—They were Hindoos and had *chundun* applied on their foreheads.

*Question*—Give a description of them.

*Answer*—One of them was of a sallow complexion and the other fair.

*Question*—Which road did they take after leaving you?

*Answer*—They went to the Nana who was encamped at Futtehpore Chourasie that day.

*Question*—Did any other person, beside you, see them?

*Answer*—Besides my mother there was no one there; they frightened me greatly by showing me a naked sword covered with blood, which they said had been used in the massacre of the ladies, and that they would cut off my head with the same.

*Question*—How do you know the two men above alluded to went to Futtehpore Chourasie?

*Answer*—I saw them take the road to Futtehpore Chourasie, which led me to believe that they were going there.

*Question*—From whom did you get the old betel leaf for the two men?

*Answer*—From Tujjoo, seller of betel leaf.

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*No. 59—Deposition of Gunga Bishen, mahajun and resident of Ooghoo.*

*Question*—State what you know of the massacre of the ladies on the 15th of July?

*Answer*—The truth is that, shortly after the Nana fled and the ladies were massacred, I was sitting under a tamarind tree at Ooghoo, where all the men of the village assembled, and was conversing with a few others

about the massacre of the Europeans at Cawnpore; they said that the Nana ought not to have murdered the women and children, upon which Souracun, Brahmin of Ooghoo, stated that, when the ladies and gentlemen were massacred, the Nana's officials sent him to kill the ladies, that he struck out with his sword which bent, and he then felt pity and did not again strike; he showed us the sword which was bent. He said that there were two or three Mahomedans who killed all the ladies and children. The men assembled there saw the sword and heard this. It was also known all over the village. This is the only man of Ooghoo who assisted in the murdering of the Europeans.

*Question*—Give the names of those who heard Souracun make this statement.

*Answer*—There were many assembled; I do not remember all their names, but those that I do remember I give:—Thakoor and Bugtah, Aheers; Kuneeah, Gunga, Sewa, Chota and Ajoodeeah, Brahmins; Goolwah, Chowkedar of Kaharah Deewar: all these were assembled. All the villagers heard that Souracun was one of the murderers, but, since the British rule has been re-established, no one from fright speaks of it.

*Question*—Will these men now give true evidence?

*Answer*—Yes, I think they will, though some from fright may not do so. If any of the Government officials are sent to the village, I would get all the men to state the truth.

*Question*—Where is Souracun now?

*Answer*—I don't know where he is now; he left the village when the British rule was re-established.

*Question*—Describe him?

*Answer*—His name is Souracun, son of Chundee Deen, a Brahmin, resident of Ooghoo, about 35 years of age, fair and tall, neither thin nor stout, long mustachios, with a beard, a flat face, black eyes, has a defect in one eye, and always carries a sword. I am not quite sure about his father's name.



*Question*—Why did you not report this before ?

*Answer*—From fear he would be hanged, and his death would be laid on my head, and for this reason no one else gave information.

*Question*—When was Souracun entertained by the Nana ?

*Answer*—During the mutiny, but I don't remember the date.

*Question*—Were your sons Bachoo and Mundun in the service of the Nana ?

*Answer*—I state the truth ; my sons were never in the Nana's service, but, when the Nana fled, the mutineers took Bachoo prisoner into the Nana's camp for about 25 days. Besides this he never was in the Nana's service, and to clear my sons I state the truth.

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*No. 60.—Deposition of Kuloo, chuprassce, son of Panchoo, aheer, resident of Cawnpoor.*

*Question*—State what you know regarding the mutiny at Cawnpoor.

*Answer*—My brother, Hurnam Sing, was kote-duffadar in the cavalry under command of Major Gall, stationed at Lucknow ; I was with him a year before the outbreak. The news of the mutiny of the troops at Cawnpoor reached Lucknow and was talked of for a long time, when, suddenly, all the native troops at that place also mutinied. I was at the time in cantonments, and heard the reports of cannon all night. At 4 o'clock in the morning, on the advance of European troops, the mutineers, composed of three regiments, the numbers of which I do not recollect, fled. One of them was, I think, the 71st. On the same day, all the European residents and troops removed their property to Muchee Bhawun and Huslee Kara. On the next day, about eleven in the night, all the Europeans left Muchee Bhawun and came to Huslee Kara. My brother, Hurnam Singh, accompanied his captain to Huslee Kara, and I hid myself in the house of Ungnoo, Kotee of Munda Lall's village, for fifteen days, for fear of the mutineers, as they had issued orders to kill everyone who was a servant of any European.

The fight between the mutineers and European troops continued. After fifteen days, when I saw that there was no safety in the place of my concealment, I left it, and made my way to Cawnpoor. I had proceeded about a mile, when I met some troopers of the cavalry above referred to, who, recognising me, took me a prisoner, saying that I was the brother of Hurnam Singh, who had gone to Huslee Kara, and that I must have remained out to act as a spy against the mutineers, and that therefore I should be put to death; so three or four sepoy, taking hold of me, took me away to a small room near Aga Meer's residence, and locked me in. There was a small window in this room with a door, which I carefully removed, and jumping out escaped to Imrutganj, which is about 30 miles distance, and put up for the night at an inn. On the next day, leaving this place, I reached about 12 o'clock the Customs Ghat, on the banks of the Ganges at Cawnpoor, and was about getting into a boat, when the man at the ghat asked for four pice, and would not allow me to get on the boat without paying this, but turned me away. I there met a cloth merchant, whose name I do not know, who had paid the fee at the ghat and received a stamp on his hand as a pass to cross over on the boat. By begging hard, I got this man to give me an impression on my arm, from the stamp-mark on his hand; by which means I crossed over and arrived about 4 o'clock near the Assembly Rooms where I saw a crowd of about 2,000 persons, whom I questioned regarding their assemblage. They informed me that a number of ladies and children were confined in the bungalow, and were to be put to death on that day. Outside the compound of this bungalow, to the south was a Neem tree, under which I saw a person seated wearing a *pugree* covered with gold lace, who was represented to be the Nana Sahib; he was surrounded by a great number of sepoy and troopers, as well as other spectators. I was told that the



Nana had given orders to put to death all the ladies and children confined in the bungalow, and I heard the sepoys warning the spectators to move out of the way, so as to be clear of the bullets, as they were going to fire; on hearing this the crowd fell back, and I did the same; then I saw about 25 sepoys advance to the doors of the room which contained the ladies and children, who, firing a volley into it, retired, when another party advanced and did the same. I was at this time about 50 paces from the spot and could hear the cries of the inmates of the bungalow, after the discharge of each volley. After this I left the place, and went away to my house in the Buxee Khanah, Mohulla, which was within musket-range of the spot. I left and heard firing till candle light. The next morning, as I was standing on the road near my house, I saw a crowd proceeding towards the above-mentioned bungalow, and heard some of them saying that the ladies and children who escaped death last night would be killed now. One of the sepoys caught hold of me, and made me carry some brazen vessels for him to the theatre, adjoining the bungalow above referred to, and then let me go. When I passed close to this bungalow, seeing a crowd assembled there, I stood, and saw four or five men with drawn swords, who appeared to be sweepers, approach the bungalow, and I heard the people say that these men had come to put an end to those who may have escaped the musketry. I saw these men enter the house, and drag out the ladies about fifteen in number, some of whom were wounded, and massacre them with their swords; after which, dragging their corpses, they threw them down a well in the compound. I saw a little child about five years old near one of the ladies, who seeing her killed, tried to escape by running away, but was cut down by one of the men bearing swords and the corpse thrown into the well; seeing this I left the spot, but the crowd was still there. On

the same day, about 10 o'clock A.M., it was rumoured that the European troops were approaching Cawn-poor, and were about twelve or fourteen miles distant; hearing this the sepoys commenced preparing for a battle. About two o'clock, I heard the firing of cannon, which continued till three o'clock, when the news of the defeat of the sepoys reached, and all the mutineers and bad characters of the city were seen flying towards Bithoor. It was now rumoured that the European troops were advancing, and all the inhabitants would be put to death, which caused the people to fly from the city. I accompanied them. On reaching a village called Nowbusta, about four or five miles distant, I remained there for four days, when I heard that the inhabitants were invited to return to their homes, and I accordingly came back. After a month and a half, I took employment with Captain Bruce as a chuprassee. A month after this, the mutineers from Gwalior came here, to meet whom the European troops advanced, and a battle took place, which lasted the whole day. In the evening the troops returned to the entrenchments, and the mutineers advanced to the city and remained fighting for eleven days. I was employed in carrying provisions from the entrenchments to the different batteries, and was present with my master at the battle of Surujpore, and am still in Government service.

*Question*—On the first day, when the sepoys were firing into the bungalow containing the ladies and children, were there any persons present with drawn swords?

*Answer*—I did not see any person with swords on that day.

*Question*—Can you give a description of the persons who entered on the second day, with drawn swords, the bungalow where the ladies and children were?

*Answer*—I do not recollect their features, but one of them wore a beard, was of a dark complexion, and of tall stature.

*Question*—Were the ladies whom you saw dressed or otherwise?

*Answer*—They were all dressed. I did not see any otherwise.



*Question*—Did you hear who the four or five men with drawn swords were, or of what tribe were they, and residents of which place ?

*Answer*—No ; I did not hear anything regarding them.

*Question*—When the corpses were thrown down the well, had they clothes on them ?

*Answer*—Yes, with the exception of three.

*Question*—Can you describe, or give any information regarding, any one of the crowd that was present during the two days when the massacre was being carried on ?

*Answer*—There were many persons, both of the city and of my neighbourhood, but they have all gone away ; I do not know any of their names. There was a person with me named Suffree, whose whereabouts I do not know : he was with me when I went to Lucknow.

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*No. 61—Deposition of Cheda, son of Koorah, sweeper, age 40 years, residing in Ram Narain Bazar, Cawnpoor.*

*Question*—What have you to state ?

*Answer*—For the last ten or twelve years I have been employed with Mr. Thomas Greenway, a merchant, residing at Purmit Ghat, Cawnpoor. When the outbreak occurred in that station, I accompanied my master to General Wheeler's barrack ; my wife was employed as an ayah with Mrs. Greenway ; she and our child also accompanied us to the barrack. When the Europeans entered the boats, and were massacred at the ghat, and the ladies who had escaped the massacre were taken to the Savada House, I and my wife and child were also taken along with them and confined there. Two or three days after this, the ladies and children were removed to the house close to the Assembly Rooms, and I and my wife and child were also taken there ; a guard was placed over us all. The Nana had resided at the hotel known as Nur Mahomed's, close to the Assembly Rooms, and all the ladies, together with Mr. Edward Greenway and his son named Stephen, were made over to Tanteen Topee. There were also two gentlemen from Furruckabad confined along with the ladies ; one of them

was styled major, and I do not know who the other was, he was wounded in the right thigh. Five or six days after, I heard the sepoys placed on guard over us, under command of Tanteea Topee, saying that the Europeans were close upon Cawnpoor. The sepoys commenced arming themselves, and proceeding to the several batteries. During the night, Tanteea Topee and the Nana, accompanied by about a hundred armed men, came into the compound of the house, and removed the four Europeans who were confined along with the ladies, and taking them to the corner of the commissariat bungalow shot them. I saw Mr. Edward Greenway fall first, and then his son, after which the other two gentlemen were shot. At the time that these gentlemen were shot, Tanteea Topee and Baba Bhut were present at the spot, and I witnessed the former giving orders for the execution of the four Europeans. After which, they came to the ladies, accompanied by the armed sepoys, for the purpose of massacring them and the children; hearing which they all shrieked. I was standing at the time in the verandah, and heard Tanteea Topee and Baba Bhut order the sepoys to massacre the ladies and children: which order they carried out. Both these individuals had drawn swords; my wife and child were also killed with the ladies; seeing this I left the place, and, climbing over the wall, escaped. Mitthoo and Booddhoo, sweepers, who were there, accompanied me; the latter's wife was also killed. I do not remember the date of the massacre, but it was on the very next morning the European troops reached Cawnpoor. I had often seen Tanteea Topee before, as he frequently visited my master's shop; I could therefore recognise him. I do not know the number of the regiment to which the sepoys belonged who massacred the ladies. A Mussulman darogah who was in the Nana's employ, had food prepared for the ladies, and a woman called Begum used to bring it to them. I do not know her name; she was of a fair complexion, and about 30 years of age.



From the day that the ladies were brought to Mrs. Batten's house, up to the time of their massacre, I remained with them, and during this period none of the ladies ever came outside of the house, as they were not permitted to do so. I did not hear of, or see, any lady being taken away from there. Besides the four gentlemen above alluded to, no others were in confinement with the ladies.

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*Re-examination of Cheda.*

*Question*—You have stated in your deposition that two gentlemen from Furruckabad, one of whom was known as a major, were confined along with the ladies, but it has been ascertained that the gentlemen who had come from Furruckabad were three in number: you are therefore requested to state what became of one of them.

*Answer*—A number of gentlemen had come from Furruckabad, but out of those only two were brought to the Beebeeghur.

*Question*—State whether, before the massacre of the ladies, five Europeans were put to death, or only four, as stated by you.

*Answer*—I well remember seeing only four gentlemen put to death.

*Question*—Where are your two companions who escaped with you, *i.e.*, Mitthoo and Boodhoo?

*Answer*—They are in some station to the west, and, as soon as I can find out where they are, I will give intimation.

*Question*—State what occurrences you observed during the time you were in the entrenchments.

*Answer*—I only remained for two days in the entrenchments, and therefore cannot relate what occurred there.

*Question*—As you have been here throughout the disturbances, state who were the chief leaders who accompanied the rebels to battle?

*Answer*—I do not know all of them, but at the commencement of the outbreak I saw the Nunne Nawab, and Bakur Alee his brother, together with Nizamudoollah,

accompanied by a number of sepoy's and wearing arms, proceed daily to the batteries, and Nawab Doolah daily attended the Nana's court; he used to go in a palanquin. Food for the troops was daily sent by this person. Besides this I know nothing further.

*Question*—You have stated that, when news reached of the European troops being close upon Cawnpoor, Tanteea Topee and the Nana, accompanied by about a hundred armed men, came into the compound of the house where the ladies were confined, and that they removed the four Europeans to the corner of the commissariat bungalow, and there shot them; after which, Tanteea Topee and the Nana, accompanied by the armed men, came to the place where the ladies and children were confined, for the purpose of massacring them, and that, in accordance with their orders, the sepoy's massacred the ladies and children. But from other depositions it appears that, when the sepoy's refused to massacre the ladies, five other persons murdered them with swords: you are therefore desired to state whether you personally witnessed the massacre of the ladies?

*Answer*—When I heard the order given for the massacre of the ladies, through fear I left the place, and therefore did not witness the massacre; but, at the time I was making my escape from the place, I heard shots fired, and do not know if any others, besides the sepoy's, perpetrated the massacre after I had left. Tanteea Topee and Baba Bhut, when they gave the order for the massacre of the ladies, were in the compound of the house where the Nana lived, which was quite close to the Beebeeghur, where the ladies were confined.

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*No. 62.—Statement of Manuck, spy.*

I was sent by the Commissioner of Military Police from Meerut to gain information of Nizam Ali Khan, sowar, 5th Troop, 2nd Light Cavalry, who was a resident of Rampore. On reaching that city and making enquiries, I learnt that his house was situated in the mohallah of Zearut Badsha, but could get no trace of him there, and I was recommended to apply to Gholam Hyder Khan; he was formerly in the native cavalry



and was now in the service of the Nawab of Rampore as jemadar of sowars. With some difficulty I got acquainted with Gholam Hyder Khan, and after conversation on other subjects made enquiries regarding Nizam Ali Khan; the jemadar informed me that he had seen him at Rampore during the outbreak and that he had a young lady, daughter of a gentleman, with him; she was disguised in native clothes, and that he consequently did not like to have anything to say to him; that Nizam Ali Khan shortly after left Rampore, and he believed that he went to the rebel camp then at Toolseepore.

*No. 62.—Deposition of Narain and Bhow Raie, residents of Bithoor.*

We were sent as spies to gain information of Nizam Ali Khan, sowar of the 5th Troop, 2nd Light Cavalry, supposed to be in the rebel camp. On leaving Cawnpore, we passed through Lucknow and Ajooda to Toolseepore, where we found the British encamped and went with them to Bhootwal; there the rebels made a show of opposition, but soon fled, leaving four of their number wounded, and some 40 gave themselves up, who got passes to remain at Koondah. The next day Raja Maun Sing and Durbija Sing with Major Bruce went on to Sutteea: we accompanied them. The rebels fired a few shots and fled to the thick jungles; the British returned and we went to Kutra, a hill about ten kos further on, where the Nana was encamped. Before we reached it, we overtook Gopal, a sepoy of the 42nd Native Infantry, whom Narain knew at Bithoor, and got into conversation with him. He asked why we had come to the jungles; we told him to seek service through a eunuch named Narain in the Nana's employ, and then reminded Gopal that we had seen him at Bithoor; he told us that we must be very careful as it was dangerous entering the camp, and that, as we had come thus far, he was to take us with him as residents of his village, which was near Benares. We were six days in the Nana's camp, and saw his brothers Bala and Baba Bhut; also the following individuals of his household:—Thudassee Punt; Odagur, the treasurer, Abhadunk, paymaster; Dharee; the Eunuch Narain; Subadar Bajaba; Beharee, Chobdar; Pachaie, an old and favourite attendant of the Nana; Lutchmun, the driver of the Nana's bullock carriage; Mahadeo, the baker; Dunhee, the gardener; Bukna, the bath attendant; Cheitto, the sweeper; Lalla, the boatman, Ramchurn and Pooloo, Hindoo wrestlers; Nujjeem, the Mahomedan wrestler. These we recognized from having seen them at Bithoor. We heard that the widows of Bajie Rao were in camp; they were the two called Mooneea Baie and See Baie, also a daughter of the

Peishwa's named Beea; there was also the Nana's wife and Bala's wife, and another lady whose name I do not know.

*Question*—Was she an European?

*Answer*—No, a native lady, the wife of a Rao residing to the south, but we do not know the name.

*Question*—Did you hear of any European ladies in camp?

*Answer*—No.

*Question*—Did you see the Nana?

*Answer*—Yes, when he used to go down to the river to bathe; he was attended by Bala and his servants, with an umbrella held over his head. A number of people used to assemble to pay their respects to him as he passed. The Nana had shaved off his beard. Bala had the mark of a bullet-wound on his right shoulder. We heard in camp that the Baies were very anxious to get away from the jungles.

*Question*—Did you hear anything of Nizam Ali Khan?

*Answer*—We did not, for we were afraid to leave Gopal's protection, and be too particular in enquiries. There were a large number of people scattered about in the jungles, from 12,000 to 15,000; not all of them troops; many were budmashes and villagers. We saw two guns, about 100 horse, and six elephants; there were also six palkees for the Nana's ladies, and these were kept near two tents in which the Nana lived. Food was scarce and dear. Rice from one seer to 1½ for the rupee; many were starving and had to plunder. The sepoys had no tents but lived under the trees, they were armed, but we heard that they were short of ammunition, and that they were much dissatisfied.

*Question*—Did you see any of the 2nd Cavalry with the horsemen in camp?

*Answer*—We cannot tell, as they were without uniform and in a wretched condition. The Begum had her camp on the next range: she was with Munnoo Khan. Bane Madho with other Rajas had left for Kharie Ghur. Amongst the Hindeostanees of Bithoor, we recognized Purun Sookh and Gungadeen; the jungles were very dense and there was no order in camp, but a strict search made after strangers.



*TRANSLATION of a Narrative of Events at Cawnpoor.*

THE composer of this narrative, an humble but loyal subject of the State, Nanukhund by name, is an inhabitant of Cawnpoor, and, in testimony of his attachment to the Government, he has recorded the following account of the disturbances, taken part in by traitors, in the hope that the authorities will be gratified by its perusal. The writer has been a well-wisher of the Government from the commencement, and has received at its hands much kindness and distinction. When Bajee Rao, Peishwa, died, and the Nana, budmash, placed the Peishwa's widows in confinement, the agents of the said widows came to the writer for assistance, and he, in the first instance, induced the said agents to file a regular complaint on behalf of those ladies. These men fought out the case with the local Government and the authorities in England for a considerable period. The correctness of this statement will be manifest from a proceeding recorded by the Lieutenant-Governor, which is still in the writer's possession. Meanwhile, the Nana, of hateful memory, caused the elder daughter of the Bacc Sahib, a widow of Bajee Rao, to be married to a son of one Putpurdhun, but refused to let her join her husband, and indeed put her to death, by means which cannot with decency be recorded. The agents, who used to visit the writer, complained about her death, but owing to Mr. M., then Magistrate and Officiating Commissioner of Bithoor, they obtained no redress, that officer having been on friendly terms with the Nana. Complaints regarding these occurrences were carried forward as far as England, and the agents, who were employed in doing so, are still in existence. Shortly after, Chunnajee Rao, eldest son of Chunnajee Rao, senior, brother of Bajee Rao, came and assured the writer that he was rightful proprietor of one-half of all the real and personal property of Bajee Rao, and afterwards Bulwunt Rao, Athoroli, father-in-law of Bajee Rao, came and stated that he feared the Nana would put to death the younger daughter of Bajee Rao, likewise, as he was anxious to get her married in opposition to the rules of the family. Consultations on these topics went on for a considerable time, at the end of which Chimna Apa, junior, pledged his word to pay all expenses attending the prosecution of the suit, and also monies paid on his own individual account, adding that, even in the event of the suit not succeeding, he was about to receive possession of property valued at nearly two lacs of rupees, as his own personal property, as he had just attained his majority, the said property being then under the management of the Magistrate of the district. He, at the same time, mortgaged the property in question

by a formal deed, and on this understanding a suit was filed against the Nana, valued at three crores, four lacs, and seventy thousand, six hundred and fifty-three rupees, eleven annas and five pie, in the court of the Principal Sudder Ameen; but, in consequence of that officer's colluding with the defendant, it was dismissed. An appeal from the order of dismissal was duly filed, the Sudder Court being well aware of the hostility existing between the Nana and our party. But the following are the actual facts of the case. Some of the servants of the Nana, budmash, being fond of having their palms greased, would come over and communicate information regarding their master to Chinna Apa, and occasionally made similar communications to the writer. When appearances showed the certainty of an approaching insurrection, and the former Magistrate of Cawnpore entrusted important duties to the Nana, his immediate attendants, who used to bring the writer news, assured the writer that the Nana was instigated by Baba Bhut and Jwala Pershad, Risaldar, and Bala, brother of the Nana, and Ehmudollah, tehseeldar, and Mohamed Ishaq, formerly thanadar, to turn traitor; and the attendants of the ladies Meina Bacc and Sutie Bacc also informed me that the Nana was in the habit of saying at home that he had secured the co-operation of the soldiery, and would have his revenge, and would rule over that territory. The writer mentioned all this to the Magistrate, but, as that gentleman had a high opinion of the Nana, he took no notice. Though helpless, the writer was convinced in his own mind that the Nana was an insignificant person, and that, if he did create any disturbances, the British Government would root him out in a few days; and that it was impossible for the great empire of the British to be destroyed by the revolt of such miserable traitors, but rather it was certain that they would hereafter be punished as they deserved.

These reflections led to the writer's keeping the following journal, from the 15th May 1857, the preparation of which cost him a good deal of time and labour; and he hopes that, while it may prove of service to the Government, it may also ensure him a place among those who have been rewarded for their fidelity.

From the date on which the mutiny (at Cawnpore) broke out, to the 10th June, the writer kept himself concealed in the city and penned this journal. When the wicked Nana ordered him to be apprehended, and he could not find place to stay in, he had no alternative but to cross the Ganges and put up in a place named Budruka, in the house of a Kayeth, named Dhurum Dass. While there he



entertained ten men to bring him intelligence of passing events. These were trustworthy men and loyal subjects, and they brought news of what transpired every minute in the Nana's office, and in the entrenchments of the *sahib-log*, and among the zemindars. News of events passing in the city was obtained through Joogul Kishore, the patron of the writer, assisted by Kunhya Lall Deechut and Kalka Pershad, a Moonshi, employed by Mr. Thomas Greenway, who was present there, and by Ramjee Suhai, Kayeth. News of what happened among the zemindars was supplied by Futtah Singh and others (zemindars) who were of the writer's party. News of Ilqa Ukbulpore was supplied by Yur Ali, naib serishtadar of the Magistrate's Court, and that of the disturbances caused by the villagers in Bithoor was furnished by the mududgar of Chowkee Aroul, who was faithful to Government. So also news of the occurrences at Bithoor proper was supplied by Apa Shastree, a respectable citizen, and by Apageepunt-Thakoori, and Lala Ram, mootsuddie, and by Basdeo Shastree, and other people belonging to Chinna Apa who were in confinement by order of the Nana. Lastly, news of the widows of Bajee Rao, *i. e.*, of Meina Bacc and Sutie Bacc, who always received intelligence of what was going on, and are still in confinement with the Nana, duly came in, and other news was brought in by the hurkaras specially appointed by the writer for that purpose.

With the assistance of the above-named persons the writer was enabled to keep up this journal, in which the events of the day are accurately set down. When the authority of the British Government was re-established, the writer waited upon Mr. I. W. Sherer, the Magistrate and Collector, and also upon Mr. Burrows, and made mention of this journal, remarking that it had not been called for by anybody. In conformity to Mr. Sherer's instructions, he continued in attendance upon the Superintendent of Police, and performed numerous services of importance. One of these was the discovering of nearly 20 lakhs of treasure, which the Nana had thrown into a well before running away, and which was a portion of the amount for which the writer had brought a civil action against the said Nana. That money was recovered and deposited in the Government Treasury. He also continued to obtain and communicate intelligence of the movements of the rebels to the authorities with the aid of his hurkaras, and by other means; and, in compliance with the wishes of Mr. Burrows, he continued with the camp of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for ten months, and promptly and zealously carried out every order

confided to him. In doing so, the writer paid out of his own pocket all expenses of conveyance, and salaries of chuprassies, &c., &c., amounting to nearly Rs. 4,000. Eventually the services of all loyal subjects were brought to the notice of Government, save and except the services of the writer of this journal.

It is proper to mention that the guilty ones well knew that the writer would faithfully record all their acts, as his loyalty was equally well-known to them, and they accordingly combined to prevent him from describing them in their true colours, and thus it happened that rebels were regarded as well-wishers, and really loyal subjects passed over in silence.

*On the 15th May 1857 (corresponding with Jet-budi, Sumbut 1922), on Friday, I went to the Collector's office to purchase two stamps: one of Rs. 2,000 and the other of Rs. 250 value, required for the appeal then about to be made in the case of Nana Dhoondoo Punt, defendant. I perceived that the office establishment were conversing in a tone of alarm. I did not see the Deputy Collector, Mr. William H. Stacey, on that occasion, and consequently returned home. On entering the city, I joined people looking out for the distribution of cartridges, and noticed that the infantry and cavalry were arranging to mutiny. After taking my dinner at 4 p.m., I went to the Civil Court and there learnt that Abdool Rahman Khan, the Principal Sudder Ameen, had repaired to Mr. Hillersdon, the Magistrate and Collector of Cawnpore, to consult with him about the best means of suppressing disturbances. Towards evening I met Mr. Stacey, who had come to Baboo Esree Pershad's bungalow to play at billiards, and learnt that much anxiety was felt for the future. I then fully resolved to record the events of each day, confident that the narrative would come of use hereafter, and that it might possibly be regarded as evidence of my fidelity to Government.*

*16th May 1857 (corresponding to 7th Jet-budee), Saturday.—I again went to the kutcheree to-day to purchase stamps; Mr. Stacey told me that he had no stamp of the value of Rs. 2,000, but could give me stamps of lesser value to the full amount. I perceived that the authorities were much disturbed in mind, and heard that the Magistrate had directed the Nana to come with troops and artillery from Bitheor, and the people of the city began to form evil conjectures. I also heard that Baba Bhut had proceeded by buggy to the cavalry regiment, and there was a general feeling of alarm prevalent in the*



kutcheree; but what was in each man's heart could not be known. They spoke of the outbreak at Delhi and Meerut. After hearing this, I went to Ramdhun, khuzanchi, in the treasury. I there heard a subadar and jemadar of the guard uttering traitorous language, and the sepoys refused to obey each other's orders. They began quarrelling with people who went into the treasury on business. They also detained parties who came out bearing money or stamp papers, and would not release them till ordered to do so by the subadar. It began to be evident that nobody had any authority but the subadar and the sepoys.

*The 17th May 1857, Sunday.*—This day Golab Singh, thanadar of Sheorajpoor, captured two of the sepoys (with money on them) who had mutinied and plundered the Allygurh Treasury and were making their escape. The thanadar sent the prisoners on to the Magistrate. I also learnt that villagers were flocking into the city in great numbers and that Deep Singh, wrestler, a resident of Rumeepoor, had taken the Nana's permission and gone to Rumeepoor in the evening.

*The 18th May, Monday.*—The Magistrate this day issued an order to the kotwal to desire the bankers (of the city) to employ armed men for their own defence. On hearing this, people became more alarmed and all sorts of things were uttered. I was also told that some of the budmashes at Lucknow, who created disturbances, were hanged. This news caused serious discussion among the sepoy regiments, and the order of the Magistrate, above mentioned, led the budmashes of the villages to make other prudential arrangements.

*The 19th May, Tuesday.*—I was told that the rebels had created disturbances on the roads leading to Agra, Furruckabad and Cawnpoor; and the marriage processions which were about to proceed in those directions postponed their departure.

*The 20th May, Wednesday.*—I learnt to-day that the men of the infantry and cavalry regiments declare that, beyond defraying the expenses of those regiments, they do not mean to give any of the treasure to other people.

*The 21st May, Thursday.*—To-day Baboo Esree Pershad and the other bankers of the city waited on the Magistrate and obtained his permission to employ 500 matchlock-men. The baboo observed that he was prepared to pay them if the kotwal would entertain them, as he (the baboo) could not prevail on them to serve. This was agreed to, and in the evening I called on the Kotwal Shah Alee to hear of the

arrangements that had been decided upon for the defence of the city. Inayat Hossein, thanadar of Sheorajpoor, who had been sent for by the Magistrate to assist Shah Alee Kotwal, was seated there at the time, and matchlock-men were being enlisted. The kotwal was anxious to enlist some of the sowars of the collectorate for the protection of the city.

*The 22nd May, Friday*—To-day the agent of Chimna Apa, the plaintiff in the suit against the Nana, came to me. I was conducting the case in court on his behalf. He stated to me, with reference to the 500 rupees that I had given him for court costs, that, as Apa Sahib and Gunesh Shastree were going along in an ekka, they encountered the troops of the Nana, with artillery, coming from the opposite direction, having been sent for by the Magistrate; that these men ran up to assault Apa Sahib, and that, as it was night time, Gunesh Shastree and Chimna got off the conveyance, and ran into a ravine; that the assailants carried off a valuable sword with the 500 rupees and Chimna Apa had saved his life, but his men were beaten; and that the Nana's men openly declared that the British rule would only last a few days longer. On hearing this, I was much alarmed and determined to make it known to the Magistrate. Friends advised me not to do so, on the ground that the Magistrate had sent for the Nana for purposes of his own and would favour the Nana at such a crisis, and that my complaint had no chance of being listened to. However, I came to the resolution that, whether it was listened to or not, I should certainly inform the Magistrate of what I had learnt.

*The 23rd May, Saturday*.—To-day I waited on the Magistrate, and told him all about the encounter with the Nana's troops, and of Chimna Apa being plundered. He made no reply. In the evening I received intelligence that the Bala was holding traitorous conversation with the sowars, and Goredhun, agent of the widow ladies, who came from Bithoor, assured me that he had heard from the immediate attendants of the Nana, on the night previous, that the cavalry and infantry had joined the Nana's party and that the latter were only keeping up appearances; and that they followed this policy, i. e., if the soldiery ran away, then the Nana's party would receive credit, and the way for recovering his pension would be proved; while on the other hand, if the soldiery were victorious, and the British rule extinguished, they would get possession of the country. This statement of Goredhun's appears to be well-founded, as he attends upon the father



of the Baees. Other particulars must be known to the parties themselves.

*The 24th May, Sunday.*—Heard to-day that the Magistrate issued an order that the men entertained for the defence of the city should be distributed all over at the Nakehbundies. The kotwal has accordingly commenced stationing the men of the new levy. I also heard that the sowars of the 2nd Regiment of Cavalry, with Teeka Singh, subadar, went to the Nana last night, to hold a consultation. People say that the Nana has come in to assist Government, while the agent of the Baees brings intelligence that the Nana is planning to win over the soldiery to his side. I am confident that those who keep his mischievous company will cause disturbances.

*The 25th May, Monday.*—I heard to-day that the Magistrate instructed the Nana to entertain men, and promised to give them money for their expenses, and also ordered Serh Mull, nazir of the collectorate, to furnish supplies, and remain in attendance. Towards evening I returned from kutcheree, and perceived several troopers and sepoys in the garden in company with the Nana's force. What I observe seems the opposite of what the Collector believes. Had the Nana a clear heart, he would not associate with the troops in secret. I observed that the chowdree and zemindars of Bithoor were with him, and these men are great budmashes. I should not wonder if they instigated the zemindars to rebellion.

*The 26th May, Tuesday.*—To-day I wrote a full account of the Nana's doings, on plain paper, and filed it as a petition, so as to warn the Magistrate, and induce him to speak to the General, so as to avoid falling into error; but the Magistrate gave no heed to my petition, and got so vexed with me that I cannot describe his anger. He said to me, "You have all along been speaking ill of the Nana, and filing suits against him in the civil courts; I cannot pay attention to any representation from a person so hostile to the Nana." I replied those affairs had no connection with the present question; that the Nana had long harboured enmity to the Government, and a great number of budmashes belonged to his party; that he (the Magistrate) would hereafter remember my caution; and that I had obtained *certain* intelligence, as the men of the Nana's household communicated it to Chimna Apa, my client. The Magistrate would listen to nothing. In despair I did nothing further than keep a copy of the petition in my book. It is a hopeless case. Let us see what will be the end of

all this neglect. The Principal Sudder Ameen, too, has undertaken the entire responsibility of keeping the troopers quiet. This, too, is a serious inconvenience, and another instance of negligence. We shall see what happens.

*The 27th May, Wednesday.* Heard to-day that the mahajuns of the city waited in a body on the General, and asked him what they were to do. He desired them to be alarmed at nothing, as an European force would quickly come in from the east, and they were only to be on their guard, as the Magistrate was making every arrangement for their safety. Orders were issued to the contractors to send in quickly sugar, rice, gram, soojee, flour, &c., &c. One of the zemindars informed me that Chowdree Goordut Singh, of Ilaga Futtehpoor, and Bhowani Singh, Debee Singh, Madho Singh, and the Chowhaniwallahs, appeared to have joined the rebels. I went and mentioned this to Shah Ali, kotwal, who replied that he would immediately go and inform the sahib, but I cannot say whether he did so or not. In the evening I met Messrs. Mullens and Stacey, and another gentleman belonging to the 2nd Cavalry, who was with them, and informed them of what I had heard. They replied, "What can we do; if these people kill us, England will not be depopulated; more than 60,000 European troops are on their way from England. You will see what will happen." Some carriages containing *sahib-logs* are expected to-day from Lucknow. I heard that the regiment of native cavalry and guns, that came from Lucknow, will return thither. I perceive that the feeling of anxiety has increased.

*The 28th May, Thursday.*—I heard to-day that the Nana has returned to Bithoor, to arrange for the entertainment of armed men, and that he has applied for men through Jye Singh and Munsub Ali, Chowdree of Rusoolabad, who came to Bithoor to see the Nana, and were friends of the latter; and that men from across the Ganges, to the number of nearly 600, have already been enlisted, and further enlistment is in progress. At 10 o'clock, I went to the Collector's Treasury, and being unable to obtain one stamp of Rs. 2,500 value, I purchased others of less value, making up the full amount which was required for both suits. One of them was the case-suit of Bulwunt Rao, guardian of Bya Sahib, daughter and heiress of Maharaj Bajee Rao, and the paper was purchased for Chimnajee Rao, junior, and the claim laid at Rs. 3,470,653-11-5. The other suit was for Rs. 10,000. I took these stamps, after purchasing them, to our vakeels, Shadi Lall, Durgahi Lall,



and Moozuffur Hoossein, in the Civil Court. The vakeels filed the requisite petition. The Principal Sudder Ameen got in a great rage, and observed, "The period of appeal from the decision passed on the 16th April terminated on the 27th instant." The vakeels replied that the 16th April ended at 4 P.M., and that the appeal was within time to-day. At last the Principal Sudder Ameen allowed the appeal to be filed, and directed that it should be sent up to the Sudder Court, with a copy of the record.

*The 29th May, Friday.*—I heard to-day that there was an unusual gathering of zemindars near pergunnah Bithoor. These men have always been budmashes. It would seem that the Raja of Tebtia is associated with them, and that disturbances have commenced in that quarter, and that there was some dispute about removing the magazine. An European guard has been stationed there. I heard that they have commenced raising an entrenchment near the hospital, and that Ghunsham Aheer, the jemadar, will superintend the work on behalf of the Barrack Master, and that the Magistrate has passed an order to the effect that he has no leisure, and that consequently all the omlah of the Collectory and Foujdary offices shall conform to the orders of the Deputy Collector Ram Lall.

*The 30th May, Saturday.*—I discovered that the *sahib-log* have taken out the Government guns and magazines for removal into the entrenchment, and that arrangements are made to convey supplies into it, and that the people of the city are much alarmed; also that troopers and sepoy are wandering about the city; and that a picket of 50 sowars has been stationed at the Sirsa Ghat Naka on the part of Government. It is most strange that all these men, whose hearts are estranged from the Government, continue to do duty under it.

*The 31st May, Sunday.*—I heard to-day that the Magistrate called upon Colonel Abbot and inspected the report. Also that a petition was received from the Tehseeldar of Bithoor, stating that Motee Singh, zemindar of Nanamow, had collected together nearly 800 men; orders were passed on it, requesting the tehseeldar to inform the crowd that they were not to make a disturbance, and that hanging would be the penalty if they did, and that the tehseeldar should keep himself on the alert. Intelligence also came in from the westward that plundering, &c., was going on along the roads. The troopers and sepoy, too, commenced making wild speeches.

*The 1st June, Monday.*—I heard that the Nana with his force was approaching and that Chimna Apa and his attendants had run away from Bithoor, and taken up his quarters in Lalla Esree Pershaud's small huvelee. I heard from him that all the three brothers and their nephews were of one mind, and declared that they were now gainers in every way, as the native army was under their orders, and their efforts to keep up appearance with the Government were also successful. Chimna Apa expressed deep regret at all this, and pressed me to go and inform the Magistrate. I replied that, on a former occasion when I volunteered intelligence, the Magistrate was greatly enraged with me, and I felt afraid to repeat the experiment, as that gentleman had unbounded confidence in the Nana, and I further feared lest I should be put in confinement in return for such acts of devotion. In short I could not muster the courage to inform the Magistrate. I see that more men are being enlisted daily, but the Bala is a man of execrable temper, and I dread to think of what he may do. I subsequently heard that about a lakh of rupees was taken into the entrenchment from the Collectorate Treasury.

*The 2nd June, Tuesday.*—I heard to-day that about 60,000 or 65,000 rupees more were taken into the entrenchment, and that the Nana too had come in, and was putting up in the bungalow opposite to the Civil Court. I also heard that, before the Magistrate's perwanah could reach the Tehseeldar of Bithoor, the zemindar, Motee Singh, of Nana-mow had broken into rebellion and burnt down the village of Gudna belonging to the Koormees, and put to death the men and children in it, and had also begun plundering the dak bungalows and the carriages of travellers, and carried off dak horses. It would not be surprising if they proceeded to attack the European superintendents of roads and to murder them. The sowars that came from Lucknow joined the rabble soldiery of this place, and the Bala and Baba Bhut again went away among the cavalry-men. Let us see what they consult upon doing next. The third matter I discovered was that the magazine, which the *sahib-log* wished to destroy, could not be blown up, and that the sepoys and sowars openly spoke treason, and began boasting that none but they could take the magazine. The Magistrate, too, who was proceeding to the kutcheree armed, appeared to be in great anxiety, and the Principal Sudder Ameen also left at 4 P.M. to-day, and went among the sowars, but effected nothing. I can see nothing good in all



this. Serh Mull, nazir of the Collector's office, told me that he had informed the Magistrate that he had seen the troopers with the Nana and having private conversation with Baba Bhut; the Magistrate replied that the Nana was remonstrating with them on the part of Government, and that Azeemoollah, Mahomed Ishak, and Ukbur Ally, mookhtar, were with him.

*The 3rd June, Wednesday.*—I learnt to-day that the Nana, Bala, Baba Bhut, Azeemoollah, Mahomed Ishak, the chowdree zemindar of Bithoor, and the subadars of the cavalry and infantry regiments, in all five or seven persons, were holding a consultation in the garden, but I cannot discover what they were consulting about. I perceive, also, that there are a greater number of sepoys and troopers prowling about the city, and I observed the families of sepoys in such numbers I had never seen before. The city people, too, are more alarmed than usual. They gave out that the cavalry and infantry are on the point of mutinying. I see a larger number of villagers here than usual, and have learnt that Moonshi Behari Lall is the Nana's secretary. At this moment, a servant of the widows Meina Bae and Sutie Bae came up and told me that Baes are in great alarm, and cannot see how they are to escape, as the opposite party have made up their minds to take their revenge out of every one of their enemies as soon as they got possession of the country, and all those who were likely to give evil advice have joined their party, and that I must immediately make arrangements to save Chinna Apa. I also perceived this evening that the *sahib-logs* were in a great state of alarm. Shortly after I met Mr. Stacey, the Deputy Collector, and Mr. Coffey, of the Railway Department, and Mr. Lindsay, Adjutant-General, and mentioned the above circumstances to them. They listened, but made no reply. I think the rebellion took a more aggravated form in consequence of one of the *sahibs* having fired upon a sepoy. The corpses of a lady and gentleman were seen floating down from some other station, found their way into the canal, and were observed by a great many people.

*The 4th June, Tuesday.*—I heard to-day that the trial of the person who fired upon the sepoy ended thus, *i. e.*, the troopers were informed that the gentleman was intoxicated at the time, and that the musket went off under a mistake; to which the sepoys replied that, possibly, their muskets might go off by mistake in the same way. These sepoys make very harsh speeches. The second disturbance arose thus. An order was issued for the distribution of pay, and they were told to

lay down their arms before receiving it. This created a doubt in their minds, and thus the mutiny commenced. The sepoys declared that they had heard of what occurred in other stations with regiments that had been disarmed, and it remained to be seen what would happen here. At noon, to-day, Narain, trooper, a Bhat by race, and inhabitant of Humeepoor, who belonged to the 2nd Cavalry, and was brother-in-law of Hinde Rao, who lives near the kotwalee, declared publicly that it had been settled among his companions that they should mutiny to-day, and that there was no doubt of their doing so. The people of the city commenced closing their windows and doors, and there was great alarm throughout the city. A little before, the kotwal, having heard of all this, went to inform the Magistrate. I cannot say what measures were decided on. Baba Bhut and Azeemoollah went away towards the mutineers. Some say they have gone to dissuade the soldiery; others, that they have joined them. I can record nothing certain on this point till I see the fact. It is now evening. Even those who kept up dealings with the troopers and sowars declare in great alarm that something dreadful is about to happen. Every heart beats with anxiety. It is now night, or rather near 1 A.M. Suddenly there is a fire in the cavalry lines, and the sound of musketry is heard. At first, one troop marched away, and then a second troop. It appeared that they had set fire to their own camp. Then Gillis's regiment also marched out. They proceeded along the road outside the city, and up to that moment the magazine was left empty. Not a man then entered it. The sowars went along discharging their carbines here and there. The people of the city observing the fire, and hearing the noise and commotion, woke up, and still greater anxiety and alarm prevailed.

*The 5th June, Friday.*—Early this morning, Lambourne's and Garstin's regiments marched out; at this time one or two reports of guns fired from the entrenchment were heard. The sepoys murdered a Mr. Murphy, of the Canal Department, at the lake; but another gentleman who was with him managed to escape into the entrenchment. The regiments are proceeding towards Nawabgunge. I find that they have gone to plunder the treasury. The sowars went to the Peelkhana, and carried off the elephants and Government bullocks, and impressed carts from the city. At this moment I sent off a man to get news from Nawabgunge. When Shah Ali, kotwal saw the rebel sowars passing under the window of the kotwalee this morning, his face turned pale,



and he explained : " The rebellion has begun in earnest." Inayat Hossein, thanadar of Sheorajpoor, who had come in to protect the kotwalee, tried to rally the kotwal, and advised him not to despair. Those men whom the Magistrate caused to be enlisted through the kotwal, for the protection of the people, now clamoured for their pay, and were bent on acting like traitors. At last, being perplexed on all sides, Lalla Earee Pershad sent a sum of money to the kotwal, according to his instructions, through Gobhur Singh, and the men alluded to received their pay up to that date, and they came away, and thus not a man was left for the protection of the city. Even the kotwal came away. The man whom I despatched to Nawabgunge for news now returned and said that he had heard two reports of guns fired by the Nana's party, and that apparently the troopers of the 2nd Cavalry and the sepoys had joined the Nana, with the object of attacking the entrenchment. The Nana, Bala, Baba Bhut, and Azeemoollah joined them, and they are halted at the door of the treasury, and are having the doors unlocked. Sowars have arrived at the house of Ramdhun, treasurer, and induced him by threats to give up the keys of the treasury, which they took with them. The second person, whom I afterwards sent off for news, now returned and reported that the rebels were filling their carts with treasure, and causing houses to be plundered by rioters and other bad characters from the suburbs of the city; also that the Rajpoots of Beisa Mow, with Pragdut, and other Brahmins, and Chootta, budmash, and the zemindars of Kakadeo, with other budmashes from the suburbs, were plundering in all directions, and that a flag borne on an elephant, with Lalpooree Gooshain, and a large number of attendants, reached Meghrutton at 8 o'clock, and took possession of it; also that the sowars had cut away the anchor ropes which held the bridge of boats, and several boats floated away. A little after, I heard that red coats were coming up from across the river, which made the people run away. After plundering the treasury, set fire to the magistrate's office, and civil court buildings, and burnt all the records, and, after noon, they went away to Kullianpoor, intending to proceed to Delhi. Subsequently I heard that the Nana and Baba Bhut were against going to Delhi, and were of opinion that the rebels should first conquer Cawnpoor, and slay their enemies, and then go on to Delhi. On hearing this, I sent off a person, who lived in Bithoor and knew everybody there, to learn particulars. I then heard that some sowars and tindals of the rebel force were going about

setting fire to bungalows, and to the cantonments, and that there was a great conflagration, and that they killed every merchant they came across, and that the employés of the barrack department had plundered the barrack master's treasury. I also heard that one of the camel-drivers was sent off immediately, from among the plunderers of the treasury, to go and raise the flag at Bithoor; that coolies and kunjurs were going about with the sowars, who compelled them to plunder all the property found in the bungalows; and that the sowars cut down every man who refused to plunder at their bidding; also that two persons were killed in this manner, and that villagers and inhabitants of the city and suburbs were to be seen in every lane, carrying away furniture, plate, clothes, and other valuables. This I saw with my own eyes. I cannot describe the distress of mind I am suffering. I am afraid I shall lose my life, and see no way of escape. The man whom I have been prosecuting in various courts, for numerous sums, during the last eight years, is now the supreme ruler. How far can I escape from him? It is equally difficult for Chimna Apa and his attendants, and for the agents and vakeels, &c., &c., of the widows to escape with their lives. It is impossible for Lalla Esree Pershad and myself to escape, unless by the interposition of providence. Debee Pershad, mohurrir, attached to the bridge, went to the Magistrate in the entrenchment to give information. He was told, in reply, to keep the bridge safe and in order, as the rebels would depart after taking the treasure, and the Europeans would re-occupy the station to-morrow. The kotwal was sent for by the Magistrate, and accordingly went into the entrenchment, but I cannot say what conversation passed. Villagers from every direction have crowded into the city, but to this moment it has remained safe from depredation and bloodshed. In the evening the kotwal entered the kotwalee, but he was not in his senses, and great uproar and fear of being plundered prevailed in every ward of the city. The three persons whom I sent out for particulars returned, and related minutely all that had transpired, but his narrative is a very long one, and I am overpowered by terror and anxiety; so I shall put down this man's story in to-morrow's memorandum. The same person also informed me that the rebels would return next morning, and cause disturbances in the city.

*The 6th June, Saturday.*—News arrived in the city that the rebels had set fire to the boats supporting the bridge. On hearing this,



I concealed myself in my house, and, owing to the rebels, there was no road safe to escape by. At noon, to-day, the rebel force marched into the city, and at 11 A.M. they came upon the residence of the Nunneh Nawab, and fired into it with guns; five reports were heard. Then I heard that the gates were thrown open. The troopers and sepoy's rushed in and broke all the glassware to pieces, and plundered all the materials of *taseeahdaree*, and clothes and plate, &c., &c. On hearing this, the people of the city trembled with fear. I heard that sowars surrounded the house of Azim Ali Khan also, and, having seized him, put him on a tonjon, and brought him away. Subsequently I was told that they fired two round shots into his house, and that sowars had gone to seize Bakur Ali Khan and Nizam-ood-dowlah, but I did not learn that they had been brought away. It is now 1 P.M., or thereabouts. The rebels have placed guns in position to fire upon the entrenchment; firing has commenced, and sowars are pacing to and fro in every lane; they fire off their muskets at every door, and, by threats of violence, extort money from the inmates. They surrounded the house of Buddree Dass Ugurwala, and were about to take his life. They snatched away a gold bangle worn round his son's arm. There is a great crowd at this moment around the house of Buddree Nath, the commissariat contractor. The rebels have besieged it, and are desirous of seizing him. The house of Buldeo Sahai, farmer, is also surrounded by troopers, who are breaking open the gates. They declare that he has Christians concealed in his house. These rebels go and surround every respectable man's house, and, on the pretext of their concealing Christians, plunder their property, and treat them with insult. They have set on fire the houses of every merchant, and all the bungalows in cantonments and they compel low-caste men to plunder the property contained in them. I heard that several gentlemen of the road department have been murdered, and three or four others killed in the guddikhana; some say that the son of one Mr. Williams, who was a merchant, has been murdered, and that troopers have run on ahead to kill others. They plundered a cart, laden with silver and other articles belonging to some mahajun, which came in from Lucknow. The Mahomedan troopers and Hindoo sepoy's are having a dispute. The former say they will have the Nunneh Nawab for their master, and the Hindoos declare that they will keep the Nana on. Ahmad Ali Khan, vakeel, who had great influence with the Nana, came between, and had the Nunneh Nawab sent to his own residence under an escort of sowars, but a guard of sowars was left at the house to prevent the Nawab's escaping. The

attendants of the Nana are his immediate servants; Hindoos of Hindoostan and Mahomedans are among them, indiscriminately. It has just occurred to me that there is another bit of news which should have been recorded before, *i. e.*, sowars and goendahs found their way into Mr. Thomas Greenway's compound, and, having dug the earth in the spot where treasure had been buried, they carried it away: a portion of it was previously taken away by people acquainted with the secret. So also the property of Mr. Brandon, the merchant, which was left for sale, and in which some articles belonging to the King of Oudh were probably included, as the king had great confidence in Mr. Brandon, was plundered; as also a cart containing nearly Rs. 40,000 belonging to a mahajun, which had arrived at the post-office, was rifled of its contents, *i. e.*, one box containing ten or twelve thousand rupees was brought away by some agent or other man of business, and the rest of the money was carried away deliberately by the low-caste men of Putkapoor and Kursowan. The rebels also carried off the telegraph wires. The sepoys have assembled in great numbers. They carry away their plunder and then return for more. In the chowk, the sowars broke open the locks of the houses of cloth merchants and money-changers and plundered all their goods. They also looted the residence of Yar Ally, as also the houses of two or three of his neighbours. Low-caste Mahomedans, such as sykulgurs (sword-polishers), and bangle-makers and cotton-spinners, go about with the sowars, and the inhabitants of the lanes declare that the sowars have murdered certain Christians. It appears that three Christians were concealed in the shops outside the Moghul-ki-serai, and one was concealed in the shops along the canal. On the first attack, these three fired upon the rebels, who fled, thinking that there were a great number inside, but afterwards, on learning that there were only a few of them, the rebels returned and set fire to the house. They caught and brought away an old gentleman, with a boy of 16 years of age, and a lady and a little girl from the canal, and killed them near the dak bungalow in the Nana's presence. The rebels ran about the lanes, hunting for *sahib-log*; and the troopers murdered an European in a garden close to the Subadar's Tank. The following is a list of the names of the personal attendants of the Nana, who came along with him, as far as I have been informed, *viz*:—

Nana Dhoondoo Punt, Bala, Baba Bhut, Bapoo Datar, Azeemoollah, Huree Chhota, Huree Bura, the wrestler, Gunoo Chowbey, son of the



jemadar, Narain Mirth, Brahmin, Krishna Mirth, Tantia Topee, Huree Punt, Bhao and Sree Newas Rao, (sons of Ram Chunder Punt, subadar), Apa Topee, brother of the said Tantia Topee, Krishna Rao, Udhit Jalamgeer, Anund Rao, son-in-law of Oodgeer, Moroopunt Dheree, Lall Singh, havildar of artillery, Narain Motee, Binayutt Truns, Nana Goklee, Abha Goklee, Bhaskur Goklee, Pandojee Shastree, Bamun Goklee, Bamun Josee, Mahadeo Nana, Kesho Bhut Beheng, Mahadeo Patuk, Narain Bhawee, Untoo Patuk, Sookhram Sussyea, Choonui Singh, Keshoree Singh, Choudri Munnee Sing, Choudri Balajosee, Tantoo Punt, Ragho Punt, Uptyee, Kasa Bhagani-gir, Ukburally Mookhtear, Mahomed Ishaq, Edmund Ali Khan, vakeel, Ehmud-oollah, tehseeldar, Baboo Singh, zemindar, Deep Singh, wrestler, Lalpoory Goshaen, Bapookan Kuttee, Rama Choundhee, Babajee Mungir, Sookkha Ram Khutree, Nursoojee Sindhyee, Gobinda Mulhoo, Poolo, wrestler, Narain Duggee, Gunga, the keeper of the peelkhana, Thuvan Jugnab, Babajee Purkulla, Goonhoojra, Kunnoo Tathye, Goonnoo Bede, Gunnoo Dhuudheree, Ram Chund Puntputdurdhum, Bulwunt Rao, Joglee Gir, Bulwunt Rao Joge, Krishna Jadowe Raghojee, naick, Tokharam Dhoobar, and Shumshere Singh, jemadar.

The zemindars of Bithoor, who joined in the plunder of the treasury, are present at the enemy's batteries and other zemindars are coming. Kobeer Sing of Gunga Gunj, with a large body of attendants has commenced causing disturbances in the suburbs and neighbouring towns. There is a great crowd. It is impossible to record the names of all at such a time.

*The 7th June, Sunday.*—This day I remained in the house of Lalta Pershad Kayeth. There I heard that, under the Nana budmash's orders, notices in Oordoo and Nagree had been printed at the printing office and circulated to the following effect, viz., that all Hindoos and Mahomedans, who respected their creeds, should present themselves. These notices were stuck up along the main roads. On hearing of this everybody trembled with fear and made preparations to raise the jhunda (green flag). The quazee of the city gives the people leave to enter into a jehad (war of extermination) with Christians; while Moulvie Salamut-oollah stoutly denies that a jehad can be proclaimed in such matters. Ehmud-oollah, tehseeldar of Bithoor, has resolved upon creating disturbances. He is instigating everybody to violence. He is the primary agitator of these disturbances and Rehum Khan, native doctor, a Mewatee, and all the men of the butcher-khana are with him, but the respectable Mahomedans of the

city such as Meer Shujayut Ally and all the members of his family, and Meer Yar Ally, naib sirishtadar, and other sons of Moonshi Mahomed Hussun, and other parties, have concealed themselves to avoid being mixed up in such proceedings. Indeed, not one of the respectable residents joined the jehad. Ehmud Ali Khan, vakeel, however, armed with a sword, is going about in company with Baba Bhut. Sowars went down and surrounded the house of the Principal Sudder Ameen and made him a prisoner. Azeemoollah also came down. The Principal Sudder Ameen prayed much to be excused, but they forcibly brought him away. In like manner, they carried off Moulvie Sulamut-oollah in a palanquin. My men have seen these events, and those who went there to see the fun say the same, and add that they have resolved upon proclaiming the green standard. The person whom I sent off to Khereesur for news returned, and reported that the convicts of the jail had gone towards Sheorajpoor and Poorah, and that disturbances had commenced in Sheorajpoor, and that the people of Raja Suti Pershad destroyed the telegraph wires and fought with Goolab Singh, thanadar, and made him prisoner. A third messenger brought the news that the rebels murdered Goordeen, agent of the Baces, who belonged to my party at Rumeil, and slew the people of his house, and blew up his house with guns. The other agent, Apajugtab, ran away, and the attendants of Chimna Apa, named below, were all put in chains, and I hear that they will be put to death, their hands and noses being first cut off. They are the Lalla Mootsuddi, Basdeo Shastree, Ram Bhao, Apa Thakoori, Dada Deechut, Jugurnath Deechut, Bulwunt Rao (father-in-law of Bajee Rao, Peishwa,) Nana Rijbur (the other father-in-law,) Chintaman Bhut, Mahadeo Bhut Narain Rao Ghosla, and Bapoo Atholee, and others. On hearing this, I advised the vakeels, who were conducting suits for me, viz., Sheikh Moozuffer Hossein, Lalla Durgahi Lall, and Lalla Shadi Lall, to run away, as otherwise they would certainly be killed. Mr. Crump, the merchant, who lived in the bungalow, had buried all his valuables and money and goldmohurs, to the value of about two lakhs of rupees, in the presence of Buladeen Chowdree and Beinee Singh, jemadar, in his compound, and went away, and his son took refuge in the entrenchment on the 5th instant. These very servants now dug up those valuables, and carried them away. At this moment I heard that Mr. Green, the superintendent of the bridge, whom the present contractor had concealed in his house, has now been turned adrift, and was consequently murdered; also, that Mr. McIntosh, merchant, with his family were



massacred by rebels, but his mother, by some means, managed to escape. I hear that the great guns of the magazine, with round shot, powder, &c., are being taken to the batteries to-day, and that the treasure plundered from the Government treasury was lying in carts in the magazine, and that the special attendants of the Nana and mutineers of the Lambourne's and Gillis's regiments, and some troopers, were guarding the carts. Also that Government guns are being forwarded to Bithoor, and ammunition from the magazine, intended for Bithoor, being laden in carts. The budmashes, holding flags, declare that they are preparing for an attack, &c. In the old bazar of General Gunj the rebels broke open the shop of Purna Nund on the plea of requiring cloth to make bags of. The budmashes have pointed out that the dwelling of Sheo Churn, cloth merchant, to the sowars, who have taken away his merchandize. Those who go to see the fun are impressed and made to carry about round shot. Guns are being fired on both sides. One of the lookers-on was killed by a ball from the entrenchment. Now I hear that the zemindars also have come in. I am anxious to find a man who could be present at the consultations of the Nana, and be faithful to the Government, and could identify the zemindars. I have appointed a person in whom I have confidence, but I will not put his name on paper now, for fear of his losing his life. This man reports that the following zemindars, viz., Oothum Chund, Ponton Hurdeen, Dhoulkul Singh, Hemunchul Singh, Imrut Singh, Phukur Singh, Rajpoot, Nungooa, Bukhtoor, Lalla Bunwary, Ruttoo, Dewan Zeleo, Munrakhun, Bijoul, Anund Singh, Narain Singh, Gopaul Singh, Gunga Deechut, Jugut Singh, Cheetee Singh, Sunwal Singh, Adhur Singh and Zalim Singh, and others of pergunnah Bithoor, with their attendants all armed, presented themselves at the rebel batteries, but Chowdree Khoman Singh, son of Prag Singh, ran away from Bithoor for fear of the Nana, who has been his enemy for years. Bechoo Singh, Phunkur Singh, Hurchund Singh, Jeyechund Singh, Des Singh, Rughbur Singh, Keerat Singh, Ghunsya Singh and others, zemindars of Kakadeo, pergunnah Jajamow, also presented themselves. Similarly, Rao Pehulwan Singh and his band, with Mal Singh, Sheodeen Singh, Buryar Singh, sirdar, and accompanied by certain persons of mouza Oodeypore, viz., Zore Singh, Roop Singh, Hookum Singh, Dila Singh, Nandeh Singh, Jung Singh, Murdun Singh, Ghunshum Singh, Lachman Singh, Indul Singh, and Unopee Singh, &c., &c., with a body of 200 matchlock-men and men from mouza

Jamonn, viz., Rambuksh and Bhoje Singh, ringleaders, with a body of 400 armed men, also Debee Singh and 400 men of mouza Khursa; also Peshwa Singh and other budmashes of mouza Seidhoree; also the old and notorious budmash Bhowany Singh and a body of 1,200 matchlockmen, of mouza Sowanchpoor; also Ooseyree Singh, Bishun Singh, Dhoulul Singh, Muthra Singh, Gopaul Singh, Suteerun Singh, Bheekum Singh, and Mehurban Singh, &c., &c., with 400 matchlockmen; also Raja Kishoree Singh and Deep Singh Pehulwan, with a body of 800 armed men, of mouza Rumipoor; also Rambux and Hunooman Pershad, of mouza Sedhyee; also Nnrund Singh and Kewur Singh, of mouza Burkula, and also Guja Misr, agent of Jwala Pershad, brigadier, and Gopaul, his brother-in-law, both of mouza Sungwan, made their appearance, as Jwala Pershad's wife's family live in that locality, and he holds a two-anna interest in the property. There were appointments, &c., attached to the kutcheree of the budmash Nana. Thus Babu Bhut held the post of sadder duftur; Jwala Pershad, that of brigadier; Teeka Singh, that of subadar-general; Azeemoollah, that of collector, and Adhadeek Dharee, that of collector. They also brought away the son of Azim Ally Khan; Ghunsham Aheer, jemadar of the barrack master's department, also presented himself. The zemindars are extremely bold. They don't reflect that the Europeans are observing them from the entrenchment, and what will be their fate when the budmashes are defeated. Mr. Edward Greenway, son of Mr. Thomas Greenway, was brought here a prisoner from Nujufgurb with his family, and confined in the Savada-ki-kothee. They require two lakhs of rupees as hostage-money. Captain Hollings, who was formerly dismissed from the service, had a desperate fight with the rebels at Nujufgurb, and only lost his life when his powder and shot were exhausted. Shortly after, I was told that Tilokie Singh and others, the ancient zemindars of mouza Augun, Ilaqa Bithoor, had gone with a large party, and plundered the house of Mr. Peter Maxwell, and carried off four Brahmin women, and that they attacked, &c., the police officers of Chowki Aroul.

*The 8th June, Monday.*—This day I saw no hope of saving my life, and therefore resolved to run away. On the road, I found the Nana's men hovering about in every direction. I got through Hulwa-ki-gullee and concealed myself in the house of Baboo Esree Pershad, it being vacant at the time; only Saligram, gomashta, was in it, and he supplied me with food. I was there one day, and saw what follows but I will



first mention what I heard. I heard that the Mewatees had murdered Luchmun Pershad, tehseldar of Ukurpoor. When this news reached the Nana he appointed Akbur Ali in room of the deceased. I then saw that people with drums, and a great army, were proceeding, *via* the butcherkhana and Muchlee bazar, to the batteries of the enemy, and people gave out that an attack would positively be made to-day. One of my men reported that Mr. Senijob (?), a superintendent of roads, who had voluntarily entrusted his property to the zemindars of Bhontyle, had been wounded by Kober Singh, zemindar of Punkee Kuttra, and had further caused several gentlemen of the canal department to be murdered; that he had a great army with him, plundering and destroying the district; that the gentlemen, and ladies and children were all put into carts and sent to Nawabgunge to the thana. One of the ladies begged that they might not be killed, and were ready to work, but some villain refused to listen to her, and so they were taken to the Nana. I am afraid he will murder them. The second fact is this, that Ujub Singh, Redhawala, and a brother of his, both presented themselves to the Nana. They plundered and carried off some property from the bungalows, and English guns, and an Arab horse, the property of some gentleman. They plundered everybody they met on the road, and have promised to bring in European prisoners. Another piece of fresh news is this, that Dwarka, khuthri, a bad character, and his sons, Doorga and Setul Pershad, presented themselves to the Nana. This Dwarka had been in prison seven years at Benares, and was expelled the district. By some fraud he concealed his faults, and got service with Binayuk Rao, of Tirwai, and did business with the Mahrattas. After the death of Benayuk Rao, he intrigued with Kashi Race, and caused a feud in the family, when Mr. Palmer, the merchant, interposed and the case was settled in another way. It was proved that this man was at the bottom of all the mischief. They thought of putting him in prison, when he fled to Cawnpoor, and hired a house belonging to Sheo Pershad Sunkor, son of Tantee Mull, and resided in the city. This very man is now instigating an impression on the Nana that he should take a large sum of money from the Tirhwanwalas, i. e., from Narain Rao and Madho Rao, and make them join his party. This suggestion has led to correspondence between the Nana and those people. It appears that the Nana has written to them to seize Chimna Apa, who has run away there. This news has been brought me by an intimate friend and highly loyal servant of the State. This very Dwarka went and

threatened Jugun Pershad, khuthri, representing that he had full powers, and the English were all destroyed, and his rule was in force. I also heard that Hindoo sowars had seized the Nunneh Nawab, and taken him to the Nana. I hear that the Mahomedan sowars wish to join the Nawab, and create a quarrel with the Nana. The Hindoos were on the side of the Nana, owing to the good offices of Teeka Singh, general. They therefore carried off the Nawab. The Nana had other views at the time. Ahmed Ali Khan, vakeel, who had great influence with the Nana, explained matters to the Nana, and having sent for Buldeo Singh, zemindar of Seesa Mow, made them stand security for the Nunneh Nawab. The Rajpoots of mouza Maloun and the zemindars are committing highway robbery. They plundered the present lumberdar, and turned him out of his house. To show their attachment to the Nana, they even fired shots into the entrenchment; this has been marked by a great many. They also brought supplies to the rebels. Their names are Sochun Singh, dewan, Toolsi, Punchum, Meneakhun, Bijoul, Esree and Oujagir, with other attendants. I also heard that one or two troops of the 7th Irregular Cavalry and two companies of sepoy, and three Europeans, who are with them, came to inform the Nana that they wish to join his standard. The Nana replied by directing the heads of the Europeans to be cut off. The troopers, &c., promptly refused to do so, and said they had taken their oath not to kill them, but only to keep them under surveillance. Next I heard that the Nawab Doolha, armed with a number of followers, had come in, and joined the Nana's standard, and given shurbut to the troops to drink, and also feasted them. It would be impossible to mention the names of all evil-minded men who joined that standard. They consisted of kulyeghurs, tumkheras, chooriwallahs, the butchers and others, all of the lowest caste. The men there assembled must have numbered above 5,000. After putting down all this correct intelligence, I left my house at candle-light, and came to the dwelling of Heera, Gungapooter, at Sirseea Ghat. He pointed out to me a room to stay in. There I heard that the present contractors of the bridge, i. e., Narain, Jankee and others, are all present with the Nana's party, and that Bakur Ali Khan and Nizamood-Dowlah have been brought in as prisoners. Subsequently I heard that the Nawab Doolha did not himself go to the rendezvous, but merely feasted the sepoy.

*The 9th June, Tuesday.*—To-day I was told that Hoolas Singh, kotwal, was induced by the plausible representation of Ehmud-oollah,



tehseeldar, to leave the Khoord Mehal, where he was staying. The kotwal at first refused to come, but was so completely won over to rebellion that he consented to take office in the kotwalee. Moula Chowdree, the blind, a kulwar by caste, and a notorious bad character, volunteered to find supplies on his being recognised as Chowdree and was appointed accordingly at 10 A.M. A noise like the report of a gun, from the direction of Nawabgunge, was suddenly heard. I asked Gungapooter what it could be. He replied that the *sahib-log* had entered the Kuttra. I remembered the Magistrate issuing an order that, as soon as the boats, containing Europeans from Fatehgurh, should arrive, they should open the lock of the bridge: so it might be the arrival of those boats. I also heard that Jowahir Singh, a resident of Nawabgunge, and Zemindar of Khera and Seorabad, had gone to capture the boats, and, with reference to the Europeans, who are with the cavalry encamped on Chowbipoor-ki-purao, certain sepoy had again proceeded to Bithoor to tell Pandrung Rao that they would not kill those Europeans. They were all ready for action, but I could learn no particulars. I have, therefore, sent off another man for news: the battle is still going on. Akbar Ali, Mookhtar, has been ordered to take up the tehseeldarship of Akburpoor.

*The 10th June, Wednesday.* Ghunsham, the jemadar of the barrack master's department, has pointed out the path for the mine, and miners have been sent for. Reports of guns are again heard to-day from the same quarter. At a little after 12, two dead bodies of Europeans were seen floating down the Ganges, and sepoy were seen in a boat coming down behind those corpses and firing off their muskets as they came. Shortly after I heard that all those *sahib-log* who were expected from Furruckabad had been made prisoners, and that some of them had been left behind. Jowahir Singh also, to show his loyalty, presented himself with them before the Nana. My servant Thana Singh saw this particular event at the ghat with his own eyes. I hear that those gentlemen are imprisoned in the barrack: I wonder how they will save their lives. At night I heard of the fate of the Europeans who were encamped with the troopers at Chowbeypoor: i. e., the sepoy joined the Nana on the 8th June, and at 5 P.M. the bugle was sounded. Those gentlemen asked to know by whose order the "assembly" had been sounded. They replied that it was by order of the Nana. On this the Europeans took to their horses and fled, but were pursued by sowars, firing into them. Oojagir, Eesree, Bijoul, Lochun Singh, Dewan Singh,

Toolsie Singh, Panchum and Munrakhun, formerly zemindar of mouza Malouni, joined in the pursuit. They surrounded the Europeans and the troopers cut them down. One of them was killed at Umballa, and the others were despatched before they got up to the well of Oodey Chund. They cut off the heads of all the three Europeans, put them into a basket, and brought them to the wicked Rao. One lady and a gentleman were, however, taken alive to the mehsoolghur. The lady was with child, which I learnt from Chunni Lall, banker. I also heard that the unprincipled Dwarka, khuthri, placed a guard over the house of Esree Pershad, and that the two gomashas who were placed there for its protection were made prisoners. Afterwards Gungapooter observed to me that people had discovered that I was staying in his house, and that I should quit it for fear of his house being plundered and myself put to death. I deeply regretted this because I saw that it would now be difficult to get intelligence. It occurred to me that I must get hold of a zemindar, who would attend the durbar like all the other zemindars, and also of a mahajun, who could also have access to the durbar and other places. Accordingly I selected two persons: a zemindar and mootsuddi, who was also a plaintiff and could go to the durbar with the other zemindars. They promised to bring minute intelligence to the best of their power. At midnight, *i. e.*, at 3 A.M., my servant brought the news that the Rao budmash, before whom the heads of the Europeans had been taken, ordered them to be taken to the arch-murderer, the Nana, and that, when Meina Bae and Sutie Bae saw the lady, they declared that, if she were put up to death, they would destroy themselves, and hence orders were given for that lady and gentleman to be kept in confinement in Mr. Murray's house. The servant also reported that when the Europeans were killed, Makhun Pandey, zemindar of Choubeypoor, heard of it, and prepared to fight; on which several sepoy entered the village, and one of the sepoys was killed, by the party of Makhun Pandey, near his own door. The sepoys then made a great disturbance, and declared to the Rao that they would not rest until he caused Makhun Pandey to be delivered to them. Makhun, however, ran away. I also heard that the people of the other side of the Ganges, *viz.*, great and influential zemindars and gooshaeens, had come in with strong bodies of men. I perceived that it was not advisable to stay here any longer, as my life was in jeopardy, for orders had already been given to seize all the amlah of the kutcheree; it was issued to Azeemoollah. Being quite helpless,



I left his place at 4 in the morning, having impressed on my gomashtha, Joogul Kishore, to send for intelligence daily, and communicate the same to me punctually at Jajamow.

*The 11th June, Thursday.*—I reached Jajamow this day before sunrise. I perceived corpses of gentlemen and ladies on my way, lying along the banks of the Ganges. I cannot describe the grief I felt at this sight. The corpses could not float down from the shallowness of the river. The brother of Moonshi Narain Dass had put up with Kampta Pershad Pandey. I did the same. I saw at Jajamow, on the banks of the river at the ghat, three boats and a budgerow, which had been burnt by the rebels. I questioned the people of the place, and learnt that wines and other articles of merchandize were in the boats, but the boatmen had plundered the liquors, and, when drunk, cut down the gentlemen, and that the neighbouring zemindars of mouzas Palee, Japan, Mudarpoor, Moea and Nujufgurh, joined in the plunder, and in the murder of some of the gentlemen; also that troopers of the 2nd Cavalry were in the habit of proceeding to and from Nujufgurh to Cawnpoor; and a company of sepoy was stationed at the Naka of Jajamow for its protection. I also observed a bungalow of the railway department, newly burnt down, and learnt that Pohup Singh, zemindar of Moea, had plundered and burnt it. Shortly after some sepoy crossed over from the other bank. I found on enquiry that some more infantry and cavalry had come in, and were proceeding to the Nana to join his standard. I further learnt that these were the very Sikhs and sepoy who had run away from Benares, and that they had brought plundered horses, on which the sepoy were mounted. At 11 at night, news came in by letter, conveyed by Narain, peon, which was to the effect that the following zemindars had this day presented themselves to the Nana; viz., Bhowany Singh, Gotum, Hindoo Singh, Chowham, of Rusoolabad, who entered five horses in the Nana's service, and Lulmer Singh, Sheobux Singh and Heera Singh of Gujnere, together with Guneshi, of mouza Pyasee, and Kunhere Singh, of Khanpoor, and Eesree Singh, commandant of Kutheitee. I heard, further, that all the influential Chowhans were rebels, and ready to aid the Nana, and that those leaders had come with strong bodies of attendants with about 4,000 matchlock-men. Luchmun Singh, Ryye Singh and Oojagur Singh, of Palee, had about 700 matchlock-men; Goolab Singh, Than Singh, Doulut Singh and Lal Singh, of Sheolee, had about 300 matchlock-men, Boondelabs of Jeitpoor; in this zillah, to the

number of 500, with the Rana of Tiktoolee and Sekhreej, there were 1,500 matchlock-men; the Rana was in a palki; and there were drums and standards, and a great crowd of attendants; and Gopaul and others, relatives of the brigadier Jwala Pershad, also came in from Sungwan. I also heard that Kulundargir, budmash, who was hostile to the Raj Ranee, was presented at the batteries in company with the Rushdanawalla budmashes, and that the following men were with him:—*viz.*, Goolab Singh, Zor Singh and Gowri Lall, of Jubbulpoor; Hoolas Singh, Kunree Singh, Kheb Singh, Sookha Singh, and Oomrao Singh, all of Ali Nugar; also Eesree Pundahun, Lala brahmin, Gyadeen Brahmin, and Heera Koyrmi of Purnida; also Nonee Singh, Makhun Singh and Nund of Muhadewa; also Thakoori Singh, Lall Singh, Doorjun Singh, Rotum Singh, Rutun Lall Singh, and Zalim Singh, of Garhewa; also Monohur Singh, and Mudaree Singh of Belapoor; also Muhadeo Aheer, Sanwul Aheer, and Kunhya Lall, Kayeth, of Amurhera; also Sheodeen, Brahmin, Bhorey Singh, Debee Gir, Roopunder Gir, Gungapoory, Himmut Gir, Jye Singh Thakoor, Lokenath, Debee Pershad, Gunga Gir, Hurchurn Gir, Jowahir Singh, Dhunput Singh, Gungadeen Gir, Hunwunt Gir, and Anund Singh, all of Rusdhan. All the above budmashes keep Kalindhur Gir's company, and peasants from the villages, all armed, are present with him. Shortly after, my servant Jhain Singh came and informed me that the Europeans arrived from Furruckabad had been tied together and slaughtered, and that the troopers of the 2nd Cavalry and sepoy of Lambourne's and Gillis's regiment were shooting them down, in which atrocity they were assisted by the inhabitants of mouzas Palee and Sohrunjpoor. The gentlemen remonstrated at the time, and said they should not be put to death as they were ready to do any sort of work. This my servant related as what he had heard. Azeemoollah and Dwarka Dass, khutri, joined them, and had the horses of the troopers tied in the inner rooms of Baboo Esree Pershad's house, over which they also placed a guard. They apprehended Chotey Lall and Saligram, gomastha, and kept them in the kotwali. In the evening, I perceived a bright light, and found that the rebels had fired a gun; some three hours after I learnt from the people of Jajamow, on their return, that the Nunneh Nawab had struck the roof of the veranda of the barrack with a round shot, and set it on fire. Then news came in that a person riding on a camel was made to proclaim, on behalf of the King of Delhi, that the king had sent a firman declaring that this part of the country had been conferred on the Nana,



and Arjun Singh, vakeel, was sent for. A few hours had elapsed after nightfall, when Roostum, resident of the fort of Jajamow, was seen on horseback riding as hard as he could towards the ghat, declaring that some Europeans had arrived and he was going to capture them. It turned out that he had friends among the troopers, and was hastening to the Nana. I was also told that Maharaj Buksh, tehseeldar of Sada Huseempoor, had joined the Nana's party; that Nuthey Singh and Chundee Singh, residents of the other side of the Ganges, had colluded with Umbikapoor, and had presented himself with 500 matchlock-men. Nurain and the other contractors of the bridge are using their utmost efforts to convey the rebels over. Kalka, qunoongoo of Hurha, with nearly 800 armed men, landed at the ghat to-day in my presence, with some money plundered from the treasury. Luchmun Pershad, tehseeldar, presented himself, and said reports of his having been killed were false.

*The 12th June, Friday.*—I am told that Munsub Ally, Chowdree of Rusoolabad, and along with him Punah Ally of Doolha, and Meer Buksh Ally, resident of Sufseepoor have come in with a large force. Punah Ally's zemindaree is in Bithoor. These men have come in a body of full 3,000. I was also told that the rebels attempted to take the entrenchment to-day, and made great efforts to do so; that an obstinate fight took place, in which some of the people of the entrenchment were killed and wounded. Apparently some of the budmashes on the rebel side, with two sowars and a number of sepoy, were killed with ball and shot. The sowars have escaped with their lives, and are going to plunder the city, but some sepoy of Lambourne's and Gillis' regiments kept their batteries. At this moment, however, the work is being done by the zemindars and their ryots. Certain budmashes from among the men of Palee and Chowhans are boasting about the precision of their fire. A prostitute, Oula by name, is with the Nana. She has taken from him a great quantity of property and jewellery and precious stones, belonging to the widows of the Peishwa. She is seated in a tent, and from behind the screen is enjoying the sight of the European ladies and gentlemen being put to death. A moment ago, I saw with my own eyes the sepoy and Sikhs, who escaped from Benares, crossing over at this ghat by order of the wicked Nana, with a view to join the rest of his force. Some of these sepoy were on horseback, and they paid one rupee each for crossing. I also heard the following correct intelligence: *i.e.*, that the Rajpoots of Gungagunj, with Raja Koobeer

Sing and a strong force, presented themselves to the Nana. This Raja committed great atrocities in the district, and plundered the ryots. As regards Ghunsham, jemadar, he was most energetic in the cause of the rebels. He is planning to run a mine under the entrenchment, and has sent for sappers and miners. Again Azeemoollah, counsellor of the Nana, and Ehmud-collah, tehseeldar of Bithoor, went with a number of troopers and brought away Deputy Collector Ramloll, near the Savadaki-kothee. Orders have been issued to seize the amlah of the courts. Some there, who lived with their families in Nawabgunge, were seized and brought up, and search is being made for the others who have concealed themselves. It is arranged that the Nana's kutcheree shall be held in the Tilag Muhul. The battery of the Nuneh Nawab is located near the ball alley well. This was told to me by the villagers, and was not communicated by my own servants.

*The 13th June, Saturday.*—News was brought to-day that Akbur Singh, zemindar of Chandunpoor, and his brother plundered the boats of buparees, and killed some European, whose name I could not discover. Next I learnt that Ghunsham Singh, zemindar of mouza Janan, joined the rebel cause, and murdered the son of Mr. John J. Duncan, and, having cut off his head, put it on the shoulders of a porter and carried it as a trophy to the Nana, for which he received a reward of Rs. 10 while the porter received Rs. 2. At about 8 A.M., some of the omlahs of the collectory and foudary courts were forcibly brought up, though a few of them were not in attendance. News was then brought in from the camp that the Chowhan Rajpoots had sworn to the Nana that they could send him armed men from all the 26 villages of which they were owners, and aid him to the best of their power. Of the force called Ali Ghoul, newly enlisted at Bithoor, 2,000 men were sent for, and more men were applied for from the Nuwabi districts, through Kalka, qanoongoe. It was through this same Kalka that orders were circulated in Oudh regarding the settlement and collection of the revenue, and armed men were called for through him. This man began enlisting matchlock-men on the other side of the Ganges.

I had just recorded the above, when suddenly a thakoor named Gungapooter, with a body of troopers from the Nana, came up to seize me, and surrounded the house of Kampta Pandey. But God Almighty was pleased to save my life on that occasion. For Ram Deen Gungapooter secured me, and made me run away behind a ravine. I ran



along the road leading to Madarpoor, but was plundered by the cultivators of mouza Pywundy, or perhaps by the peasants of Moyah. A servant, Madho, who followed me, managed to apprehend some of the plunderers. But, owing to the kindness of the zemindars of Pywundi, I was saved from the hands of those ruffians, and kept in concealment in Joogal Kishore's garden, behind Sedh Nath. There I remained all day, under a burning sun, without food or water. At nightfall, Sheo Deen, the gardener, sent four men with me, independently of four kahars who had previously joined me, and thus I managed to reach the shore. It was, however, my fate not to find a boat at the ghat; I resolved to drown myself in the river, as I thought it better to die than to fall into the hands of so cruel a foe. After midnight, at about 2 A.M., I left the garden. The first ford I came to had water up to the waist only, and it was moonlight night; so I waded across and reached the Kuttra; there I saw the corpses of the Europeans whom the boatmen had slain when drunk. These drunken boatmen were armed, some with clubs, others with weapons, and they were running about the woods like wild men. I cannot describe the terror that seized me at that moment. How I sighed for the British rule! I was trembling with fear, and knew not where I was going. The ghat was close at hand when daylight appeared. People of low caste commenced stripping the corpses of the ladies, gentlemen and children, lying near the shore, and carrying off their clothes. Portions of property, books, papers, &c., belonging to the plundered boats were also strewn about the shores. At last a zemindar came over in a boat, and I met a Brahmin, who also belonged to the other side of the river, whom I had formerly met. I at once accompanied this man, and got into the boat, which took us across the river. On reaching the opposite bank, I was senseless for four hours. When I recovered, I found that Budruka was three miles, and reached that place at 10 A.M.

*The 14th June, Sunday.*—To-day I sent off men to inform my friends that I was staying in Budruka, in the house of Dhurum Dass, Kayeth. News of events will probably reach me by the evening, when the same shall be recorded. My men did not come with news in the evening, so I merely put down what I witnessed at Budruka. Chundee Singh, Hetes Singh of Bunehtur, and also the nephew of Ambika Pershad Doobey (though not openly) are enlisting matchlock-men for the Nana, and have sent for villagers likewise. Further, my servants have seen with their own eyes four dak horses, and two buggies belonging

to Europeans, standing at their door. These are the goods they plundered and brought away from Cawnpoor, or Ounam. They have also introduced the collection of revenue under the Nana's government. Other property plundered from Ounam is stored up in their houses. The budmash Kalka, of Mouza Hurah, has sent for matchlock-men to every quarter, and has forwarded some of the new levies to the Nana, who are now crossing the river. This man put the whole of the records into a cart, and carried them to his own house.

*The 15th June, Monday (Budruka).*—News of Cawnpoor events of yesterday reached me to-day at 10 A.M. The first is that the gentlemen and ladies of Furruckabad, who were left behind, to the number of 40, more or less, were apprehended by Jussa Singh, budmash, the Chowdree of Futtehpore chowrasie-walla, and sent down to Bithoor; that the Rao Sahib, budmash, had detained them at Bithoor and sent word to the great budmash the Nana; and that the Nana had summoned the prisoners to his presence. I wonder what fate awaits them. The other piece of intelligence is that the Nadiree regiment and another corps, the name of which I cannot tell, both from the Oudh territory, have come in with some cavalry and artillerymen and guns, and Meer Nawab is the commandant of the Nadiree regiment, and that they are desirous of coming into Cawnpoor. The facts are these:—Sahib Begum is a female, that resides in Bhogneepore and Rusoolabad, and holds several villages in mortgage. This Meer Nawab, the commandant, is her brother, and has come in at her request. This Sahib Begum is herself a warm supporter of the Nana. But all these disturbances, to which Sahib Begum is a party, are due to the machinations of Mirza Inayut Hossein. All the Government treasure plundered, and brought down this way by the troops is safely deposited in Bithoor. The Nana has made a promise to the rebel troops that he will reward them with money and gold bangles when they have defeated the British troops. The rebel force was resolved upon plundering the city, but the kotwal, Hoolas Singh, remonstrated and asked them over whom they would exercise rule, if they gave the city up to plunder, adding that the fight with the British would be damaged if all the troops were occupied in looting the city. The zemindars, too, are anxious to loot the city, as the mahajuns hold the villages of those zemindars in mortgage, and to kill the mahajuns. Baba Bhut, Azeemoollah, and the kotwal are coming with them. Reheem Khan, Mewatee and the native doctor sent for Shah Ali, kotwal, from



Bhojipoora, and presented him on the 13th instant, and also made over the news department to him. Firing on both sides was kept up as usual. The newsmen also mentioned that a few of the European soldiers rushed out of the entrenchment, and spiked the guns of the rebels, and turned them over, and the crowd declare that, if the Europeans were all to come out and attack the rebels, the whole of the budmashes would run away; but the zemindars and ryots, and the armed men with them, have surrounded the entrenchment on every side. An unfortunate baker, who supplied the Europeans with bread, was a kid-mutgar, or something like it; he was apprehended and killed. A bheestie has also escaped from the entrenchment. I am told that some of the Europeans inside have been wounded, and others killed, and that they are in great distress for want of provisions. It is unnecessary to write all that is reported. It is highly creditable to the intrepid daring of the European troops that they come to the tank to take water into the entrenchment. At 5 P.M. news was brought to me that the rebels had placed batteries all round the entrenchment, and that the Nadiree and other regiments are to take it by storm. Sheikh Panchoo has promised to form a cavalry regiment, and has already enlisted five troopers. They have determined on plundering the house of Lalla Eesree Dial. His gomashtras are in prison, and they are told to confess where Eesree Dial is concealed. Narain and others, contractors of the bridge, have been ordered to keep boats in readiness to convey troops expected in from the other side of the river, which they have promised to do. A man of the Bouria caste had his hands cut off at the kotwali. I am told that they expect certain European refugees coming along the Agra road, and have sent on troopers and camel sowars to apprehend them. But this news seems to have no foundation. It has been proclaimed by beat of drum that parties who have property of Europeans concealed in their houses must convey the same to the Nana. A reward of Rs. 1,000 has also been proclaimed for the capture of myself.

*The 16th June, Tuesday (Budruka).—*My servant, Mudaree, brought a letter, containing news of Cawnpoor, this evening. Narain Uguroola and Jankee, his brother, whose shop was carried on in the name of Sobha Ram, Nanuk Chund and Co., and who had purchased the bridge from Behari, contractor, consented to exert themselves in the Nana's cause. They very artfully conveyed over the Nadiree regiment, as well as the other regiment which came with them, and all their artillery and troopers, but not till they had obtained a large sum in tolls and



taxes, and they expect to be rewarded by the Nana for this. They were accompanied by Debee Pershaud, mohurrir, and Nyaz Mahomed, news-writer. The other piece of news is this : Duriao Singh, Raja of Nar, of the race of Goorthuree Rajpoots, came in riding in a bamboo palanquin, with drums and standards, to have an interview with the Nana. Ahmud Ally Khan, vakeel, and Shah Ally, and Azeemoollah spoke in his behalf, and induced the Nana to give him a seat and to accept his nuzzur, and also to present him with a robe of honour. This same raja voluntarily executed an agreement, pledging himself to keep in readiness a force of 15,000 men, who would be always near him, adding that he had twelve villages belonging to four thakoors under his control, and that 1,500 matchlock-men were with him at that very moment. Thus, this insane raja became the well-wisher of rebels. The Nana then gave orders, saying,—“ You are at full liberty to take possession of all your old zemindary villages, and to collect revenue therefrom.” Orders were also issued to the Nadiree regiment to the effect that hulooa-poooree (sweet dishes) should be served out to the entire regiment, and that they should have the same fare every day till they had taken the entrenchment. They on their side promised to capture the place tomorrow. As regards the European ladies and gentlemen, who were apprehended by Jussa Singh, those unfortunate people have now come into the rebel camp, where an evil fate awaits them. One Kunhere Singh, a Gour by tribe, and a ringleader of rebels, has applied for and received one gun, which he has taken into his ilaqa, with powder and shot, which he also received. I have written for a list of the zemindars of pergunnah Dera Mungulpore, who have come in with a large force to fight the British. I shall put their names down on a future day. Ambika Pershad, nephew of Thakoor Pershad Doobe, sent down a party of armed men belonging to Bhulley Singh and Chundy Singh to apprehend me. Sheo Churun, their special officer, accompanied the assaulting party to my house. They seized me in mouza Buntur and wished to send me in to the Nana; eventually they compelled me to give them a promissory note for Rs. 175 on the security of Buns Gopaul Doobe, and did not release me till evening. The amount of the note was paid at Cawnpore by my gomastah Jogul Kishore.

*The 17th June, Wednesday (Budruka).*—The first piece of news relating specially to Budruka is this: i. e., at this moment five sowars and two havildars have come into the village to arrange for supplies. They state that the villagers must make immediate arrangements for supplies, as troops are expected in. I sent a man into the village to



make enquiries, and found that two regiments and artillery, and 22 elephants, laden with treasure, have come as far as Runjeetpoorwa, and that some camels and carts with the magazine and six guns are with them, and that they will encamp at Hurba to-morrow, being on their way to the Nana. At this moment Hutti Singh and Chundi Singh, of Hunthur, and Kalka, the qanoongoo's people, all well-armed and accoutred, have crossed over at the Jajamow Ghat, bound for the opposite bank. Mahomed Syud, a superintendent appointed by the Nana, has charge of the Jajamow Ghat, and is directed to convey over all the budmashes, while Morad Khan has charge of the Janan Ghat. At 5 P.M. to-day, my servant brought a letter from Cawnpoor. The Nadiree and other regiments that came in from Lucknow are treated with the greatest favour and indulgence. They have solemnly promised to conquer the entrenchment in four hours. The wicked Nana has determined upon summoning all parties, and all the zemindars who signed the agreement, owners of the 26 villages of Chowhans, Chundeils, Tarvatee, Gotum, and other tribes, are desirous of presenting themselves. On learning this, I sent off a messenger to bring intelligence quickly and let me know what zemindars, leaders of rebels, and what budmashes of these villages, are coming on to aid the Nana. I learnt also, from the people of this village, that a person named Nuthey and another were placed on donkeys and paraded in the streets, and their houses dug up, and that Ahmud Ally Khan, vakeel, Shah Ally, Baba Bhut, Azeemoollah, and Jwala Pershad, were appointed a committee to decide budmashee cases; also that the fighting at Cawnpoor continued as usual; and that the person who had the farm of the bridge was delighted with the income he derived in collecting customs duties, in making intizam, and in conveying rebels over.

*The 18th June, Thursday (Budruka).*—The regiment with artillery, &c. which were yesterday encamped at Runjeetpoorwa, arrived at Burha to-day, and will proceed to Ounam to-morrow. Kalka, budmash, has issued perwanahs in this part of the country from the office of the (Nana) budmash, and the people of this place are looking out for the settlement of affairs. At about 7 in the evening my servant Shan Singh brought me a letter. It states that Kalka Pershad, moonshi of Mr. Thomas Greenway, had been apprehended, and that Mr. Edward, his son and his wife, &c., were in prison in his house at Savada. Jwala Pershad and Shah Ally went to them there, and explained to Mr. Greenway's mother the necessity of their paying

up two lakhs of rupees, warning her that she would be killed if she did not produce the sum. She replied that she was ready to give a hoondi on Calcutta, and they could release her, when the hoondi was paid; they agreed to this. The rebels went and intimidated the gomashas in Lalla Eesree Pershad's kotee, who were in confinement, and extorted Rs. 70,000 from them, of which Rs. 2,000 were taken by Dwarka, khuthri, the budmash, of which mention has been already made. He addressed them, saying, "They all assisted the Bacc Sahibs, and helped Chimna Apa to fight in court, and, by paying court expenses, wished to bring me into disgrace by getting my property attached. Tell me where they are, or else I shall have the kotee razed to the ground." As for the zemindars who have come in to assist the Nana, they are numberless, and my informant says it is impossible to ascertain all their names. I have set down all that I could discover, and think them more than sufficient. Their names cannot be concealed, as they are well-known characters; all the Chowhan zemindars and Chundelas and certain Boondelahs, and those of the Gore, Gotum and Bese Powar tribes, living in the ilaqa of the banks of the Jumna, *i. e.*, Bhoogteypoor and pergunnah Jajamow, and Dera Mungulpore and Rusoolabad, and Palee and Ghatumpore, &c., assisted in the attack on the entrenchment. I shall mention their names hereafter, as far as I can ascertain them. The Nadiree regiment and the artillerymen belonging to it fought with desperation, and rushed right up to the entrenchment. They fought well, and overturned one of the guns of the entrenchment; but, when the Europeans made a rush and attacked them with grape, the budmashes could not keep their ground; some of them were killed. The courage of the English in such circumstances is astonishing. If they could be relieved by even 200 Europeans from outside, all the rebels would flee before them on one charge. For the rebel troops are quite dispirited; every rebel sepoy and trooper had a quantity of money by him, as his share of plunder, but some of them had deposited their money with their families, and returned to fight. Some sepoy had their wives with them, and these would not join the batteries for fear of losing their money, but would go about the city plundering, and others are comfortably seated in the shops along the canal and enjoying the provisions brought in as *russud*; they take quantities of sugar to make *shurbut*, which they drink to their hearts' content. If the faithless zemindars and their dependent tenants had not assisted the rebels, it is most likely the rebel force would have



turned and fled. None but the troops arrived from Lucknow, and the zemindars, show hostility to the Government, and aid the enemy: they assist them with provisions. The enemy are much disheartened by to-day's defeat. It is a pity that no force comes to aid the Europeans. The budmashes have assembled in very great numbers. On every side, the entrenchment is surrounded by zemindars. It is most difficult for provisions to be carried into it now. Rundheer Singh, son of Rao Ghunsham Singh, presented himself at the rebel court. The following is a list of the ringleaders of the rebel zemindars: *i. e.*, zemindars of the Chowhan tribe, about 20,000; those of the Gore tribe, with Raja Duriao Singh, about 15,000; those of the Powar tribe of the Jumna banks, about 10,000; those called Chundela, with Rajas Sunhyee Pershad and Gobeer Singh, about 8,000. With the consent of Gobeer Singh, Doorga Pershad Sechundi was told to come in with a body of Thakoors, but he came in with a different race of men, and is encamped opposite to the Savada-ki-kothee. Rawut Rundheer Singh has come with nearly 5,000 men, and the force of Palewallahs consists of about 800 men. The Rana of Sookhrung and the Rao of Pisjee and others, with about 10,000 men, have come in, but it is impossible to give details of all. I am recording all I could ascertain.

The ringleaders of pergunnah Derapoor, with Dunoo Singh, of the Gore tribe, are:—Mokund Singh Rao, Chutra Singh, of mouza Jein, Bulla Singh, Nurput Singh, Dunao Singh, of mouza Tonah, Lal Singh, Chunga Singh, and Mojan Singh.

The ringleaders of mouza Tikbun were Chutter Singh, Munee Ram, and Gujraj Singh.

Those of mouza Gurhee Muherna were Bhowany Singh, Biswul Singh, Sobba Singh, and Desraj.

Those of mouza Soogna were Eesree Singh, Layeq Singh, Hookum Singh, Nahun Singh and Putwarry.

Those of Dureygaon were Lochun Singh, Mukna Singh, Muday Singh, Bhao Singh, Bhowani Singh, and Lochun Gutout.

Those of mouza Shahpoor were Lali Singh, Dhurum Singh, Dungul Singh, Mokund Singh, Chutter Singh, Pershad Singh, Bhoop Singh and Mungle Dhung, and Deo Pershad, Brahmin.

Those of mouza Nasir Khera were Zalim Singh, Muni Singh, and Jugut Singh.

Those of mouza Khanpoor were Kunher Singh and Manuck Singh, ringleaders of the budmashes who came with a large force.

Those of Mungulpoor proper were Rana Oomrao Singh, who causes it to be proclaimed, by beat of drum on the part of the Nana, that nobody is to utter the word 'Englishman' and whoever does so will be punished. His force consisted of about 5,000, and Bekurma Singh was with them.

Those of Seetapoor were Indur Singh, Munnoo Buksh Singh, Ram Buksh, Kulloo Singh, Gokul Singh, Dhurum Singh, and Dhoulkul Singh.

Those of mouza Jugna were Bukha Singh, Suda Sookh, Luchmun Singh, Ganesh Singh, Pertaub Singh, Ram Buksh, Murwun Singh, Uchroo Singh, and Damur Singh.

Those of Anuntpoor were Pohup Singh, Hindoo Singh, Gunga Singh, Maun Singh, Chundun Singh, Aman Singh, Ram Buksh, Mohur Singh, and Sanwul Singh.

Those of Gurhee Dheerujmun were Chundun Singh, Lall Singh, Dhoulkul Singh, Babboo Singh, and Thukooree Singh.

Those of Parookh embraced the entire body of its zemindars.

Those of mouza Besoha were Gujrah Singh, Bhugwan Singh, and Amaun Singh.

Those of mouza Murehna were Aman Singh and Ram Buksh, with a body of men.

Those of mouza Rukaroopoor was Oomrao Singh; Rawut Ram Buksh is accompanied by the fighting men of 24 villages, and Chuttawal is with him.

Those of mouza Derapoor were Munchur Singh, Mudari Singh, and Newal Singh, with a body of men.

Those of mouza Sutmura were Doulut Singh, and his body of men.

Those of mouza Judeespoor were Debee Singh, Burjoree Singh, and Siwace Singh, son of Lall Singh.

Those of Sudramon were Hera Singh, and Dunao Singh.

Those of mouza Bangaon were Rhuman Singh and Oomrao Singh.

Those of mouza Bhundimow were Rawut Bhola Singh, Ghasee Singh, Girvar Singh, Ootum Singh, and Gopal Singh.

Those of mouza Nuval Khampoor were Oomroo Singh, Hoolas Singh, Rusal Singh, Jye Singh, and Gujraj Singh. The force with these leaders are of the Goor Thakoor tribe, and the budmashes of pergunah Bithoor, who have come in with Raja Luti Pershad, were in the habit of committing outrages in the territories of the British before the mutiny.



Those of mouza Dolacka were Chundun Singh.

Those of mouza Dulceppoor were Pem Singh.

Those of mouza Mohunpoor were Jowahir Singh.

Those of mouza Malamow were Duchmun Singh.

Those of mouza Bukothia were Anurda Singh, &c.

The zemindars of Kukoond were present.

The Soolawalla zemindars, Jowahi Singh, Oomrao Singh, and others, were present.

The leaders of mouza Dundoor were Chedee Singh, Gunga Pershad Beharee, and Movuddi Rao.

These men are in great force, and they are the ringleaders of those budmashes. The Chowhan tribes are notorious for this. Allusion has been made to them elsewhere. The principal names, as far as my servant could discover them, are now put down as leaders, viz., Eesree Singh, commandant of Kutchtee; Sulmur Singh, Gujnere, Sheo Buksh Singh, and Gunesh Singh, and others, leaders of the rebels.

The leaders of mouza Loharee were Deenaput and Bukhtawur Singh.

Those of mouza Meinthoo were Soorjoo Singh.

Those of mouza Mudda-ki-poorwa were Jeorakhun Singh and Oomrao Singh.

Those of mouza Gujnere were Gunga Singh and Kunnee Putwary.

Those of mouza Soorujpoor were Dureao Singh, Makhun Singh, and Thakoor Deen.

Those of Reethowli were Jugut Singh and Sanwal Singh.

Those of mouza Bhutiana, noted for budmashes, were Gunga Khan and Goolab Khan, who were converted from Hindooism to Islamism.

Those of mouza Nunavan, pergunnah Ukberpoor, were Motee Singh, Phooloo Singh, Guneshi Singh, and others of mouza Piasee.

Those of Googoomow were Ujur Singh and Ukber Singh.

Those of mouza Reprabee were Ramdeen, Jeorakhun Singh, and Khurgoo Singh.

Those of mouza Jeoniun were Ukber Singh and Tiloke Singh.

Those of mouza Puttra were Becha Singh and others.

Those of mouza Surouunkhera were Jeoravun Lall Putwarry, Jygut Singh and Laloo, Brahmin, and Lall Singh.

Those of mouza Bunoor were Goman Singh and Gyadeen and others, who are all very turbulent and rebellious, and up to great fraud.

The above list contains the names of ringleaders of 36 villages. Those of the other zemindars cannot be discovered by summary inquiry. The rebellious acts of Bhowany Singh, Gotum and others are entered under subsequent dates, and consequently no mention is made of them in this place. Madho Singh, Akodhiwalla, came and presented himself with 500 matchlock-men, and he is a budmash.

*The 19th June, Friday, at Budruka.*—A few moments ago two regiments, with guns and treasure borne on elephants, passed in my presence, on their way to Ounaw. They did not land at the Jajamow Ghat. Men went off to give the news to the traitorous Nana. Whatever may happen shall be faithfully recorded. In the evening, I got intelligence of Cawnpoor through my servant Mudaree, to the effect that the Europeans who had been captured by Jussa Singh and sent to Bithoor had been brought before the Nana. Of these three Europeans are kept in confinement, on the agreement that they shall cause the Allahabad fort to be evacuated, and made over to the rebels. Some of the ladies are in confinement in the Subada-ki-kootee. Some of the gentlemen have been killed, but the messenger says that he is not quite certain of this, as his principal errand was to find out the names of the zemindars, and that, owing to the fierceness of the outbreak, he cannot ask minute particulars, for, if his message and errand were discovered, he would certainly be put to death, and then there would be no hope of getting news. Shah Ally and Jwala Pershad tried all manner of artifices to get the mother of Mr. Edward Greenway to bring out two lakhs of rupees. She replied that she had no money by her, but was ready to pay what they demanded, and that she would give them a hoondi, which they might realise before they released her. The following fresh news has come in to-day, viz., that the Moulvie of Allahabad, who created such disturbances in that city, together with Chowdree Kureem Yar, son-in-law of Ehmud Yar, and Rujab Ally, tehseeldar, have all come in. There will be a serious misunderstanding now. I know Rujab Ally well. He is a very clever and cunning man. He got employment by false representations, while Chowdree Ehmud Yar is a resident of Hutgaon in zillah Futtehpoor, and a well-known budmash, and he keeps the people of that zillah on his side by giving them money. It shows great daring in Azeezun, the prostitute, that she is always armed and present at the batteries owing to her attachment for the sowars, and she takes her favourites from among them aside, and entertains them with milk, &c., on the public road.



*The 20th June, Saturday.*—A great friend of mine has sent me a piece of correct news to-day, to the effect that it was determined to-day at a consultation held at the Nana's, *i.e.*, the following persons, *viz.*, the Allahabad Moulvie, the Chowdree Azeemollah, Shah Ally, Ehmud-oollah, Ehmud Ally Khan, vakeel, Akbur Ally, Baba Bhut, Jwala Pershad, and the Bala, budinash, and General Teeka Singh, and others suggested that there was no other way of taking the entrenchment than by using stratagem, *i.e.*, that they should swear and pledge their words, and so induce the European to come out, and then despatch them: for that they must kill them in the long run, and fighting was inconvenient as it cost the loss of many lives. The Nana did not consent to this; but Bala said he approved of the arrangements. A further consultation was to be held at the spot where the Nana erected an hospital for the wounded, and where doctor Hilal-oodeen attended, but I could not learn what it was all about. The fighting goes on as usual.

*The 21st June, Sunday (Budruka).*—Narain Singh, peon, brought intelligence that it had been proclaimed by beat of drum in the city that the Nana's government had assumed sovereign power in Poonah, and that the rebels were ruling in Lucknow also, and people from Lucknow had come in with the news, and that after taking the entrenchment they would proceed thither. Dwarka Dass Khuthri, the budmash, is boasting about Lucknow. He has pointed out the houses of mahajuns to the rebels, assuring the latter that they used to visit at the houses of the Europeans, and had property concealed in their houses, and still correspond with the Europeans. Another piece of news is that the Bengalees who have been in confinement hitherto have now been released.

*The 22nd June, Monday (Budruka).*—News was brought to me that the rebels are parleying with a certain lady, who is one of the ladies confined in the Subada-ki-kotee. Goshaeen Rusdhariwala, Indur Gir, and others have come in. They are quartered at the Subadar's Tank. They were called upon to furnish troops, money, and supplies. They replied that they possessed neither troops nor money, and had not sufficient for their own daily food, and that their ilaqa had been taken away from them for many years past. They were directed to remain in attendance. It is stated in the second paragraph of the letter that the lady alluded to made a promise that she would induce the Europeans to leave the entrenchment. Fighting continues to-day as usual. I have sent off a letter to try and find out the name of that lady.

*The 23rd June, Tuesday (Budruka).*—News was brought to me that the lady alluded to is the sister-in-law of Mr. Jacobi, the watch-maker; and that the rebels are parleying with her, and they declare that, if she is not successful in having the entrenchment evacuated in four days, they will make a great attack and take it. In the second paragraph of the letter it is stated that the lady in question represented to Kalka Pershad, moonshi of Mr. Edward Greenway, that she had a great many watches and other property in a box lying in the house of Dewan Futteh Chund, resident of Goal Tolah, and begged the moonshi to go and fetch it. But the moonshi said that he could not do so. The fighting continues as usual. The Europeans are much inconvenienced for want of food and water. They can get no news from any quarter by any way, while the rebels are amply provided with everything. At 7 in the evening, my servant Kesho brought the intelligence that Azeemoollah, Shah Ali, and the others had a conference with the lady alluded to, and everything is arranged, that most probably the fighting will cease to-morrow, and that the lady will herself go forward and effect the compromise.

*The 24th June, Wednesday (Budruka).*—This evening, at 7 o'clock, intelligence was brought by my servant Narain that the sister-in-law of Mr. Jacobi has gone into the entrenchment with a message from the Nana, in a dooly, while the bearers with the dooly remained without the entrenchment, that the firing from the entrenchment ceased immediately on her entering it, and that she came out after a great length of time. At the Subada-ki-kotee, where the tents are pitched, Shah Ally, Jwala Pershad and Azeemoollah went and informed the wicked Nana of her arrival. She then went into the tent. What consultations passed there I have not been able to learn, but respectable people say that it is all a stratagem. To-day, Khodayar Khan, daroga of abkari, intimidated the abkari contractors and made them pay Rs. 5,000 into the Nana's treasury. Another person of dark complexion (he might have been a Christian) came out of the entrenchment to-day, but he was placed in confinement.

*The 25th June, Thursday (Budruka).*—News was brought me at 6½ this evening that Jwala Pershad, brigadier, and Azeemoollah went into the entrenchment to-day with the lady in question; that Azeemoolla used to interpret for Jwala Pershad during the conversation that passed between the latter and General Wheeler. It was agreed upon by both parties that there should be no treachery on either side.



When this was finally ratified, the Nana, budmash, directed Holas Singh, kotwal, to bring up boats without delay and to form thatch roofs over them. I heard that a perwanah was likewise issued to Luchmun, the ghat manjee, and that one Buddhoo, choudhri, obtained boats from the bridge contractor, as the latter was also a party to the outbreak. They also took away private boats of beoparees that lay along the shore. Some of them were fitted up with thatch roofs, and others have not yet been so fitted up. It is said that the Europeans will leave the entrenchment on Saturday. The kotwal has given strict orders to the commissariat ghat manjee to lay down a firm flooring on each boat, and he has agreed to do so.

*The 26th June, Friday (Budruka).*—My servant, Sham Singh, brought me a letter to-day. I learn therefrom that the boats have been constructed with the greatest expedition, and that a private order has been issued to Jwala Pershad, Tantia Topec, Azeemoolah, Bhadrak Dharce, Baba Bhnt, Bala Sahib, Shah Ally, and Ehmud Ali Khan, vakeel, to arrange for the great Chowhan zemindars, and Palewala, Doorypershad of Sechendi, and Sunteypershad of Sheorajpoor, and the zemindars of Nar and Shikhrunj and others, should be in attendance at the Suntey Chooria Ghat; at the same time an order was addressed to Holas Singh, kotwal, to explain to the bridge contractor and ghat manjee to settle with the boatmen, that the boatmen must set the boats on fire upon a signal from them, and jump off and swim to shore, the instant the Europeans get into the boats. Kalkapershad, karinda, went to Mr. Edward Greenway in the day, when Mr. Greenway told him to get a loan of Rs. 300 from Sheopershad or Futtoo Mull, as he also wished to get a boat. The said karinda had somehow become aware of the treachery that was brewing, and warned Mr. Greenway that he had learnt that the enemy intended to deal treacherously with them. The troopers of the rissala remonstrated with the Nana, and observed that it was more honourable to fight the Europeans openly, and they did not approve of the Nana's scheme. On this the Nana assured them that they had nothing to fear, as according to his creed it was quite allowable to take false oaths at such junctures, and that, when the object was to annihilate an enemy, he would not hesitate to take an oath on burning oil, or to take oath on the Ganges, or adopt any one of a hundred other artifices. Then the sowars agreed to do as he bid them, and I received intelligence that the Europeans were to get into the boats to-morrow morning. The

treasury and artillery are to be entrusted to the Nana's own servants for to-night.

*The 27th June, Saturday (Budruka).*—At nine or half-past 9 in the morning, I heard the report of cannon, and immediately despatched my servant Sham Singh to the ghat for news, and to learn why guns were being fired. At about noon, more or less, he returned and reported that the people who came to bathe in the Ganges informed him that the entrenchment had been taken by the rebels, and the corpses of the Europeans were floating down the river; the villagers exclaim in their village dialect that the Ganges has turned crimson, and it is impossible to look upon it. The terror and alarm that now seized me baffles description. It seems sacrilege to take any sort of food or drink. I can think of nothing but walking about from side to side in terror. Shortly after, my servant Kesho brought certain intelligence that the property of the Europeans was taken into the boats at 7 in the morning to-day, and the loading continued till 8½ o'clock, when the gentlemen and ladies, and all the wounded and sick, proceeded towards the ghat. Just then Ally Shah, a trooper of the 3rd Troop, 2nd Irregular Cavalry, seized the wife or daughter of the Colonel of Lambourne's regiment or of some other European, and ran off with her; on which the Nana ordered Jwala Pershad to make the trooper give her up, and she was given up accordingly. As the Europeans proceeded on toward the ghat, the sepoy captured and detained the native servants that accompanied them, the Europeans resisted, and a great disturbance was the consequence. Some sepoy with loaded muskets were concealed behind the ghat. The ladies and gentlemen then commenced getting into the boats. Some of them had actually got in, and others were in the act of getting in, when the Bala gave the order to Jwala Pershad, and the latter made a signal to the proprietor of the boatmen. At this signal the boatmen set fire to the boats and jumped down and ran away. Then musketry and cannonading commenced in earnest. The Europeans, however, managed to induce the boatmen of the boat which contained the General and other gentlemen and ladies, with promise of high reward, to unfasten the boat and push down the stream. That boat floated down a short distance, when it was struck by a round shot from the enemy's guns. The boat reeled, and some of the gentlemen in it took fright and jumped into the river, and some of the ladies did the same. One of the troopers ran away with the General's daughter. The boat, however, drifted down. The battery of the



rebels was located in the Kuttra. The regiment that originally came from Sooltanpoor, and encamped at Ounam, were firing on the boat from the other side. They also fired upon those Europeans who had jumped off the boat. Some of the ladies were killed with the gentlemen on that occasion. The others were all taken prisoners, the boat that drifted down was pursued by other boats, containing armed rebels, while sowars went along the banks on the same pursuit. These facts are mentioned even by the villagers. Another item of correct intelligence brought by a resident of Budruka, who saw everything with his own eyes on the other side of the river, is that all the rebel zemindars and plunderers that were present joined in the plunder of the arms, &c., and property of the Europeans also, that the sowars ran away with some of the ladies, but the Nana compelled them to give the ladies up, and had the ladies, &c., confined. On hearing this, I gave my servant Mudaree two rupees, and again sent him to Joorah for news. The man promised to bring back news with the utmost speed. When this man had gone, the daring speeches of the villagers frightened me out of my wits, and I saw no hope of saving the lives of my wife and children. My servant returned when it was near morning, and reported that some of the gentlemen who escaped had concealed themselves in the Kuttra, but Huttey Singh and Chundey Singh and a number of rebels captured them and conducted them to the Nana. These were killed at 5 P.M. to-day; also that a great many zemindars had plundered the property of the Europeans, and Rawut Rundheer Singh had secured a valuable double-barrelled gun and an English dog, and Suntey Pershad had also plundered goods, but Raja Doorga Pershad had kept aloof from so doing; also that the sowars of the 2nd Irregular Cavalry had fired on the Europeans under the orders of General Teeka Singh, and the sepoy of Lambourne's, Coston's, and Gillis's regiments had done the same; also that Bhowani Singh, Gotum, Palee, Dureao Singh of mouzah Nar, and the zemindars of Sekhrunj, had also used their weapons against the Europeans; also that the Europeans, who had jumped off the boats and were swimming down, had been all killed by round shot fired from both banks of the Ganges. One of these Europeans had floated down to the bank, and was standing behind a boat with uplifted hands, and was looking about with intent to conceal himself in the drain of a bridge, when a boatman, by the name of Kullooa, struck him a blow with a club on the temple, which knocked him down. Another boatman, that was with Kullooa, then struck him a second blow on the

head, which split his skull in two and he died, and then they threw his corpse into the river. Colonel Abbott, the Colonel of the 2nd Irregular Cavalry, who had been wounded, was left behind with his wife in the entrenchment, but they were both murdered by the hands of some seven or eight sepoys. The letter afterwards states that it was not Colonel Abbott but Colonel Baker, but I cannot be certain which of the two it was. I shall try and record the reasons which led to the massacre of the Europeans, after I have made further enquiries.

*The 28th June, Sunday (Budruka).*—It rained last night. One of the gentlemen, an officer of the Grenadier Company, with a bit of sackcloth tied round his waist, and with the mark of a ring fresh on his finger, was proceeding stealthily in one of the ravines of this village, bound for Lucknow. He was discovered by Pasees, and the zemindars of mouza Kurondra, which adjoins Budruka, brought him away. They asked him many questions, but he could only answer in English and uttered that he was bound for Lucknow. Some of the spectators went and gave information of this at Bunuthur, two miles away, when Sheo Churn, Aheer, servant of Ambika Pershad, with the retainers of Rutti Singh and Chundi Singh, came up. Then there was a great crowd, and a dispute took place with the Kurondra people. The latter could not give him up, declaring that they would conduct him to Lucknow. On this Sheo Churn threatened to go over the water and inform the Nana, who would send down guns *instantly*. Just then armed men, belonging to Chundi Singh and Huttey Singh and Kalka, qanoongoe, came down. The Kurondra people were few in number: so they could do nothing. If Muttra Pershad Dobey and Ambika Pershad, his nephew, had exerted themselves, they could easily have saved that gentleman, as Huttey Singh and Chundi Singh are entirely under their control: that European was so hungry that he ate up the sugar given to him by the zemindars with both his hands. At last I was told that the men belonging to Huttey Singh, Chundi Singh, and Kalka qanoongoe, took him away, and, having put two rupees into his hand, sent him with some of the men to the Nana. My men say they saw this with their own eyes. I then sent off two men, whom I paid, to Allahabad, giving them a Hindi letter to take to the *sahib-log*, thinking that, if he got there safe, the lives of the Europeans here might be saved, with their wives and children, and my own life also. For I saw no chance of saving my life. All the above occurred before 8 A.M.



In the evening my servant brought news from Cawnpore to the effect that the boat containing Europeans which had floated down had been captured by Sadho Singh, jemadar of the 2nd Irregular Cavalry, and sowars aided by Hushmut Ally, thanadar of Sirsour, and the cavalry regiment of Mr. Stacey of Bareilly, and that the prisoners were all killed, all but one lady and gentleman. The lady caught hold of her husband and had a child of about a year old with her, and, when the Nana budmash directed her to leave her husband, she refused to do so, saying that she would go wherever her husband went. At last the Nana ordered him to be shot, and he was shot accordingly, while a sowar cut down the lady with his sword, and also killed the child. There was a zemindar present there, whose name I don't know. I was also informed that Meina Bae and Sutie Bae, the widows of Bajee Rao, directed Raveed, budmash, to carry a message from them to the Nana without delay, that he had been guilty of great treachery after taking his oath, and that, if he again murdered any ladies and children, they and their children would assuredly throw themselves out of their house and die. These widows greatly shamed the Nana, and would not eat or drink for a considerable period. It is possible that their intercession may save these men their lives.

*The 29th June 1857, Monday (Budruka).—*To-day my servant returned with news at 4 P.M., and stated that the gentleman, who some time ago accompanied the men of Kalka Pershad, qanoongoe, over the water, was conducted before the budmash Nana. He told those very people to kill him. They replied, "Put weapons into his hand and let him strike us, and then we will strike in return, but we shall not strike him in his present condition." At last one of the sowars of the 2nd Cavalry made a cut, which wounded the European on the arm; then the executioners laid on with their swords and he was despatched. Salutes in honour of the Nana were fired from every regiment of infantry and artillery without ceasing. It is reported that the Nana will proceed to Bithoor to-night, and to-morrow, I hear, the ceremony of installing him on the guddee (throne) will take place, and that he has promised to reward the troops with money and gold bangles when he returns from Bithoor.

*The 30th June, Tuesday (Budruka).—*At 9 A.M. distant reports of cannon were heard towards the west. At 4 P.M. my servant came in and reported that the Nana had taken his seat on the throne at Bithoor, and that the sacred *tiluk* was affixed on his forehead and

presents offered to him. Orders were issued from the cutcherry of Baba Bhut to all tehseeldars to realize the revenue and search the houses of parties suspected of concealing the property of Europeans and to bring forward such property when discovered. Arrangements are being made for the distribution of money rewards and gold bangles to the sepoys. The same man added that he had himself been to Bithoor and observed that all the great zemindars, i. e., Santey Pershad and others, were present at the installation. The faithless Shah Ally has received full authority to make the intizam of the place, and he has sent news-writers out in all directions. Moonshi Chundi Pershad has been created head of the Nana's immediate attendants. Dewan Rao is the superintendent of the magazine. Sheo Narain is darogah of the Jail. Sheo Narain, 2nd, is the choudhri of artillery. Mahomed Uzool Khan is darogah of the commissariat. Jwala Pershad's omlah is Mahomed Hussun. I shall give details of the new officers of state hereafter. Baba Bhut, Azeemollah, Shah Ally, Narain Mirt, Jwala Pershad, Tantia Topce, Holas Singh kotwal, and Ehmud Ally Khan, vakeel, were appointed for the settlement of public affairs. I was informed by the villagers that two of the gentlemen who drifted down the stream arrived at Byswarrah alive, and that Raja Darbye Singh kept them in Murarmow.

*The 1st July 1857, Wednesday (Budruka).*—I received intelligence to-day that Ehmud Ally Mirdhan has been made tehseeldar of Ukburpore, and that all the Government money that had been kept by was called for; also that Azeem Beg, son of Kulloo Beg, timber merchant, Kureem Ally, duftury of the late collectorate, and his brother and son-in-law, were appointed record-keepers in the cutcherry of Baba Bhut; also that Kullun, resident of Goaltolah, and son of Doondey Khan, who was one of the magistrate's orderlies, is now a jemadar in the Nana's service; also that Baba Bhut has detained Bilas, sherishtadar of the collector's office, in his cutcherry, and this man waits upon Jwala Pershad likewise. Apadhik Dhari has been ordered to take a strong force and post himself in a good position, so as to prevent enemies entering from the west. The bazar in the city is being thrown open by force.

*The 2nd July, Thursday (Budruka).*—News was brought to me that the sepoys had been purchasing ushurfees in the bazar, at 22, 23 and even Rs. 24 each. Apadhik Dhari has taken a regiment of infantry and one of cavalry with him and gone to Sheorajpooor and Bithoor.



Gunga Pershad, senior, has been sent for, through the kotwal. Muharaj Buksh, tehseeldar, has sent in treasure. The rebels have assembled at the house of Ram Lall, Deputy Collector, ostensibly for distribution of pay, and abstracts of salaries are being prepared. The sepoys are clamorous for their rewards. A quantity of gold has been sent into the magazine to be made into bangles. It is said that pay is about to be distributed to the troops. The Nana promised that he would be away at Bithoor only one day, but he has not returned yet. The sepoys are very much displeased. If the Nana does not return, they will place the Nunney Nawab on the throne. The regiment which came from Sooltanpoor and encamped at Ounam has also gone over to the other side of the Ganges.

*The 3rd July, Friday (Budruka).*—Of the two men whom I sent off (to Allahabad) to inform the *sahib-log* of these tragedies, one was caught. It is fortunate I did not put my signature to the Hindi letter, which the man carried. The other ran away and came back to me with the intelligence that his comrade had been captured at the Mooftee-ka-poorwa, but he had been told that the *sahib-log* will soon come up here, that some Europeans with Madras troops had come as far as Allahabad, which news was given to him by a traveller at Moorutunge. I then sent forward a goinda with orders to inform me of the arrival of British troops as soon as they reached Seinee. There is a great noise and uproar in this village to-day to the effect that rebel troops are about to proceed to Lucknow also. At 4 P.M. a messenger brought me the news that distribution of pay had commenced, and that the rebel troops were quarrelling about the rewards, and also that General Teeka Singh, the budmash, accompanied by troopers of the 2nd Cavalry, would certainly go and bring away the Nana from Bithoor. Ehmud Ally Khan the vakeel is preparing to proceed to Lucknow to discuss the affairs of that province. The following are the names of the former and present news-writers that were appointed, *viz.*, for Poorwa, Mooftee Rampershad. For Goozurbundi Mata, Bagesur Soon-dur. For Dilmon, Risal Singh. For Kunouj, Julal-ooddeen, doctor. For Sursau Ghat, Lalljee Suhai. For Humeerpore, Ehmud Hoossein. For Goozurjana, Morad Khan. For Jajamow, Mahomed Syud, superintendent. For Sirsia Ghat, Gunga Jalee Mirt. In Bithoor, Baboo Singh. For Futtehpore Huswa, Sooruj Buksh. For Ouria, Heera Lal. For Calpee, Bisharut-oollah. For Rolapoor, Oudut Narain. For Goorsuhaigunge, Ehmud Ally. For Rusoolabad, Ameer-oel-lah. For

Goozur Chillatara, Janke Suhoy. For Goozur Permut, Nyaz Mahomed. For Goozur Bithoor, Hukeem Amanut-collah. It is also reported that the rebels are making arrangements to go and fight the British at Allahabad, and that carriage and supplies for the troops are being got ready.

*The 4th July, Saturday (Budruka).*—News was received to-day that Kalka, qanoongoe, had issued orders, by direction of the Nana, that all plundered buggies and carriages and arms, and the balances of Government revenue, are to be delivered up immediately. Baboo Ram Buksh is preparing to wait upon the Nana. News has come in from Cawnpoor that all the ringleaders of the Chowhan Goor and other tribes have been summoned to Bithoor; also that camel-sowars have been sent off to bring news of what is going on eastward. The rebel force, too, appears dissatisfied to-day. The sepoy complain that the Nana has taken away all their treasure and gone and quartered himself at Bithoor, and they will not suffer such treatment, but will make him feel the consequences. The letter containing the above news further states that some days ago Sheo Pershad, son of Thetee Mull, was sent for (by the Nana), and had a conversation with him, and he ordered them to construct waterproof coats. The people of the city say that he has property belonging to Europeans concealed in his house, and he was sent for to receive a reprimand for it. There is a great hurry about the preparation of the tents and waterproof greatcoats; more magazine carts have been sent to Bithoor. It has been resolved to cut off the noses and ears of those who were imprisoned at Bithoor. The Nana has presented robes of honour to his ministers and counsellors. Some of my men are willing to go in clandestinely, and bring away news, but they say they cannot get admittance into *all* the cutcherries, as they are very numerous. The tehseeldar of Sheorajpoor and Ghatumpoor has not waited on the Nana. I heard to-day that two sowars (I think their names are Ally Shah and Zamin Ally Khan, of Rampoor, or they may not be) carried off the Nunney Nawab and the Begum, but they were captured at the bridge. The meaning of this seems to have been that these were the same sowars who had instigated the Mahomedan troopers to make the Nunney Nawab the ruler of the country. It was for this that General Teeka Singh had them apprehended.

*The 5th July, Sunday (Budruka).*—Intelligence of Cawnpoor events reached me at 5 P.M. to-day. Baba Bhut carries on the work of his cutcherry as usual. Th Nana is still at Bithoor. Teeka Singh,



subadar, the general of the cavalry regiment, and several sepoy of the Lambourne regiment have gone to Bithoor to fetch the Nana. Azeem-oollah, Jwala Pershad and Baba Bhut called at the kotwali and stated that they were about to take the management of the city into their own hands.

*The 6th July, Monday (Budruka).—*The letter received to-day simply states that there is a good deal of uneasiness to-day among the sepoy. It contains nothing new save that the preparations for proceeding to Allahabad are irrevocable.

*The 7th July, Tuesday (Budruka).—*The first messenger returned to-day, and reported that he became alarmed, and returned from Moorutgunge, and he had no paper by him; that he is positive that the *sahib-log* will quickly come to this place. I began to suspect that this man had probably come back without proceeding far. I then gave Gunga, lodha, 5 rupees as wages, and sent him on. He promised to bring certain news in three days. My servant brought a letter from Cawnpoor in the evening. It states that there is a great commotion to-day in the rebel army, and the sepoy are abusing the Nana, and complaining of his having taken away the treasure and magazine, and quartered himself at Bithoor. They declare that, if the Nana does not come back to-day, they will release the Nunny Nuwab from confinement, and place him on the *gaddee*. The rebel force further declares that their enemy (the British) is about to come up, and it is necessary to go up to Bithoor, and bring the Nana away by force. Bad news was received by the rebels from Lucknow. The Lucknow people say that these rebels must not think of going over into their territory, and they must not suppose that they can act in Lucknow as they have done at Cawnpoor, for they (the Lucknow people) will make their own arrangements, and the Cawnpoor troops have nothing to get by going over to Lucknow. Moonna Lall Khuthri, Sookhnundun and others have been imprisoned for having plundered and carried off the treasure of the barrack master's department. They have been called upon to refund it.

*The 8th July, Wednesday (Budruka).—*My servant brought news this evening at a quarter-past 6 that the goinda had come in and reported that Europeans and Seikhs and artillery had left Allahabad, and would come in shortly. On hearing this, two camel sowars and couriers have been sent off to get correct news. The rebels are in great alarm. Baba Bhut, Jwala Pershad, and Azeemcollah are doing

their best to get ready the magazine, carriage, and supplies. Men have been sent on post-haste to Bithoor. Baba Bhut and Azeemoollah are in the city, arranging for its internal economy. I also learn that the Nana has cruel intentions towards the ladies and gentlemen that are still in confinement. I have therefore sent off Nungooa, koormi, and Dya Ram, guduria, with a Nagree letter, to go and inform the Europeans at Allahabad in the hope that the British force may arrive here in sufficient time to save the lives of the unfortunate Europeans alluded to.

*The 9th July, Thursday (Budruka).*—To-day people coming from Allahabad arrived in this village. They say that the Europeans who are coming to Cawnpoor have started from the fort. The Byswarre people who passed this way were mentioning that some men of this territory have gone to the spot opposite to the Kaley Kankur, for the sake of "bundobust," and these stated that the Europeans are coming up. My servant did not come from Cawnpoor to-day. I suspect that they are very particular at the ghats whom they allow to cross. I learnt from a beopari that Moonna Lall and the other prisoners were released on the security of Sheo Pershad.

*The 10th July, Friday (Budruka).*—My servant came from Cawnpoor and stated that the ghat officers examine all travellers closely to see if they carry letters on their persons; so he was obliged to throw away his letter, but added that he had *certain* news that the Nana had returned to the city and the camel-sowar had returned and reported that Europeans were coming up, and had reached Moorutgunge; also that they were bringing up the telegraph wire with them, and would soon reach Seinee; also that the Europeans hang people as they come along, and they have Europeans, Seikhs, and artillery with them. On hearing this the rebels are making immense efforts to procure supplies and other necessaries. All sorts of carts, hackeries, men and labourers of the city and other parts are being impressed, and all the ringleaders of the zemindars have been summoned to Cawnpoor.

*The 11th July, Saturday (Budruka).*—Gunga, lodha, returned to-day. I asked him how he came back contrary to his engagement. He replied that the ghat officers would not let him cross over. But he added that he had seen the British force outside of Moorutgunge with his own eyes, and that the force would reach Seinee immediately. On hearing this good news I felt as if life had been restored to me. I prayed that the just God would bring up the British force in time to save the gentlemen,



ladies and children, who were in confinement, from being murdered. At 2 P.M. my other servant returned and reported that the ghat officers searched travellers very minutely. Scarcely one was allowed to cross over, but he contrived to get into the boats with the zemindars, and come over. He says the Nana is present in the city, and the rebels are preparing to march out; that he was told that Buddree Nath, commissariat contractor, was sent for one day by the Nana and told to provide supplies, but he replied that he no longer did that work, and could not make the necessary arrangements; also that the rebel army marched out, bound for Futtahepore, in his presence; that Bala and Brigadier Jwala Pershad, and other counsellors, &c., must have gone with them, as they were all ready to march. I, therefore, sent out a messenger to bring news, and ascertain the names of the particular persons belonging to the Nana's party who had accompanied the rebels, and of the arrival of the Europeans at the Kotee. I also told him to tell the people of my house that I would leave Budruka to-day, and would enter Cawnpoor with the British force. The same man afterwards informed me that Gungoo Gobind, Ram Bhut, Futtoo Mull, and Nundun Mull, the gomashtha of Besehur Nath Chund, the banker, had been apprehended, and they are called upon to deliver the monies and accounts of the *sahib-log*, which are in their keeping.

*The 12th July, Sunday (Budruka).*—To-day there is a widely-circulated report in Budruka and Hurha that the British force has arrived at Seinee; some say it has reached the Ganges, and that it has captured a fortress belonging to the rebels, and plundered the village, and hanged several of the villagers, within whose boundaries pieces of the telegraph wire were found. Some of the villagers have returned from the city: they state that a dark-complexioned man has been released by orders issued from Baba Bhut's cutcherry; it is the same man who escaped from the entrenchment and was put in prison.

*The 13th July, Monday (Budruka).*—To-day I determined to leave this place, but the villagers told me that they had seen the rebel troops encamped along the road-side with their own eyes. Some of the rebels say the Nana is sure to be victorious, but others propose to go to their homes, and return to the fight after leaving their treasure with their families, as they cannot say what will turn up. I am told that men belonging to Baboo Ram Buksh and Kalka, budmash, have also gone out to oppose the British, and that Kalka has made arrangements to defend himself at Hurha; also that the retainers of Huttey Singh

and Chundi Singh have crossed over, the ghat being in their charge. They say that an immense army of the rebels have gone out to oppose the British, and that, as the British force cannot be a large one, they will soon be annihilated. But I am convinced that the British will soon make their way in. Unfortunately my servant has not come back, and I am unable to record the news of Cawnpoor.

*The 14th July, Tuesday (Budruka).*—My servant came in this evening; he reports that the rebels were defeated at Futtehpore, and that the British force is advancing. It is very probable that it will reach Suktiapore to-morrow. The rebels have sent for more troops. Those who have come from the defeated party declare that the sepoy and sowars are escaping in all directions to save their lives, and that those who possessed plundered property kept it on one side, while all are dispirited and panic-stricken. The rebels have been asking the three gentlemen that are now in confinement what they have to say with reference to their former promise to have Allahabad evacuated; they could make no reply. On hearing this news, I trembled greatly for the fate of those gentlemen, fearing lest the budmash Nana might be murdering those ladies, gentlemen and children. I also learnt that several couriers were apprehended and taken before the Nana, and that they are to be put in death. I am in great dread lest my servants should have been apprehended with them. I hear that Abdoor Rahman Khan, the Principal Sudder Ameen, obtained a rahdaree purwanah from the Nana, and has left Cawnpoor. I have ascertained that the following persons from among the Nana's immediate attendants accompanied the rebel troops, viz.:—1, Sewa Ram Pant-patungir; 2, Gunput Rai Dhundhere; 3, Bamun goklee; 4, Nana Purjoree; 5, Gopal Rai khuthri; 6, Konohoo Puntsaltree; 7, Madho Rai, goklee; 8, Baba Arkut, Purohit; 9, Bamun Rai, lumboo; 10, Sunkur Bhut, Tablung; 11, Punopuruns, Jaloungir; 12, Gopal Rai, pundit; 13, Tanti Topee; 14, Bamun Rao, lumboo; 15, Busunt Topee; 16, Gobind Punt, Sutkur; 17, Bulwunt Rao, Jog; 18, Sham Rao, Silehdar; 19, Kesho Bhut; 20, Sookram Khuthri; 21, Rama Malagir; 22, Dhookul Singh, jemadar; 23, Gobind Hothae; 24, Ram Narain, Khas-burdar; 25, Suda Sheo Punt, Patungir; 26, Koshaba, goklee; 27, Gobind Singh, oustee; 28, Eso, malee; 29, Sookha Ram Set, fotedar; 30, Gaon, hoojra; 31, Sheo Ram, mirt; 32, Ramchund Patpurdhun; 33, Quadur Meen, sowar; 34, Doorgajee, pati; 35, Ramjee, choundi; 36, Roomanjee, Kheree; 37, Ragho, chure burdar; 38, Nanha, goklee;



39, Narain Bhavée; 40, Narain Motée; 41, Ukbur Singh, choudhri; 42, Bamun-Rao, Putpurdhun; 43, Rughoonath, Jogleegee; 44, Rumooa, aheer bilung; 45, Hunovunta, bargir; 46, Mastirun Nora, sowar; 47, Jawahi Singh, thakoor; 48, Eesoopati, jirga; 49, Baboo Chowhan, hoojra; 50, Bhowani, aheer bilung; 51, Lalla Singh; 52, Krishna, naick of artillery; 53, Duriao Singh; 54, Quasim Khan, balgeer; 55, Hookum Singh, sepoy; 56, Peer Khan, gunner; 57, Noor Khan, standard-bearer; 58, Thomajee, jugtaub; 59, Nuthoo, &c., sowar; 60, Madhopoori, gooshaeen; 61, Sirdar Singh, jemadar; 62, Babjee, mungie; 63, Muharoo, kootki; 64, Raman, furrash; 65, Rambhoo, mirt; 66, Ramchund Set, jalongir; 67, Gopal Rao, sooruj bunsí; 68, Gobind Rao, sooruj bunsí; 69, Goonee, thathee; 70, Goonneee, hoojra of the jail; 71, Nuthoo, sedhnee; 72, Pandejee, seindhee; 73, Narain, hoojra; 74, Pandhoojee, sapree; 75, Gholam Hossein, sepoy; 76, Sheikhjee, sowar; 77, Tokaram dhoomar; 78, Lallpoory, goshaeen; 79, Nursó, seeindhee; 80, Abha, joleegir; 81, Muhadeo, babhut; 82, Moroo Punt, dhoree; 83, Krishn Rao, nufree; 84, Abhadhik, dharee; 85, Narain, mirt; 86, Ramoo Tantia; 87, Gunga Dhur Tantia; 88, Oudgir; 89, Baboo Datar; 90, Huree, chota; 91, Huree, senior, pehlwan; 92, Kunnó, son of Khoobi; 93, Krishna, mirt; 94, Tantia Topee; 95, Hurreepunt Bhao; 96, Hurreepunt Bhao; 97, Sree Newas Rao; 98, Apa Lolee; 99, Krishna Rao; 100, Anund Rao, son-in-law of Oudgir; 101, Lall Singh, havildar; 102, Bhaskur, goklee; 103, Bamun Joshee; 104, Muhadeo, bhatuk; 105, Rumnoo, bhatuk; 106, Sookha Ram, sussyen; 107, Cheetee Singh, choudhri; 108, Mitee Singh, choudhri; 109, Kishori Singh, choudhri of the zemindar of Bithoor; 110, Bala Joshee; 111, Tantia Punt; 112, Ragho Punt; 113, Goshaba Bhuranigir; 114, Mahomed Ishaq; 115, Ehmudoollah, tehseeldar; 116, Baboo Singh, zemindar; 117, Deep Singh, pehlwan; 118, Doulut Golah Indur; 119, Bukht Singh; 120, Khooshal Singh; 121, Roshum Singh; 122, Boodh Singh; 123, Buldeo Singh; 124, Bithoo Qudum; 125, Babajee Purgooli; 126, Laltaun, sepoy; 127, Mudar Singh; 128, Chundee Singh; 129, Someir Singh; 130, Daood Singh; 131, Ramoo Quadum; 132, Pooloo Punwar; 133, Madho Rao, hoojra; 134, Peerajee, furrash.

*The 15th July, Wednesday (Budruka).*—I made up my mind today to get across the river by some sort of stratagem, and join the British force at Sekhtapoor; but I perceived some sepoy and troopers running away in great confusion, and exclaiming that they would have an easy victory, as the British were few and would soon be despatched.

I was then seated in an orchard, when I observed a shop-keeper of Sersoor running up. He too came and seated himself under a tree near me. I enquired of him, and he replied that he was hastening to pack off his wife and children, as the British force would arrive shortly, and that the Europeans spare nobody they meet in their desire to avenge the massacre at Cawnpoor. I thought to myself this must be true, and the gentlemen must be very savage, the budmashes having found shelter in Cawnpoor, and murdered the Europeans. At a time like this the British were not likely to distinguish between friend and foe. So I returned and saw several people, villagers, with their dresses changed coming along the banks of the Ganges and I went along with them. The terror in the hearts of all was so great that they asked each other no questions. They came along, and at between 3 and 4 P.M. we sat down behind the Sirsia Ghat. I heard the people there saying that the Nana would also march out to-day, and join the battery at Ehurwan. Towards evening the sound of musketry suddenly fell upon my ears, but many shots were not fired before it became dusk. Those who landed at the ghat from the other side of the Ganges remarked that the ladies and gentlemen that had been kept in confinement were shot down. I was told that they were murdered at the instigation of the zemindars then present, with concurrence of Kalindur Gir, goshasen, Shah Ally and Azeemoollah; and that they argued that if they were defeated these Europeans would point out the culprits. I hear that the zemindars urged all this and made them resolve on murder, and hence those Europeans were killed. The above is what happened during the day. It was penned at the Set's house at 7½ o'clock in the evening. I heard a great deal about the parties that were present at the murder and who joined the budmashes. I shall record it after ascertaining the truth. I then sent off men to find out the names of the individuals who killed the ladies, and in what manner they were killed. I heard that choudhri Ehmud Yar and Rujub Ally, tehseeldar, were standing there, looking on at the murder, and there was a great crowd.

*The 16th July, Thursday (at old General Gunj in Cawnpoor).—* I heard to-day that the ladies were killed in the following manner, and that Bala, Tantia Toppee, Azeemoollah, Abhadhik Dhari, Jwala Pershad, Brigadier Shah Ally, and other counsellors of the budmash Nana, with a large crowd, were present. At first they called out the three gentlemen that were in prison with the ladies. The sepoy of Lambourne's and Gillis's regiments and cavalry sowars were drawn up



around them. They shot down the gentlemen at the order of the Nana. Orders were then given to kill the ladies. The sepoys refused to fire. The order was repeated. Then the sepoys fired a volley, but up in the air. On learning that the ladies had not been killed, the Nana budmash sent his own servants. Accordingly Narain, mirt, and two Vilayetees, one of whom was named Surdar Khan, who were old troopers of the Nana's own body of cavalry, with Bapoo Kankunt, Sookha Ram hoojra, Raman choudhri, Motee Singh choudhri, Besharut Khan, and a Mussulman named Ala Khan, rushed into the prison and cut down the ladies with their swords. These were killed at night; some of them were not quite dead in the morning. All these, with a living child, were thrown into the well very early this morning. The Nana took with him all the rebel troops and the budmash zemindars, and went to the Ehurwan-ki-choki. The hurakras who had been caught and confined were also put to death. The two men whom I sent into Allahabad were also put to death. A fight now commenced at the Ehurwan battery. It is now noon-time; people who have seen the fighting declare that they are running back, and that the sepoys and sowars are trying to escape from the battle. Intelligence of this sort was brought from time to time till it got dusk. I saw Kalka sowar, a barber by caste, who took service as a trooper under the Nana, running in for his life, and trying to get some thing to eat from the bazar. He declares that the Europeans have come up, and that the rebel batteries have been captured. But a little while after it was proclaimed, by beat of drum in the city, that the inhabitants must not get alarmed as there were only 100 Europeans remaining, and these would soon be disposed of, and that whoever killed an European soldier, and brought away his head, would receive a reward of Rs. 100. Again a little while, and I was told that the Europeans had come up to the rear of the cantonments. The man who was beating the drum abandoned it and fled. It now became night, and I learnt that the Nana is running away to this place. This was true, for the man whom I sent off in the direction of the new General Gunj road to look out came and told me that the Nana is at the Tiroha of Nya Gunj, drenched in perspiration, mounted on a chestnut horse, looking greatly alarmed, accompanied by Mirt sowars. He added that if only 50 Europeans were now to come up, he would surely be caught. At this moment people are escaping from every lane and crevice of the city. The Nana rode off towards Bithoor as fast as his horse could carry him, and the budmashes of the city, who belonged to his party, are all

crestfallen, and fleeing for their lives. They advise each other to quit the city with the rebel troops. Hoolas Singh, kotwal, left the kotwali and escaped after midnight, at two in the morning. The Nunney Nawab, Nizam-ood-dowlah, and Bakur Ally Khan, all three brothers, fled towards Banda to escape the wrath of the British Government.

*The 17th July, Friday.*—At 6½ A.M. the British force arrived in cantonments, outside the city. One of the officers with a guard of soldiers came into the kotwali. Those of the citizens that were well-wishers of the Government brought bread, butter, and milk to the kotwali. A great crowd of the city people then assembled round the kotwali to see what was going on. I also, who had not stepped out of my house for a month and-a-half for fear of being murdered, now came out and went to cantonments. Generals Havelock and Neill, and a number of other officers, were standing there. Fruiterers, milkmen, buttermen, bakers and other provisioners were in attendance with their dalees. On hearing this Lalla Esree Pershad, Baboo Salig Ram, and others made arrangements for supplying the troops with bread. Those who were aware of this made preparations on the night previous by having provisions cooked in the bazar. A little after, at about 8 A.M., the British force came up opposite to the magazine. Some of the rebels had mined the magazine and lay concealed in it. These men set fire to the powder and fled. The report of the explosion was so terrific that the doors of city houses fell off their hinges. For some time all was confusion and alarm. Afterwards it somehow got abroad that the city people would all be———Hence all the citizens, whether loyal or budmash, are escaping with their wives and children as best they can. I cannot describe the events of that moment. But Lalla Esree Pershad and Baboo Salig Ram and others, who have been engaged in transactions with Government for years, did not quit the city. I then sent off a messenger to bring news of Bithoor. He has not returned. I cannot tell what the Nana is resolved to do. To-night I was told that on the night that the Nana fled from this place, he threw a large quantity of———into the well; before leaving, shortly after, news was sent to me by Lalla Ram, moossuddi, who was always with me in the actions filed against the Nana, that the Nana (Dhoondoo Punt) has arranged to retire to Putka-poori-ki-ghat to-night, and that quantities of money are being conveyed out of Bithoor, and that the servants of Chimna Apa, who were kept in confinement at Bithoor, and elsewhere, had cut their irons and gone to their homes.



*The 18th July, Saturday.*—To-day I received news from Bithoor that Apa Shastree and the others that were confined by the Nana, and made their escape yesterday, perceiving the Nana running away, proclaimed to the people on behalf of the British Government:—"That the treacherous Nana had fled and the British rule had been restored, and that all the property and riches of the Nana now belonged to the British Government, and, if anybody attempted to touch it, he would lay himself open to punishment." Nana Narain Rao conducted Nana Dhoondoo Punt to the other bank of the Ganges, and returned to Bithoor. Those men went to him and reminded him that his father, Ramchunder Punt had been a faithful servant, and subadar of the Nana, and he (Narain Rao) was bound to protect the property at Bithoor. But Narain Rao paid no attention. On the contrary, he gave out that the Nana's boat had capsized, and then presented himself at Bithoor. He declares that the Nana forcibly took him away, but he ran away and came here. People say it is a great falsehood, and that, if this Nana (the subadar's son) wished it, and was really attached to the British cause, he could easily get Nana Dhoondoo Punt captured. At this period people commenced plundering the Bara. Doorga, Gungapootr, Nund Gunesh, Buldeo Nundi and others, zemindars of the neighbouring villages, plundered golden plates and dishes, and escaped. It will not be easy without much diligent search to get a list of all that valuable Government property and other goods. Other goods and chattels were plundered by the villagers. All the Government treasure that was kept at Bithoor was looted by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. I will ascertain and record the particulars. The Nana (Narain Rao) brought away the guns to his own house. The general (of the British) saw the corpse of the lady with child, belonging to the 7th Cavalry, whom the sowars took away to Bithoor, lying in the burra sahib's kotee. The general got in a great rage with Narain Rao, and sent for him, and, when he appeared, the general asked him whether he wanted to fight the British; Apajee Punt Thakoori, who was present, pleaded for him and got him released. He was then ordered to send in all the arms, guns, ammunition, &c., that he might have. Narain Rao sent a portion of it, but concealed the rest, though I cannot say where it is concealed. The general has commenced cannonading the Bara.

*The 19th July, Sunday.*—I was told to-day that owing to the treachery of Nana Dhoondoo Punt, the Bara, &c., of Bithoor have been set on fire, and that the traitor Nana Narain Rao wishes to pass himself

off as a well-wisher of Government. The servants of the Bacc Sahiba that attended upon Chimna Apa, having received orders, dragged the guns away from the Bara, and brought them before the general.

*The 20th July, Monday.*—It is just as I anticipated. The Nana Narain Rao, son of the subadar, wishes to pass himself off as a well-wisher of the Government, but there is a great crowd at this moment, and the *sabib-log* have no time to spare. It is also very difficult to find witnesses against him by summary enquiries, and I see no chance of filing a complaint about it before any officer.

*The 21st July, Tuesday.*—I now set to work to find out what men of the city had been loyal, and which of them disloyal, and how some of the omlahs came to present themselves to the Nana, while others contrived not to present themselves, and how some of them were apprehended. On these points, I made minute enquiries. It appears that Ehmud-olla, tehseeldar of Bithoor, was at the bottom of all this. It was he that, in the first instance, ordered Deputy Collector Ram Lall to be apprehended. But, before he was actually apprehended, Ehmud-oollah and Azeemoollah employed such powerful artifices and inducements that Deputy Collector Ram Lall went over to their side, and they compelled the omlah to be in attendance. Had it not been for this, not one of the omlah would have presented himself; in fact a few of them refused to do so to the last.

*The 22nd July, Wednesday.*—It is now necessary to ascertain which of the eleven tehseeldars, appointed by Government to the charge of the eleven pergunnahs, presented himself before the treacherous Nana, and which of them abstained from so doing; also which of them joined the rebels in the villages, and which of them supplied the rebels with money, and which of them saved the records of Government, and which of them *per contra* made the records over to the rebel Nana; also what ringleaders came in with the talookdars, whose deeds are entered in the thannah roznamcha, and how many armed men were with them; also what zemindars presented themselves, and on what pretexts, and who were ringleaders among them; also what was the cause of rebellion breaking out in each village, i.e., whether they were ordered to rise by the Nana, or rose of their own accord. All these points cannot be ascertained without the aid of two or three loyal persons who have homes in those villages. Accordingly, I proceeded towards Sada Suleempoor to-day, and, when I get there, I shall make enquiries, and the result shall be recorded in this journal.



*The 17th August:*—I have been twenty-five days in mouza Sada, living in the house of Bunsogopal, ousteo. I laboured day and night at great personal inconvenience to learn full particulars from these people. I questioned only upright and honourable men and no others. On the 17th August I returned, and saw what was going on this city. On the 22nd August, I was honoured with an interview with John Walter Sherer, Esq., who had long known me; I mentioned to him all that I had suffered during the rebellion, and spoke of the litigation going on between the Nana and our party, and of the treasure and valuables concealed in the well. Shortly after Mr. Sherer sent me to Captain Bruce, in recognition of my fidelity to the British Government, with a letter. Captain Bruce received me, and I mentioned to him the fact of valuables belonging to the Nana being concealed in the well. I have now got full particulars of the events that took place in the city and surrounding villages under my own observation. In the *first* place, I saw the Nunney Nawab *present* with the *sahib-log*; *secondly*, the following particulars will show which of the tehseeldars remained faithful, and which of them joined the rebels. Last of all is a statement of those zemindars who came as ringleaders with the talookdars, and the dates of their entering, and who defied the British Government, and finally joined the rebels. The following is a history of the acts of the tehseeldars, ascertained after the re-occupation of Cawnpoor by the British. The ringleaders, and other parties who came in at the same time, are also mentioned in order of dates.

<i>Name of Tehseeldar and of his Pergunnah.</i>	<i>Residence or Home.</i>	REMARKS.
Shah Ali Hoossein, tehseeldar of Jajamow.	Zillah Allahabad.	This person took leave from the Collector prior to the disturbances. After getting leave he remained here two or three days and then went to Allahabad. After the massacre of the Europeans, he returned to Cawnpoor to recover the tehseeldarship of Jajamow, but he was not appointed to it. When the British re-occupied Cawnpoor, and the arch-traitor fled, this man also left and went to his home.
Maharaj Buxsh, tehseeldar of Sada Saleempoor.	Formerly of Bundki, now of Jajamow.	This person was faithful to the traitor Nana during the rebellion, and forwarded the collections of revenue of the pergunnah to the Nana. In every way he was a traitor to the British Government, and has now absconded.

Name of Tehseeldar and of his Pergunnah.	Residence or Home.	REMARKS.
Syed Ufrul Ali, tehseeldar of Ghat-umpoor.	Of Azemabad.	This person did not join the rebellion, but like a loyal citizen protected the Government treasure, and saved the Government records; and when the British Government was restored, he presented himself to the Collector. But I cannot find out why the authorities are displeased with him.
Luchman Pershad, tehseeldar of Akburpoor.	Of Pertaub Gurh, adjoining Allahabad.	Azeez-ood-deen, tehseeldar of Sekundra, forwarded treasure to the tehseeldar of Akburpoor 15 days before the outbreak. The latter took charge of the money, and kept it by him; and also kept charge of the collections of his own pergunnah. At the commencement of the mutiny, he sent all that money to the Nana to ensure the Nana's favour, and continued to carry out the orders of that arch-traitor. On the re-occupation of Cawnpoor by the British, he absconded.
Waris Ali, tehseeldar of Dehra Mun- glepoor.	Of Zillah Allahabad.	Apparently this person maintained his post in his pergunnah, and I have not heard of his doing anything wrong. On the restoration of the British Government, he presented himself to the Collector. Afterwards he took leave on the promise of conducting his family to their home, and went away. But he has not returned. I cannot say where he is now.
Terbeinee Sahai, tehseeldar of Bhognipoor.	Of Chubramow in Furruckabad.	This person remained in his pergunnah (Bhognipoor) with the Government treasure. The rebels and zemindars plundered him of everything he possessed. Since then he fled for his life. I cannot say whether the man has been killed, or has made his appearance before any of the authorities.
Furzedoos Zuman, tehseeldar of Rusoolabad, son of Wahsedoos Zuman, Deputy Collector of Humeerpoor.	Resident of the Oudh territory adjoining Chitayan.	This person maintained his post in his pergunnah, and presented himself before the Collector, on the restoration of the British Government. He came in with Waris Ali, tehseeldar of Derapoor. Afterwards, in pretence of going to bring the Government treasure and records, he disappeared, and then absconded without giving notice to the authorities. Afterwards Salar Buksh brought away the Government treasure and records.



<i>Name of Tehseeldar and of his Pergunnah.</i>	<i>Residence or Home.</i>	REMARKS.
Azeezooddeen, tehseeldar of Sekundra.	Of Dhampoor, Nageena, now in Cawnpoor.	This person has been a man of honorable intentions from the commencement. He was a naib-serishtadar of the civil court at Cawnpoor. When that office was abolished, he became naib-serishtadar of the Collector's office. Afterwards he was appointed tehseeldar of pergunnah Jajamow, and finally tehseeldar of Sekundra. Prior to the outbreak, Azeezooddeen forwarded the Government treasure, according to rule, to Luchmun Pershad, tehseeldar of Akburpoor, to be sent into the (Sudder) treasury. At the opening of the outbreak, the Raja Bhao made a very desperate attack upon him, and in a manner kept him prisoner. Numerous petitions of his must have come into the traitor Nana's office, but, owing to the tyranny of Raja Bhao, the budmash, and being afraid of losing my life, I could get no further particulars of this tehseeldar.
Mahomed Nuzur Khan, tehseeldar of Bulhoor.	Of Phupoond, Zillah Etawah.	This person joined in the rebellion; and fearing the vengeance of the British Government, has absconded.
Ushraf Ali, tehseeldar of Sheersajpoor.	Of Kora Jehanabad, Zillah Futtehpoor.	This person took no part in the rebellion. He was imprisoned by Raja Sutti Pershad, who plundered the Government treasure. This person managed to save his life, and escaped. On the re-occupation of Cawnpoor by the British, he presented himself and accompanied the camp of Captain Burrows, Superintendent of Police, to Mulanwa, to show his loyalty, and returned with the camp to Cawnpoor, where he caused the karinda of Raja Sutti Pershad to be apprehended, and finally hanged. He kept in attendance a long while, hoping to better himself with Mr. Passannah. He has now gone to the other side of the river.
Ehmad-oolah, tehseeldar of Bithoor.	Of Zillah Allahabad.	This person with Doob Chund, his peshkar, was constantly in attendance upon the traitor Nana from the commencement. He is the cause of the whole of this rebellion. For it was he who joined the Deputy Collector Ram Lall in compelling the mohurrirs and omlah of the kutcheries to attend the traitor Nana's durbar, and also issued stringent orders about them, and coerced them to attend. This man was guilty of every act that could disgrace a traitor. I should not be surprised if he is still with that accursed wretch.

Hoolas Singh, the former, and Shah Ally, the present, kotwal, together with Saadut Khan, jemadar of the general of the traitor Nana, were the three principal instigators of the violence employed to compel the omlah to attend the Nana's durbar, and they are still with that traitor.

The real cause of the zemindars breaking into rebellion and joining the rebels is this:—Choonnee Singh, Buhadur Singh, Muni Singh, and Kishoree Singh, zemindars of Bithoor, and also choudhris, were in the service of the Nana but none of the family of Pokhur Singh choudhri were employed by him, in consequence of an old feud existing between the Nana and that family. Hence all the choudhris and zemindars of Bithoor followed their example and became rebels, and joined the Nana's standard. So also all the Gungapooters of Bithoor, with perhaps one or two exceptions, armed with swords and shields were present with the Nana at the batteries and continued with him. Subsequently the tribe of Kakadeowalabs, who were notorious for their violence before the mutiny, broke into rebellion; and, taking example from them, the Rajpoots of Seesamow, with Muthree Singh, Bhudur Singh, Pragdut and Chutta budmash, and others, also turned rebels; this was followed by the revolt of pergunnah Jajamow and then the Rao of Seincee, Dunoo Singh, with Perjore Singh and Roop Singh, of Oodeypoor, and others, who instigated all the inhabitants of the pergunnah to rise, as also Rambukah of Jajamow, and Bhoj Singh, a ringleader of the rebels, and Debee Singh, and Buldeo Singh of Khursa, and Bhowani Singh and the Gatam tribes of Sowanchpoor, who are notorious highwaymen, and who proclaimed the Nana's rule, and collected revenue in his name for some time after the re-occupation of Cawnpoor, all broke out into rebellion. Following their example, Madho Singh, Akoreeywalla, joined them. All these facts are well-known to the authorities. The inhabitants of Sona Rampoor and of Rumipoor and Kishore Singh's party rebelled, through the instigation of Deep Singh, a wrestler in the employ of the Nana. The insurrection in ilaqa Sada Suleempoor was caused by the budmashes of mouza Palee, viz., Luehmun Singh, Bijey Singh and others, whose names I have already recorded, who have been daring dacoits and notorious ruffians previous to the mutiny. Their history is as follows. There was originally a dacoit in Jajamow, named Ullayavur Khan. This man, assisted by the father of Janki Pershad, used to commit daring dacoities, and they kept up this trade of dacoity



even under native rulers. This man Janki Pershad, too, had no other calling but dacoity, in which he was assisted by other dacoits, and eventually he was imprisoned in the jail of Cawnpoor upon conviction of dacoity and died there. These men, named above, are the sons of those very dacoits who joined the budmash Nana, and it was owing to them that the entire ilaqa of Sada Suleempoor was ruined, and many of its inhabitants induced to turn rebels. Moreover, these men took powder and shot from the Nana to fight their enemies. They remained with the Nana up to the day the last of the Europeans were murdered, and to the re-occupation of Cawnpoor by the British.

Jurkulla and Sungwan attended the Nana's durbar in consequence of the persuasion of Brigadier Jwala Pershad. The insurrection in ilaqa Ghatumpoor was owing to Behari Singh Koorini, who was one of the most forward in aiding and helping the Nana. When the Chowhans saw him turn rebel, they too rose, and the depredations committed by these Chowhans far surpassed those of any other tribe. But the Chowhans came to rebel in this way. Bhowani Singh of Khursa, Hindoo Singh of Rusoolabad, Lulmun Singh of Gujnere, Sheobuksh Singh and Heera Singh of Pyasee, and Guneshee Singh, Kunhur Singh and Manik Singh of Khanpoor, and Eesri Singh, commandant of Khuttyee, were all ringleaders of rebels, and these men instigated the whole tribe of Chowhans to rise, and they remained with the Nana's troops. Details of these men will be found in this journal. Again, after the flight of the Nana, on the 16th July, one Heera, a concubine of the Nana's, who had charge of his valuables worth several lakhs of rupees, concealed those valuables in her own house. Oojagir Doobey, Dilleewalla, concealed the said concubine, as she had by her more than four lakhs of rupees' worth of jewellery, which she had taken away from the Nana, belonging to the widows of the late Peishwa. I have already recorded the fact of his joining the rebels in this journal. Some of his property remained in the city, but it could not be discovered. He concealed the guns which he received from the Nana somewhere in his ilaqa. Several complaints charging him with acts of budmashee were received in the office of the Superintendent of Police during the incumbency of Captain Burrows. Again the insurrection in pergunnahs Seonee and Bulhoor was caused by Rajah Sutti Pershad; then they all united together, and afterwards the Nana of Sookhraj joined them, followed by the budmashes of Bulhoor. The inhabitants of Bulhoor and Doondua are notoriously bad characters: even under the

British rule they attacked and plundered waggons and travellers on the highways. Again Luchmun Singh of mouza Doola, Mootee Singh of mouza Akhamow, and Tilokee Singh of Totamow, and others, zemindars of old mouzah Aukun, plundered the house and factory of Mr. Peter Macsween. But first of all the band of men, who inhabit the other bank of the Ganges, went over to incite them to rebellion, and plundered the Government chowkee and purao of mouza Arowl. I have given details of the rebellious acts of this man Mootee Singh, in this journal, under the entries headed 31st May and 2nd June. Peem Singh, of Dulbub, and Anurd Singh of Bikoutia, with the zemindars of Kukoon, and Jowahir Singh, Soosiwallah, and Oomrao Singh and other zemindars of mouza Doondooa, joined in the rebellion. Owing to them, Dunoo Singh, of mouza Nar, also turned rebel, and, following his example, all the Gores of the Rajpoot race presented themselves at the rebel camp, followed by the inhabitants of the entire ilaqa of Dera Munglepoor, of whose ring-leaders mention has already been made in this journal. Further, owing to his defection, his brother and Mookund Singh, zemindar of Mulgaon, joined in the insurrection, and the ilaqa of Sehchundi rose in rebellion. Again, Raja Koobeer Singh, of Gungagunge, who wounded Mr. \* \* \* and murdered other gentlemen belonging to the canal department, plundered the houses of all the zillah and city people that had run away, and effectually ruined them. He was a constant counsellor, and aider and abettor of the Nana. Eventually he persuaded the Nana to summon Raja Doorga Pershad, of Sehchundi, and the latter was compelled to attend for fear of his ilaqa being attacked and plundered; but Doorga Pershad aforesaid did not in any way assist the Nana, or plunder anybody. Owing to the revolt of the Chowhans, all that portion of ilaqa Bhognipoor lying along the Jumna, and inhabited by Thakoors of the Punwar tribe, rose in rebellion and plundered the poor ryots and committed great depredations. So also one Kalindurgir, a disciple of the Rusdhanwalahs, who had thrown off the yoke of the Raja Ranee, joined the Nana's standard, and got a zemindar named Raj Bhao to join him. These two plundered and threw into confusion the entire ilaqa of Sekundra, and instigated the whole tribe of Meo Thakoors to acts of plunder and violence in the zillah. The budmashes named above are those of whose career an abstract has already been given. If all their acts were to be described in detail for each singly, it would be a very great length of time to record them. I have therefore



narrated them in abstract, and I am certain that the dependents of Government will agree with me that, if these men were not the infamous rebels that I have described them, how did they come to join the Nana and continue in rebellion, even after the restoration of British rule in the district. On the restoration of British rule, orders were issued to them all to attend; yet they failed to make their appearance.

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*Some Account of the Revolt of the Contingent.*

After the 28th August 1857, I waited on Mr. J. W. Sherer, the Magistrate of the district, and, as I had been previously introduced to that gentleman, Mr. Sherer recognized me, and I continued to attend upon him with the view of performing acts of loyalty. I used to send for intelligence from different quarters through couriers, and communicate the same to him, and carried out all orders that were entrusted to me. Shortly after, that gentleman addressed a letter to Captain Burrows, the Superintendent of Police, making mention of my good behaviour, and told me to take it to Captain Burrows, and also spoke verbally in my behalf. I accordingly waited on the Superintendent of Police, and was employed under his orders in performing various acts of loyalty. At this time Bhowani Singh, of the Gotum tribe, a budmash, commenced proclaiming the Nana's rule by beat of drum. News of these proceedings was regularly furnished to the Superintendent of Police. In fact the above-named Bhowani Singh put himself in the place of the Nana. So also the Palewallah, of whom mention has been made in the journal, did not present himself to the authorities for some time, but remained with Bhowani Singh. Madho Singh, Akodheywallah, continued a rebel throughout. Captain Burrows repeatedly invited Esree Singh, commandant, resident of Khuttetee, and Komhur Singh and others of the Gore tribe, to come in, but they refused to do so, and persisted in committing acts of rebellion. They refused to give possession to the thanadars: in fact they kept attacking the Government thanahs. Goolab Singh and others of Seones, all budmashes, raised an entrenchment in their village, and appointed a comfortable place for the rebels to take shelter in. Captain Burrows was repeatedly obliged to take a force with him to put them down. All the budmashes of the Chowhan and Gore and Gotum tribes, together with Raja Bhao and others, of ilaqa Sekundra, continued to perpetrate acts of plunder and violence, and not one of them would await upon the authorities.

One of these very men named Nanuk Singh, a brother of Kunhur Singh, of the Gore tribe, resident of Khanpoor, went to the Nana at Futtehpore Chowrassee, and presented Rs. 500 by way of nuzuranna, and pledged his word to the Nana that, if the Nana would come this way, the whole of the 36 villages, inhabited by his tribe, i.e., Chowhans, would join the Nana. This was exactly what took place. The true cause of the mutiny of the contingent was the revolt of the Gores and Chowhans. I gave intelligence of these events regularly to Captain Burrows, and I clandestinely laid a dak to Calpee under that gentleman's orders, and continually gave him news which I obtained through couriers. At this period the contingent created disturbances, and on the 25th November Captain Burrows, with his force, and General Wilson went off to Bhounte to punish the rebels. Whatever news reached me was communicated, according to orders, to the seat of war. The battle took place on the 26th November, and the rebel batteries were taken, and the British force returned and encamped on the opposite bank of the canal.

*The 27th November 1857, Friday.*—I was present in cutcherry till 3 P.M., when I perceived the disturbances to be very serious; I came into the city to see what was going on there. At 4 P.M., I had an interview with Mr. Chandler, the kotwal. I then observed that the Europeans of the Rifle Battalion were proceeding to the batteries through the chowk. Seeing the disorder in the city, I recommended to Lalla Eesree Pershad to come along with me into the entrenchment; he was making ready to accompany me, when the rebel sowars rushed into the city; then I lost sight of Eesree Pershad, and cannot say whether he found his way to the entrenchment or not. All the property in Eesree Pershad's house, consisting of keenkhab cloth, pushmeena clothing, and other merchandize kept in his shop, and all the grain and supplies kept in his godown, with his horses and conveyances, were plundered. I then became much alarmed and did not know what to do. I tried innumerable plans for effecting an entrance into the entrenchment, but, owing to the fierceness of the rebels, I could not reach the city. On this occasion Huzari Lall, the former kotwal, was killed at Unwargunj. The rebels broke open the locks of all the shops in the chowk, and searched long and closely for me, and also searched for Moonshree Jwala Pershad, and Sheo Pershad, and Esree Pershad, and for their gomash-tas. But all they could find was a Mussulman servant seated at the gate of Moonshi Jwala Pershad's house. This man they



carried off. At night, at about 2 A.M., I believe the Government officials recovered a gun belonging to the British, which had stuck in the mud, and carried it away.

*The 28th November 1857, Saturday.*—I heard to-day that the British force defeated the rebels near the church, where the batteries were erected. There were present, with the rebels, Hoolas Singh, Jwala Pershad, Tanteea Topee, Raja Doorga Pershad, Kunhur Singh, Buldeo Singh, Bhudur Singh (who absconded from mouza Seesamow) and the retainers of Raja Sutti Pershad, the zemindars of Seolee, Gujnere, Ukburpoor, Khuttimow, mouza Bhow, and Dera Munglepoor; also the zemindars of mouza Sona, being Muthra Singh and others; also Ujut Singh and others, zemindars of Keindha; also Bhowany Singh of Sewanchpoor, who became tehseeldar of Nuroul under the Nana's rule; also the zemindars of mouza Koonderi and others: all the above being of the Chowhan and Gotum tribes, and inhabiting the 36 villagers of Chowhans; also the zemindars of mouza Attha; and Jodha Singh and Jowahir Singh, zemindars of mouza Kheora. But the accursed Nana himself was not present. At night the rebels continued in the kotwali, and I heard that Narain, sowar of Rumipoor, a Bhat by tribe, came and attacked my houses with all the other sowars, and searched for me, and that it was Radhika, a Kayeth, who conducted the sowars to my house, and told them to plunder that house first. But owing to the daring of the European troops, and the noble fortune of the British, my house escaped. The rebel sepoys carried away fifteen bags of sugar from the godowns of Roop Ram, Goberdhun Dass, and of Hurkund Rai Roop Ram. They also forcibly entered into the house of Buldeo, money-changer, and seized him, and did not release him till they had extorted a sufficient sum of money from him.

*The 29th November 1857, Sunday.*—This morning the rebels were engaged in removing the bodies of their dead comrades. The rebel troopers made a furious onset on Nya Gunj to get the bazar opened, but a few shots from the British dispersed them. This morning one of my couriers brought me news of the 28th instant to the effect that the rebels who formerly attacked Cawnpoor had lost spirit; but, now that they are reinforced by the contingent, they have resolved on attacking the British. Sowars are moving about in all quarters: some of them are those who fled from the fight. News came in from Calpee that the entire rebel force has left Calpee, leaving a few troops only to guard the magazine, and that their wives are still at Calpee. This

morning I made bold and walked out towards the entrenchment to communicate the news, but I saw a great many rebels on the road, armed, strolling about: hence I could not reach the entrenchment. At 11 A.M. to-day, the rebels proclaimed by beat of drum that they would not molest anybody who may have concealed sepoy's belonging to the *sahib-log*. At 3 P.M. they issued another proclamation that nobody was to open his shop without their orders: that people were to go and buy what they wanted at their batteries. Moreover, the sepoy's seized Goor Buksh, Brahmin, and also a panwalla, and insisted on his delivering up money, and maltreated him, and took his money. They also seized Chukkey, cloth merchant, and extorted money out of him likewise. They also went about hunting for the bankers, and broke open the locks of three or four shops in the chowk. They looted sweetmeats to the value of about Rs. 50. To this day not a single shop-keeper has given them anything with goodwill of his own accord. They have appointed a jemadar to take charge of the kotwali.

*The 30th November 1857, Monday.*—I heard to-day that Bala and Rao, and Hoolas Singh, Tanteea Topee, Jwala Pershad, and others are with the rebel force; that pickets of 200 sowars each are stationed at the maidan chokey and the shewala Mengly; also that the zemindars of Gujner, Ukburpoor, Sheelee, Khutetee, and one of the entire ilaqa lying on the road to Calpee, together with armed men, have come along with the Nana. I sent for Futteh Singh, zemindar, a raees of mouza Bungwan, who was formerly a well-wisher of the State, and who still attends upon Captain Burrows to prove his fidelity by active service, and through him remonstrated with several zemindars of position and influence; some of them listened to him, and I shall ascertain their names from him and record them. I shall also mention those who did not listen, but came along with the rebels. Moula choudhri, who formerly supplied the Nana with provisions, still continues to seize mahajuns, and to compel them by force to deliver such supplies as he calls for. Men of low caste have plundered the roti godown. The servants, in great numbers, of the zemindars, whose names have been mentioned above, are taking an immense quantity of supplies to their masters. They even go about armed with matchlocks in some parts of the city.

*The 1st December 1857, Tuesday.*—Early this morning, the rebels, having obtained information of the movements of the British force, determined to move their batteries towards Nya Gunj. Accordingly,



they took two of their horse artillery guns and five heavy guns to the corner of Kahoo Kotee, and nearly one entire regiment was stationed under cover; from Chutayee Muhul to the Kahoo Kotee they had carts full of ammunition and doolies with them; but, when they advanced a little way with their guns, the British fired and killed some of their artillerymen, and wounded some, and also knocked one gun off its carriage. The truth is the rebels are proceeding under cover of this road towards the Subadar's Tank, and in front of the Nunney Nawab's gate, bound for Nya Gunj. Some of them are proceeding *viâ* the grain mart from Unwur Gunj, and others by way of the chowk; a few of them are concealing themselves in shops. The people of the city are prevailing on them to go onwards by oaths. People also give out that the men of Bengal are running away, and that there is about to be an attack. It is certain that, with the exception of the men of the contingent, the other rebels are quite dispirited. This evening I was told that Hoolas Singh, kotwal, came up to the kotwali, and, making a low bow to it, galloped off.

*The 2nd December, Wednesday.*—I find that, although people speak of the rebels being in great force, they do not exceed 10,000 men, of whom there are not more than 5,000 good fighting men, but the rebel zemindars, &c., are all eager to assist them, and bring them immense quantities of supplies. The bazar of Nuwab Gunj is now thrown open; wheat sells for 18 seers per rupee, bajra for 26 seers per rupee, joar for 30 seers per rupee, and other sorts of grain are extremely cheap in the suburbs and neighbourhood.

*The 3rd December 1857, Thursday.*—I was told to-day that the rebels forcibly carried off bags of sugar from the godowns of Ram Roop Goberdhun Dass, and that the shops in the city remained closed all day. Apparently the rebel troops are very much afraid of the British cartridges, and much dejected at the thought of its encountering them; they are making excuses to avoid them. It seems certain that the British will soon win a signal victory, and the traitors will soon be killed. At noon it was proclaimed by the traitor, by beat of drum, that everybody who concealed a European, and brought him up, would be rewarded. It is clear that the day of their annihilation is close at hand. With reference to the rebels who conceal themselves near the gate of the Kahoo-ki-kotee by way of Nakabundi, with one gun and some barrels of gunpowder, two round shots from the guns of the British fell on them at about 11 A.M., which made them conceal themselves.

Had those two shots been followed up by eight or ten more, those rebels would certainly have fled.

*The 4th December 1857, Friday.*—I heard to-day that the rebels carried off nearly 150 bags of sugar by force from the godowns of Roop Ram, Goberdhun Dass: the cause of all that violence seems to be this. A bunnia of the Agurwalla caste had been purchasing supplies in the city for two or three months previous, clandestinely on the part of the traitor Nana, but nobody was aware of this. This man formerly asked Roop Ram, Goberdhun Dass, to sell him sugar at Rs. 19 per maund, but the owners of the sugar had their suspicions, and refused to give it to him. This same person, belonging to the traitor, now came forward and pointed out where the sugar was kept. I think the shop-keepers are acquainted with his name. I also heard that the rebel zemindars have sent down parched gram to-day for distribution to all the rebel troops. The third piece of news is that the British force, consisting of Sikhs and others, beat and plundered some of the townspeople near Putphool Gunj. God only knows whether this is true or false, but the people of the city are very much dejected since the arrival of this news. The fourth bit of news is that it was proclaimed, by beat of drum at 9 A.M. to-day in the city, that all natives of the city who may be in the entrenchment are to leave it immediately, on pain of being put to death. Fifthly, I am told that the rebels in charge of the batteries entered the shops of the rope-sellers and forcibly carried off all the gunny bags found in them. Sixthly, I am told that the rebel army, which was formerly with the Nana who fled from Cawnpore, is still dispirited and heart-broken; but the contingent troops are determined to brave it out. Seventhly, that not one shop in the city has been opened to this day: only the vegetable-sellers are to be seen with their stalls in the *hāt*. Apparently the rebels have larger supplies than they require, and that they have abundance of money. Had it not been so, they would have plundered the city long ere this. Not one of the rebels has brought one pice worth of goods from the city to-day: they are so well supplied. For this reason wheat is selling at 21 seers per rupee to-day, and salt at 11 seers per rupee. The sowars have seized nazir Serh Mull, and committed serious outrages. They plundered all the property that they found at his door.

*The 5th December 1857, Saturday.*—I heard to-day that the rebels attacked the house of moonshi Ram Narain, and plundered him of all his property, clothes, shawls, silver and copper plates, &c., that



they found in the house and out-offices. The servants of moonshi Jwala Pershad told me that his house had been robbed.

*The 6th December 1857, Sunday.*—When the battle between the rebels and the British army commenced, and the latter pursued them towards Narainpoor, the following parties were with the rebels; viz., Rajas Doorga Pershad and Kunhir Sing, and the retainers of Raja Sutti Pershad, with the zemindars of Soolee and Bhow. Ukburpoor, Khutetee, and Dhur Munglepoor; also Muthra Singh and others of mouza Sona and of Gujnere, with Ujab Singh and other zemindars of Kendha, with Bhowani Sing of Sewanchpoor, who became tehseeldar of Nuwul, under the Nana's rule; also the zemindars of mouza Roudouli, &c., all of the Gotum tribe, with Jodha Singh and others, zemindars of Athuyea, and the whole of the inhabitants of the 36 Chowhan villages from ilaqa Ukburpoor. These men all fired upon the British troops throughout, and fought on the part of the rebels, and they were formerly with the Nana, and provided him with supplies. Apparently the only zemindars who remained faithful to the British were Doorga Singh, jageerdar of mouza Mudarpoor, and Futteh Singh and Rup Singh, zemindars of mouza Bunguran, who are still actively engaged in acts of loyalty to the State. The Gotum tribes of mouza Ourchee also accompanied the rebels, but the entrance of the Chundels was owing to Raja Doorga Pershad. I know no particulars of Ravut Rundheer Singh.

*The 7th December 1857, Monday.*—To-day I handed one copy of this journal to Mr. J. W. Sherer, the Magistrate and Collector, at the gate-way of the entrenchment, and presented a second copy to Major Bruce, Superintendent of Police. Since then I made enquiries, and recorded the following facts appertaining to the occasion when the rebel force fled before the British. It appears that the first engagement with the contingent that came along the Calpee road, took place at Bhuvunttee, when they were defeated by the British, and lost three of their guns. Up to the date of that battle only Chowhans, and none of the inhabitants of the territory lying on the Calpee road had joined the rebels. The only zemindars that had joined them were Bhowani Singh Gotum, Eesree Singh, zemindar of Kuthetee, Nanuck Singh Gore, Kunhur Singh Gore, residents of mouza Khanpoor; Sulmur Singh, Sheobuksh Singh, Heera Singh, and other budmashes of Gujnere. But when the *second* engagement with the rebels took place on the 27th November at the canal near the city, and when Brigadier Wilson was wounded, and the rebel army came down on the British

from all sides, till they rushed into the city, and when the British force proceeded through Nya Guuj and the Chowk into the entrenchment, and the battle with the rebels then fairly commenced : on that occasion, i.e., on the 1st December, one Kooer Singh, who is also styled Baboo Kooer Singh, a resident of Jugdeespoor, whom people designate as the Raja of Bhojapoor, came and fought the British with three mutinied regiments from Dinapore, and others. The said Kooer Singh seized Raja Doorga Pershad of Sehchundi, and brought him along with him : otherwise there was no chance of Doorga Pershad joining in this rebellion. Subsequently Kalindur Gir Goshacen, a budmash of Rusdhan, joined the rebels. So also Kobear Singh, who committed outrages along with the Nana during the former insurrection, came this time of his own accord, with a force of armed men. Sutti Pershad took no share in this second revolt, but certain servants of his, with Bhopal Singh and Nurput Singh, sons of Juswunt Singh chowdhri, of Futtehpoor Chowrassee, came to the fight.

The budmashes of ilaqas Poora and Bulhoor also joined in the fight, owing to Goolab Singh of Sheolee, who was a partizan of the Nana's, and who constructed an entrenchment at Sheolee, and aided the rebels and showed opposition to Major Burrows at Sheorajpoor. As for the budmashes of Bhow, they have been with the rebels from the commencement, though clandestinely. Ehmud Ally Mirdha, of Ukburpoor, who held a tehseeldaree under the Nana's rule, excited all the inhabitants of ilaqa Ukburpoor to rebellion, and leagued himself with the Chowhans, and caused the ringleaders of the Chowhans to attend at the rebel batteries. The zemindars of Dburmungudpoor, of whom mention has been made in this journal, joined the rebels through the instigation of the budmashes of Gujnere. The Rao of Sepyee in pergunnah Jajamow, the Rana of Sikhrunj, and Duriao Singh, of ilaqa Nar, who joined in the former disturbances with their bodies of armed men, lent their aid in the second revolt, with their forces, in like manner. So also Ujab Singh of Kendha, Bhikka Singh the budmash, the zemindars of Kondowlee, and Jodha Singh, zemindar of Athyea, all along helped and accompanied the Nana in plundering ryots and finding supplies for the rebels.

In December 1857, when I accompanied Major Bruce, Deputy Quartermaster-General, to the battle fought with the rebels at Farruckabad, I learnt the true particulars, which I long sought to obtain, of the report that the budmash Nana deposited the



Government treasure which he had plundered at Bithoor, and that certain parties had taken away the valuable jewellery, cash, &c., &c., belonging to the Nana on his flight from Cawnpoor. The particulars were given to me by Nanukmun Pandé, resident of Chowkipoor, and Choanni Lall, banker, who said that the parties who took away the money and silver plates were Oottum Chund, of mouza Baleepoor, and Ounan, of mouza Buroha, Beharideen, Bishunpooree, and others also joined in the plunder of the money. Dhookul Singh, Bhonchul Singh, Imrut Singh, Bhiggur Singh, and others of mouza Indulpoor, looted the Government treasure, joined by the inhabitants of mouza Juraree, and by the Rajpoots of mouza Chundika. Nunkooa and Bhukhtoor, residents of mouza Koormi Khera, carried off nearly Rs. 10,000 in cash. Lalla Tewary, Ruttoo, Dewan, Munrakhun and Bijoul, of mouza Maloun, plundered the property of Mr. Charley Sahib. Anunt Singh, Narain Singh, Gopaul Singh Kalka Deen, Gunga Deen Deechut, Ram Churun, Jugut Singh, Choanni chowdhri, and Suhai Sookul, also looted the Government treasure, and fought along with the Nana. Sanwul, Hurdeen and others, of mouzas Rooka, Ghunshampoor, and Khoobapoor, carried off pearls and precious stones, &c., &c. Oodhar Singh, of Khaudeypoor, carried off all the valuables which the sowars deposited in Bithoor. Zubur Singh, of mouza Koonjki, carried off the property of the late Bajee Rao. The zemindars of Baramow also plundered Government property. Buldeo Singh, of mouza Tuktoobee, plundered the moonshi of the road department. The budmash Gungapootars of Bithoor, joined by Dowlut Singh, and others, went and plundered all the Government property which the Nana had taken away and deposited in Bithoor. Further particulars are known to Nanukmun Pandé and Choanni Lall.

I will now give some account of those acts of loyalty and fidelity which give me some claim upon the favour and approbation of the authorities. On the 26th May 1857, I had clearly explained to Mr. Hillersdon, the former Magistrate of Cawnpoor, the probable results of all the measures, good and bad, then decided upon, and pointed out the disastrous consequences which were sure to follow from some of them; but that gentleman paid no attention to me, but on the contrary was offended at my suggestions. Well, the result showed that I had guessed and conjectured rightly. If the authorities had in the least degree followed my suggestion, this dreadful tragedy would never have been enacted. It will be clear, on the least reflection, that it was

unwise to leave the very enemy, whose territory had been conquered by the British, in charge of the district. The authorities had mistaken the character and origin of this villainous Nana. As the Persian Poet Saadi has justly observed : " He that is of evil origin, will never walk under the shadow of the good ; a man of low origin is rarely faithful to his master." Now, this Nana was the son of a mendicant Brahmin, and he was purchased (by the Peishwa) for money, along with other children, and it was Ram Chunder Punt, the Peishwa's subadar, who gave him out to be the Peishwa's adopted son. Again, the whole race of Mahrattas are an untrustworthy set. It is proverbial that they take thousands of false oaths to effect the meanest and most insignificant objects. The authorities were misled in believing that he was a great and influential man, but it is always foolish to expect a good turn from one whose origin is evil. Nobody acts so. As Saadi again justly says : " It is not wise to put out the fire and keep alive one spark, or to crush the serpent and feed its youngling." Yet, by following an opposite course, in the present case the authorities encouraged the Nana to meditate revenge for the wrongs of his father. For, in the first place, this man's origin was evil. In the second place, the family among whom he was brought up constantly reminded him that the Poona-Sattara territory belonged once to his ancestors. They used to tell him that the British had destroyed his father's territories. Thirdly, they told him—"See, after the death of Bajee Rao, the British have made you no allowance." Fourthly, the Nana had a hard fight with the Government for the recovery of his pension, and sent his agents to England with his appeal ; but the authorities there turned a deaf ear to it. Under such circumstances was it wise to make a *friend* of such a deadly enemy, who harboured revenge against the British for years, who was watching eagerly for an opportunity to revenge the wrongs suffered by his father, and who kept company with bad characters, and regarding whose violence numerous complaints were on record in our courts ? Was it wise to authorize this man to raise armed levies at his own discretion for " the protection of the people and suppression of the mutiny." To ask a person, who was every way your prisoner, to protect you was only to prove that the power of the British Government had been weakened. It is marvellous how the authorities could believe that they could reap good results by making over the Government of the district to a budmash. The proper course was to remove the artillery and arms and ammunition from this man's charge, and to



keep him entirely in the power of the British. It was very unwise to make over your whole house to an enemy, who had power to endanger your life and kingdom; for it was in his power to summon 100,000 armed men of his own tribe, who were eagerly wishing for an opportunity to assert their rights, and the brotherhood of this very Nana used to go among the sepoy and sowars on pretence of putting down their rebellious spirit, while in reality they were feeding the flame, and by cunning artifices winning them over to the Nana's cause. At the commencement, the Magistrate would not believe this man capable of exciting others to rebellion, and turning an enemy of the British; but there were records in the office of the Commissioner of Bithoor to show that in 1845, when the British were engaged in a war with some enemy, the Peishwa sent a Raja, named Peerajee, across the Ganges to raise troops clandestinely with a hostile purpose, and that this matter reached the ears of the Commissioner of Bithoor; and that orders were about to be issued to Bajee Rao to leave Bithoor; and the vakeels of Bajee Rao went as far as the Simla Hills to clear him of these imputations. It is impossible to understand how General Wheeler could have regarded these acts of the Peishwa's former career with approval. Another strange proceeding was to construct the entrenchment out in the open plain, far away from the magazine and treasury and public offices, so as to prevent even the native well-wishers of Government from ever reaching it, if so disposed.

The magazine had an immense walled enclosure, and contained a great many buildings, and was full of artillery, powder and shot, and the river Ganges flowed behind it; and all the three public offices were near it, and the treasury and jail were in front of it. Surely that was a better place for the entrenchment: had it been so used, and had guns been placed in position on elevations within it, the magazine could not have got into the hands of the rebels, nor could they have plundered the treasure or destroyed the Government records. In that case the omlah of the public offices also would have waited on the authorities, for a great number of them had their homes in Nuwab Gunj, and those within the entrenchment would have suffered no distress for want of water and provisions, for the villages of Cawnpoor, Kohna, and Nawab Gunj were adjoining the magazine and could have provided all kinds of supplies, and then the well-wishers of Government could have easily reached the entrenchment. But what was done was the reverse of this. They made the entrenchment far out in the maidan, and out of the

city, without reflecting that, in case of mutiny breaking out, it would be surrounded by the rebels on all four sides, who would be assisted by the magazine, and all the pieces of artillery and Government treasure, so temptingly thrown in their way. Thus, to illustrate the proverb, they put a sword into the enemy's hand, and put their heads forward; and the result was that, when the rebellion began to rage, the *sahib-log* went into the entrenchment, and the city was left unprotected. The rebels first seized and carried off the treasure, next they took possession of the magazine, then the rebel zemindars joined them, and thus the entrenchment was surrounded on all four sides. The rebels then took possession of the city. The rebellion became so fierce that provisions could not eventually be carried into the entrenchment. It is said that a certain wife used to act up to the wishes of her husband, because she feared him, and then could also protect herself; but, when her husband died, she found herself under other people's control, and did what she pleased. Thus it was with the citizens of this place. The reason why the city was not plundered is this:—Hoolas Singh, kotwal, and other sensible people kept explaining to the Nana that he would be a great loser if he gave the city up to plunder, and that, after the British rule was completely extinguished and his own established, he could take as much money from each citizen, in proportion to his means, as he pleased, in conformity with the laws and rules observed by native governments. Of course, the rebels were much encouraged by the mutinies at Dehli and Meerut.

But it is a pity that, instead of the Magistrate's making a friend and confidante of such an enemy as the Nana, he did not make friends of the great and influential zemindars of the five or seven Rajwarah villages who kept up armed men for their protection. It is a pity he did not send for them, and require their assistance, and take their promises to that effect. Had this been done, I am sure that 20,000 men would have been sent for our protection, and the rebel troops would have retraced their steps, or, if they fought the British, they could not have then overpowered them for a very long time, and the British relieving force would have had ample time to come to their assistance, and they would not have been distressed for supplies and other necessaries, and even natives would have come forward and aided the Europeans to show their loyalty, and win a good name. I have been told by many, on the best authority, that these great zemindars, Rajas, &c., were much annoyed at the Nana's receiving so much power



and authority, for those zemindars were the greatest men of the district. They lamented that they had been ignored and overlooked, and a wicked man preferred to them. Hence, when they saw the rebels wielding power in every direction, they too came under the control of the rebels. Had the late Magistrate issued purwanahs to the tehseeldars and thanadars from the commencement, directing them to summon the zemindars of their several ilaqs, and engage their active assistance, and cause them to appear before the huzoor, they would have willingly come forward to do so, and in fact the tehseeldars and other omlahs themselves would have escaped from the claws of the rebels, and run into the entrenchment; but nothing of this sort was done. If the authorities had taken measures to obtain the assistance of these zemindars, they could have got 100,000 armed men of this district, and what could 3,000 rebel soldiers do against them? All this massacre and destruction was the result of giving authority to the Nana.

This journal was commenced before the mutiny, and has been brought down to the day on which the rebellion was extinguished, and it has been corrected after minute enquiries made, since the re-occupation of Cawnpoor by the British, to prove to the authorities that I have been a loyal subject, and also to establish a good name. It has now been submitted to the Government, under the purwanah of the Cantonment Joint-Magistrate of Cawnpoor, dated 20th December 1858. It appears to me necessary to record a few additional events of importance as they have come to pass. The object of writing this journal was as follows. The daring and courage and prowess in battle of British troops is clearer than the sun at noonday. Knowing this, and also being confident that these faithless and treacherous rebels would be annihilated in a few days, and that close enquiry would be made into the barbarous murders perpetrated here (when a great number of Europeans, the servants and dependents of Government, were killed), and the guilty ones punished, I believed that by means of this journal I should be classed amongst the most loyal servants of the State. But nothing of the kind has taken place. The first and most important point, respecting which the closest enquiry should have been made, was who were the murderers of the unfortunate Europeans: whether the rebel Nana alone, or other parties, too, had a hand in that massacre, and what was the reason that gentlemen and ladies and children were thus slaughtered in cold blood? This point has not been investigated and cleared up by any person since the re-occupation of Cawnpoor by the

British: yet this was the primary point requiring investigation. The fact is that the European officers, who newly came into Cawnpoor after the restoration of British authority, were not acquainted with the character of its people. Of those who served and joined the Nana, some obtained offices under the British Government, and others turned informers. These men filled the ears of the newly-arrived authorities with falsehood and misrepresentation, and concealed the crimes of those who should have been brought to trial. They endeavoured to take up the time of the authorities with many frivolous details, in the hope that they might not have leisure to take up the cases of the more serious crimes, and so prevent the well-wishers of Government from reminding the authorities of such things by interviews. So it ended in this: that these evil counsellors caused a few men, who had taken up some trade during the rebellion for fear of their lives, to be apprehended, and then, without enquiry or proof of guilt, caused property worth many lakhs of rupees to be confiscated partly for Government, but mostly for their own benefit; and thus the authorities had no leisure to hunt out the graver criminals. By those confiscations these men gained their ends, i.e., a portion was brought in to Government, and the rest of the property was appropriated by themselves. Had the heavier crimes been first enquired into, abundance of proof would have been forthcoming, and the appeals of the proprietors of the confiscated properties, which ended in the reversal and cancelment of the orders of confiscation, would never have been successful. By those reversals of the orders of confiscation, the Government has been a great loser. There is abundance of proof for the assertion, I have made above, regarding the speculation of the evil advisers who took part in the confiscations. For let the schedules of land confiscated, and the lists of land made over to the auctioneer, and the account sales of the auction, and the receipts for monies paid into the treasury, and the auction receipts be all compared and tested with one another: they will not be found to agree, and, as there is not a single order of confiscation now among the office records, it is most difficult to detect the embezzlement. Indeed, I do not think an order for the *attachment* even of any property could now be traced. The above-stated \*opinion of mine is in accordance with the Notification of Government, Central Provinces, No. 23, dated 13th October 1857. Thus, those evil advisers deceived and misled the authorities to prevent enquiry being made into the graver crimes, i.e., as to how and by whom the Europeans were murdered, and they also



invented false accusations against those who had been loyal to the State, so as to win the character of zealous and efficient officers, and have their own offences concealed. For it was reported that a new law had been promulgated : that those who did not reveal the crimes of murderers and rebels would themselves be classed with rebels. Hence, those evil counsellors so arranged matters as to prevent interviews taking place between the authorities and loyal subjects. There are three important points demanding close inquiry. The first is who were the murderers of the European ladies and gentlemen ? The second is how did it come to pass that, after the restoration of British authority, such a man as Azim Ally Khan was hanged, for he was near 70 years old, and could scarcely see any object, and was deaf, and had no power to move from one place to another, and this man also appeared before the authorities on the re-occupation of Cawnpore ? Five months after, wicked men, who greedied for money, basely deluded the authorities and had this poor old man hanged. The third is whether this old man's valuable and extensive property, which was confiscated to Government, was all brought in to Government, or not ; and, if not, where has the greater portion gone to ? Alas ! those who are innocent are made the victims of malicious prosecutions supported by tutored evidence, and taken to the scaffold, and bloodthirsty murderers are left without a trial, and are even classed with loyal subjects. If I were to give specific details of all this, I should annoy the authorities, and gain no benefit myself. To crown all, Her Gracious Majesty the Queen of England has taken compassion on these men, and issued pardon to those who have had no hand in murdering Europeans. But as respects the zemindars who joined the rebellion, and have now surrendered under the proclamation, and have combined and agreed among themselves to conceal each other's crimes, it is quite clear that it will now be impossible to find proof of the guilt of those zemindars whose names have been recorded in this journal. But still the facts relating to the massacre of the Europeans could be brought to light, if the authorities would quietly and gently ask those natives who used to be present at the batteries of the rebels, merely to see what was going on, and in their hearts cordially wishing success to the British, and if the authorities would pledge themselves not to bring them to trial for going there. I am told that many such are afraid to come forward and reveal important particulars, thinking they might be thereby subjecting themselves to a criminal prosecution. It is also well-known that

any native who resolves on acting faithfully towards the British Government makes enemies of the rest of the world. If the authorities will not take this point into consideration, those who are loyal have no chance of escape. If the Government will institute enquiries into those proceedings, I shall do my best to bring forward the parties who were ocular witnesses of each scene ; but I make no promise to turn plaintiff, and produce evidence on each point, for those who should have been brought to trial have received posts under Government, and my single statement would not be sufficient. For, from the commencement of the rebellion at Cawnpore, I was obliged, owing to the deadly enmity which the traitorous Nana had borne me for years, to escape with my life to the other side of the Ganges, where I remained concealed and laid out thousands of rupees in acts of loyalty by keeping peons and servants, who brought me news while they pretended to be well-wishers of the rebels. Another strange thing is that some of the omlahs of the courts, who had been taken to the Nana by force and violence, and who wrote for him merely to save their lives, were afterwards deprived of their livelihood by the authorities, while those who deserved to be brought to trial were rewarded with fine appointments. This is the reason why so many important facts have remained concealed.

The above was written by Doulut Pershad, and contains 124 pages.



## APPENDIX B

*Copies of reports and despatches relative to the protection afforded by Maun Singh and others to fugitive Europeans at the outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny.*

*Extract letter from C. J. WINGFIELD, Esq., to G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,—(dated Goruckpore, 14 July 1857).*

I have this day received a letter from Raja Maun Singh in which, strange to say, he gives no account of the posture of affairs in Lucknow, though he detailed the violent proceedings of some talukdars of Sultanpore and Fyzabad, who have been imprisoning thanadars and maltreating burkundazes; adding that the bad intelligence from Lucknow has emboldened them to commit these acts.

Maun Singh has collected 50 boats on this side of the river, either to cross the Gurkhas over, or to cross himself, should the mutineers and rebels attack him, as they threaten.

All I see and hear of Maun Singh makes me think him staunch up to this moment. He has exerted himself in every way to protect the women and children that were left at Fyzabad, and to place them in safety. He sent four sergeants' wives and seven children to this place; but we cannot expect him to sacrifice himself for us. He has doubtless already made himself obnoxious to the rebels by his open adhesion to our cause; and if fortune goes against us at Lucknow, instead of being able to render us any assistance, he will himself have to take shelter here.

Maun Singh is, I know, in want of money, though he has not told me so, and is endeavouring to raise some from the mahajuns. If, on my arrival at Fyzabad, I am convinced of his fidelity, and find him capable of rendering efficient service to Government, may I give him 50,000 rupees? I would recommend it; he could keep that district and

Sultanpore for us better than any European officer could ; indeed, no European officers could be left in charge without troops to support their authority. Maun Sing, you know, has no ilaqua from which he can raise money ; he lost every village at summary settlement.

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*Abstract translation of a letter, dated 11th July, from Rajah MAUN SING, to the Commissioner of Benares.*

I am thankful for your letter, all the contents of which I have understood. The instructions which it conveyed, directing me to persevere in my loyalty towards the British Government, have impressed themselves on my mind. The attachment which I have manifested to Government will appear from the letters which the Chief Commissioner had addressed to me, and copies of which I have in my possession ; in short, I am entirely a well-wisher of the British Government, and no efforts shall be wanting on my part to do anything that I can in their support. Do not consider me to be one with other foolish and short-sighted people ; you may rest assured (of my loyalty). Accounts of the state of affairs of this part of the country are frequently sent to the authorities at Goruckpore, from whose letters you will have been informed of the same. In order to prove my devotion to Government, as well as to make necessary arrangements in this place, I have not as yet quitted Oudh.

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*Extract letter from G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to C. J. WINGFIELD, Esq., in Political Charge of the Gurkha Troops en route to Lucknow, — (dated Fort William, the 21st July 1857).*

You are authorised, if you are satisfied of Rajah Maun Sing's fidelity, to make him an advance of 50,000 rupees for the purpose which you describe ; and in doing this, you are requested to address a letter to the Rajah, cordially thanking him, on the part of the Governor-General in Council, for his exertions in the collection of boats for the passage of the Gogra, and for the goodwill which he has manifested towards the British Government, in protecting the women and children who were compelled, by the violence of the mutinous regiments, to fly from the province. And he should further be assured that every expense which he has incurred in the collection of boats, or otherwise, will be eventually defrayed by this Government.

You will also be pleased to explain to him that circumstances have rendered it necessary to change the route of the Nepaulese troops.



*Extract paragraph 19 of Report by Mr. PATERSON, the Magistrate of Goruckpore, dated 2nd July 1857.*

14th June 1857.—A letter was addressed by me to Rajah Maun Sing, requesting to be informed if he expected to succeed in restoring order to Fyzabad and the neighbourhood. That Rajah has given great apparent proof of a desire to serve our Government. He has replied to my letter, and has subsequently twice addressed me most courteously, expressing his sense of duty and subservience to the British Government. He has afforded protection to all those of the officers and their families at Fyzabad who were willing to accept it, and has since conveyed them in safety to the house of the Rajah of Gopalpore in this district, who has procured for them good boats and provisions, by means of which assistance they have proceeded by river towards Dinapore. The Rajah has also established a second post between this place and Fyzabad, and I am using endeavours to procure and convey to Sir Henry Lawrence his letters and those of the European inhabitants of Lucknow.

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*From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to C. J. WINGFIELD, Esq., in Political Charge of the Gurkha Force,—(dated Fort William, 3rd August 1857).*

The Government has received a report from Mr. Paterson, the Magistrate of Goruckpore, of the services rendered by Rajah Maun Sing, since the outbreak in Oudh. With reference to this, I am directed by the Governor-General in Council to observe that you have already been authorised to present 50,000 rupees to the Rajah; to thank him on the part of the Government for his exertions in saving some of the ladies and children, and in securing boats at Fyzabad for the passage of the Gogra; and to assure him that all the expenses incurred by him will be ultimately repaid. A khureetah from myself to the above effect is herewith enclosed containing also the assurance that any service which he may render to the Government will be borne in mind.

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*Extract letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, to the Commissioner of Benares and Agent to Governor-General,—(dated Fort William, the 3rd August 1857).*

Reports have been received by Government from the Magistrate of Goruckpore stating the services rendered by Rajah Maun Sing of Fyzabad, and from the Sessions Judge of Goruckpore, in which mention

is made of the good conduct of the Rajah of Bansee in succouring the British officers from Gonda, Baraitch, and Secrora.

With reference to Rajah Maun Sing, I am directed by the Governor-General in Council to observe that Mr. Wingfield has already been authorised to present 50,000 rupees to the Rajah; to thank him on the part of Government for his exertions in saving some of the ladies and children, and in securing boats at Fyzabad for the passage of the Gogra; and to assure him that all the expenses incurred by him will be ultimately repaid.

A khureetah for the Rajah to the above effect will be sent to Mr. Wingfield, for presentation or transmission to him. A copy is enclosed for your information.

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*From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to SOORUT SING,—(dated Fort William, the 3rd August 1857).*

After compliments.

I have been informed that during the late disturbance at Benares, you, through fidelity and sincerity, and with great tact and bravery, encouraged the Sikh sepoy who were then on guard at the Treasury to remain faithful to their salt, so that in consequence the treasure was preserved.

You also accompanied the British troops into the district when there was a further disturbance, and acted with great bravery and spirit, being severely wounded on the occasion.

This fidelity and honourable conduct on your part has been most gratifying to me. I have therefore conferred on you and on your legitimate heirs male in perpetuity an allowance of 400 rupees a month, and a khillut of 5,000 rupees is herewith presented to you.

I do not doubt that you will continue to show faithfulness and zeal towards the British Government, in which case you may rest assured that the favour of Government will never be withdrawn from yourself and your relations.

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*Translation of a letter from Mr. TUCKER, Commissioner of Benares, to RAJAH MAUN SING, of Fyzabad,—(dated 30th June 1857).*

It is known that since the Native regiments mutinied and killed their officers, you have, as far as was in your power, arranged for the province of Fyzabad. I have therefore for this reason, and also because I



formerly enjoyed your friendship when at Goruckpore, written to you this letter, to apprise you that if you make proper arrangements, and act on the side of the English Government, you will find it greatly to your advantage; for although many Hindustanee regiments, which may be considered as the hands and feet of Government, have mutinied, and thus for a moment have rendered the Government as it were without hands and feet, especially as many European regiments had also been sent to Persia and China, and Government had placed implicit confidence in the Hindustanee regiments, yet this weakness will be but of extremely short duration.

Four European regiments with artillery from Calcutta have to-day marched from Allahabad for Cawnpore and Lucknow, under command of General Havelock. They will probably reach Cawnpore in eight days and thence going to Lucknow they will quickly annihilate the rebels there, and make proper arrangements for the province. Besides this 3,000 Gurkhas from Nepaul are marching through Goruckpore and Fyzabad to Lucknow.

Soon there will be collected such an army as will grind to the dust every ill-disposed person. The fort of Delhi has also been taken, and numbers of the enemy slain. The king is imploring for mercy. The China regiments, amounting to ten regiments, have been stopped and sent to Hindustan. They will shortly arrive in Calcutta.

When this army, which was sufficient for (conquering) China, shall arrive, then all proper arrangements will be made; and those persons who, thinking Government are weak, act rebelliously, shall be punished in such a manner as to show them that though the Government having sent two English armies to Persia and China, and relying on the Hindustanee army, by the faithlessness of that Hindustanee army has been temporarily weakened, yet the well-known vigour of the English state still remains intact. As they have conquered India from Calcutta to Peshawur, so by the blessing of God will they continue in possession of it, and will be even stronger than before; for in consequence of the faithlessness of the Hindustanee army, greater reliance will be placed in the European forces, which will be very considerably increased both in infantry and cavalry. You should think well of these things, and do all in your power to establish the rule of Government in and around Fyzabad, that the Commissioner and also his Lordship the Governor-General being pleased with your services may confer favours upon you; if not, you should well understand that those people

who do not now side with Government, or who merely make a pretence of doing so, will not find it well with them hereafter.

I write only that which is true; the punishment of these men will be seen hereafter. It is the custom of our nation that, though in times of prosperity, being negligent and putting too much confidence in others, we may suffer injury, yet when adversity comes we remain firm and determined in our purpose, and relax not in our exertions until our object is accomplished.

You will see that in the ensuing cold season many English regiments will come into the province, and make proper arrangements for the care of it.

The people of England, when they hear of these mutinies and murders, will, as you will see, despatch a numerous army, so that their might and power here will be established with twofold firmness. If you have any doubt in this matter, ask General Jung Bahadur, who has been himself in England, and can tell you what of the power of the English he saw there. I hope you will send me an answer to this.

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*From G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, to C. J. WINGFIELD, Esq., Commissioner of Goruckpore, —(No. 57, dated Camp Allahabad, 16th February 1858).*

It has come to the knowledge of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General that Rajah Maun Sing has lately sent into Goruckpore a Mrs.

Foreign Department.

Duhan and three children, who were in captivity at Lucknow, and that he has been making overtures in his own behalf to Mr. Brereton, the Magistrate.

2. The Governor-General, therefore, considers it important that both Brigadier-General Macgregor and yourself should be in possession of his views, as to the terms which may properly be conceded to Maun Sing, and should be prepared to give him a definite answer, if he should renew his overtures. I am accordingly desired to convey to you the following instructions.

3. If, as may be anticipated, Rajah Maun Sing should address you in terms indicating a disposition to treat, you are authorised to inform him that the Governor-General is aware of the goodwill which he exhibited towards the British Government by saving the lives of many European ladies and others at the commencement of the outbreak, and causing them to be removed in safety from Oudh; that his Lordship



has also been made acquainted with the fact of his having rescued Mrs. Duhan and her children from captivity, and delivered them safely into the hands of British officers, as well as with the endeavours in which he has been recently engaged, having for their object the release of other European and Eurasian subjects of the Government, who are believed to be in custody at Lucknow. You will add that, though unable in the present state of his information to absolve Rajah Maun Sing from the imputation of having participated in the insurrection, and shared in the armed opposition by which the troops of the British Government were met on their advance to relieve the Lucknow Residency, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General is prepared to recognise to their full extent the humanity and the good feeling which have been manifested by the Rajah in the protection of Europeans from the perils which surrounded them, and is willing to guarantee to him security of life and honour on submission, without further conditions, to the justice of the British Government. The Rajah may be assured that no time shall be lost in bringing his conduct during the past eight months under an impartial, although strict, investigation; and that, though the Governor-General must reserve until the close of that inquiry his decision as to the position which the Rajah shall henceforth occupy as a subject of the British Government, he will be treated during its continuance with consideration.

4. A copy of this letter will be sent to Brigadier-General Macgregor, and he will be desired, if Maun Sing should submit any proposals to him, to deal with them in accordance with the foregoing instructions.

5. You will strictly prohibit Mr. Brereton, and all other officers subordinate to you, as will Brigadier-General Macgregor, from replying to any letters that may be addressed to them by Rajah Maun Sing. If any subordinate officer should receive such, it will be his duty simply to acknowledge their receipt, and to forward them to his superior: either Brigadier-General Macgregor or yourself.

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*Demi-official from C. J. WINGFIELD, Esq., to the Secretary to the Government of India, — (dated Goruckpore, 6th February 1858).*

Mrs. Duhan, the woman whom Rajah Maun Sing promised to make over to us, has been sent in by him, and she arrived at this station last night. She is a half-caste and of Native manners; but her children are of lighter complexion. Her story is that she was in the Baillie

Guard, but went out in the day before the fight at Chinhut to visit her relations in another part of the town (for she was born and bred in Lucknow), and was unable to return, the sepoy having invested the place. She was placed under charge of Nawab Mahomed Tukkeeh Khan, who treated her very kindly, and subsequently of Durryah Wahid Alee, who also behaved well to her. He told Maun Sing to take her with him to Shahgunge, and she left Lucknow in Maun Sing's company exactly 22 days ago. She speaks confidently to Mrs. Orr, a Miss Jackson, and another lady, name unknown, being still alive, and under the care of the same Durryah Wahid Alee. She had not seen them, however, for they were in a different part of the city. About five months ago, she says, during the rains, 32 women, children, and men were brought into Lucknow from the districts, and there murdered.

She does not know their names, but heard that one of the victims was brought to bed only two days before. About two months back Captain Orr and some five or six other gentlemen were murdered; the three ladies before alluded to as still alive were of this party.

Besides these, she mentions many East Indians and their families still living in Lucknow. Mrs. Hare and family; Mrs. Wroughton and family; Mrs. Francis and family; Mrs. Baily and family; most of these she says are so dark that they pass for Natives, and are in no danger of their lives. They are not even confined or watched. Nawabs Munowur-oo-Dowlah and Mosoom-oo-Dowlah were plundered of everything, and the former was imprisoned and cruelly maltreated. She represents the mother of the boy whom they have set up for king as very bloodthirsty, and having herself given the order for the execution of prisoners. The chief officers or generals, as they are termed, of the rebels are Munnoo Khan, Shurf-oo-Dowlah, (the Cashmeree), Mirza Hyder, who got a pension from our Government, and Mozuffer Khan. When she left Lucknow it was full of sepoy, at 60,000 she heard their number stated; but these were not all old sepoy, more than half were recruits, for whenever a sepoy is killed in action, another man is enlisted in his place. There are two men who make gun caps in Lucknow, and the price is 20 rupees a seer; this seems strange, but the Rajah of Bulrumpore has told me the same thing.

Maun Sing, she says, told her he did not mean to fight against us, for he saw how hopeless it was, and he wished to save his life. He told her he should try and get the other ladies away from Lucknow, and she knows he is spending money with that object.



I enclose a copy of the letter Brereton addressed to Maun Sing, acknowledging the arrival of the woman. I think he should have expressed himself with more reserve.

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*Telegraph message, from G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esq., to C. BEADON, Esq., Calcutta, —(dated Allahabad, 9th February 1858).*

Maun Sing has sent in to Mr. Brereton's camp a Mrs. Duhan and three children. We have also heard from Mr. Osborne of Bustee that Miss Jackson and Mrs. Orr, and another lady, name unknown, also many Eurasians and their families, have been brought by Maun Sing from Lucknow. Among others Mrs. Hare, Mrs. Wroughton, Mrs. Francis, Mrs. Short and Mrs. Bailly, with their families, are mentioned.

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*From G. COUPER, Esq., Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh, to the Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-General,—(dated Camp, Alum Bagh, 5th February 1858).*

I am directed to submit the following accounts of the present aspect of affairs in Oudh for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General.

2. Maun Sing is said to be regarded both by the durbar and by the sepoys as their best friend. He is now somewhere in the direction of Fyzabad. This powerful and influential chieftain, on leaving the city, wrote to the Chief Commissioner, requesting orders, and stating that he and his adherents were at the service of the British. He was told in reply to send in the European captives. This, however, the Chief Commissioner is convinced it is out of his power to do, as their safe keeping affects so many rival and conflicting interests. His vakeel, Anunt Ram, is still near the unfortunate ladies, and occasionally sends a letter from them. It appears almost certain that if Maun Sing were to espouse our cause, a very large number of the principal landholders in Oudh would follow his example.

3. All those men who have been actively engaged against the British are selling their Government promissory notes at 85 and 88 per cent. discount. The mahajuns are the purchasers, and they at once remit the paper to Calcutta. Shah Beharrylall and Salig Ram have been the principal buyers.

4. Rajah Nawab Aly Khan of Mahmoodabad, and Rajah Deo Bux Sing of Gondah, are exerting themselves actively in collecting followers, and in making preparations for defence.

5. A man named Hubb Ali Khan, who was Tehsildar of Seetapore, has just reported himself at this camp. The Chief Commissioner does not altogether like the account he gives of himself, of having been in hiding until now.

The Council who exercised the functions of the Chief Commissioner during the short temporary illness of Sir H. Lawrence in June last made this man an extra assistant, on receiving his account of the massacre at Seetapore. The Chief Commissioner does not think that this appointment should at present receive the sanction of Government.

The only important information that Hubb Ali gives is, that the powerful landholders are determined to resort to their forts and to their jungles and from thence maintain a system of dacoity and of guerilla warfare, until they compel us to restore them to their former status. This statement is confirmed by authentic intelligence from the city, from which the Chief Commissioner gathers that the sepoy openly speak of the impossibility of successfully opposing our advance, and their intention of going out in gangs into the districts and leading a life of rapine and plunder.

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*Demi-official from C. F. WINGFIELD, Esq., to the Secretary to the Government of India,--(dated Goruckpore, 29th January 1858).*

I enclose a letter received by Brereton, who is at Bilwa opposite Fyzabad, from Maun Sing, and his reply. The messenger who brought the letter to Brereton stated that Maun Sing was anxious to come in, and Brereton writes that he told him to inform his master that "he had no authority to offer him terms," but that the best thing he could do would be to show himself at once on our side by occupying the ghats, and making the boats over to us. That the lady and children could be made over at the same time, and that in this case he would do his best to procure him some consideration on the part of Government, and this was the only possible means by which he could save himself from utter destruction. I do not at all approve of Brereton's proceedings in this matter. Maun Sing, you will observe, in his letter, confined himself to making a representation about the European lady, and Brereton should, in his reply, have also confined himself to that topic. To the verbal assurances of Maun Sing's good disposition, conveyed by the messenger, Brereton should have paid no attention, for he had no authority to meet such advances; still less should he have replied to them in writing.



by inviting Maun Sing to come over to him. Brereton goes on to say that it is well worth while to give Maun Sing a promise of his life, for the sake of securing the passage of the river unopposed. I have told him this is no business of his; he has nothing to do with the forcing the passage of the Gogra, and had no right to enter into a consideration of the question at what cost such an object could be effected.

In the cause of humanity, however, he is right to try and save the women and children, and there is no objection to his telling Maun Sing that such an act of humanity would of course tell in his favour. But I have strictly interdicted him from offering any terms to Maun Sing, or from entering into any communication with him on the subject of his (Maun Sing's) personal safety. And should Maun Sing make overtures with that view, I have ordered Brereton to reply that he has no authority to entertain them, and that the proper person for Maun Sing to address them to is Sir James Outram, the Chief Commissioner.

It seems proper that the Supreme Government should be apprised of these proceedings. To save the post, I am obliged to write demi-officially.

*Translation of a letter from RAJAH MAUN SING, dated 7th Jumadoos Sanee, 1274 Hijree, corresponding with 23rd January 1858, to the Magistrate of Goruckpore.*

After compliments, states that when Lucknow was besieged a mercantile gentleman named "Dobarun" joined the British Government, and entered the entrenchments of the Baillie Guard (Residency), and when the garrison was relieved, this gentleman also escaped alive and went to Allahabad; but his wife and little girl, when he entered the entrenchments, remained behind, and managed, with great difficulty, to live on in the City of Lucknow. That he (Maun Sing), acting in accordance with the advice of the Chief Commissioner, has brought the lady and child away with him, with great difficulty, for the purpose of sending them to Allahabad; but that as the road is not open, he cannot do so; represents, therefore, that if the magistrate can manage to send them to their destination, he (Maun Sing) is prepared to make them over.

*Translation of reply from Mr. BRERETON, Magistrate, to MAUN SING,—(dated 26th January 1858).*

Your letter, mentioning the safety of a lady and child, professing your readiness to send them in and your own good wishes, has been

received, and has gratified me. If you will bring the lady and child here, it will be the better for you: be assured that it is no part of my intention to seize you by a subterfuge; but at the present time the best thing you can do is to come in.

*P.S.*—If you have any hesitation about coming in yourself at present, do not let there be any hesitation or delay in sending in the lady and the child.

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*From C. WINGFIELD, Esq., to the Secretary to the Government of India,—(dated Goruckpore, 2nd February 1858).*

I send you a copy of another letter since received by Brereton from Maun Sing, though it is dated eight days back. Brereton has informed him that his letter has been sent on to me for orders. My answer will be the same that I directed Brereton to give to all such communications, viz., that I had no authority in the affairs of Oudh; my concern was only with the district of Goruckpore, and that if he had anything to say he should address himself to the Chief Commissioner.

It is unnecessary to comment on the absurdity of the pretence that he had been commissioned by General Outram to provide supplies for the Gurkha army, or of his feigned astonishment at the occupation of his house at Bilwa Bazaar, seeing that his house and property at Benares were confiscated four months ago. His object plainly is to know how he is regarded by our Government, and what its intentions are towards him, and to shape his course accordingly. If he sees no hope of mercy he will fight, but if he thinks he has not sinned past forgiveness, he will remain neutral now.

I have made Macgregor acquainted with these communications, and he leans to the idea of detaching Maun Sing from the hostile league; my own opinion is quite the reverse. In the first place, I should hope that with three powerful armies closing in on Oudh, we are strong enough not to need to buy off the hostility of any rebel, however powerful. Secondly, Maun Sing is, I should think, the very last man who ought to be selected as an object of clemency. He has not the excuse of having been hurried into insurrection by the force of example, the impetuosity of his feelings, or even regard for his personal safety. He withstood all these trials, for it was on mature reflection, and after weighing all the chances on either side, that he chose that of rebellion. As long as he thought the success of the insurrection was but transient, and that our Government would speedily recover its position



he professed loyalty, and even supported us; but when he heard that the Gurkhas were not to march through Fyzabad and that Havelock had been obliged to abandon his design of relieving the Residency and to retire on Cawnpore, he thought our cause hopeless, and joined what appeared the triumphant side. He has now found out his mistake, and wishes to turn again. But if ever a man took a step advisedly, it was Maun Sing. As to the great advantage to be expected from detaching him from the hostile league, I confess I am doubtful on that point also. It was very well to keep him from going into rebellion when his example might influence others, but now it is only a question of having 5,000 men more or less against us, and we have a force to crush 50,000.

I feel assured in my own mind that Maun Sing has made overtures to Sir James Outram which have been rejected, therefore he applies to us, hoping to lead us into making some pledge which might prevent the Government from proceeding to extremities against him, but in this he is mistaken. I am not going to commit myself.

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*Abstract translation of a letter from RAJAH MAUN SING to Mr. BRERETON.*

After compliments, states that on sending his agent according to the Chief Commissioner's directions to collect supplies and boats for our troops, he was surprised to hear that it was the intention of the Government to take possession of his territory. He does not credit the report, but thinks it derives confirmation from the fact of his houses at various places being confiscated, and his men having been seized. Does not know whether this resolution has been made as a reward for his services at Fyzabad at the time of the outbreak, or whether Mr. Wingfield has given the order. Wishes to have his suspicions dispelled by an assurance that no evil is meditated against him. As regards his going to Lucknow, says that at a time when life and property were endangered, it was not strange that he should have gone to Lucknow to ensure the safety of his family. He is not to blame for this, and says that notwithstanding all the fighting going on, he did not join the rebels in attacking our troops. Calls to mind his good service in protecting European men, women, and children, and his exertions in collecting supplies, boats, &c. Awaits orders as to his proceedings, which he promises to obey.

*From C. WINGFIELD, Esq., Commissioner, Goruckpore, to W. MUIR, Esq., Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces,—(No. 49, dated Goruckpore, 12th February 1858).*

I enclose copy of a letter addressed by Rajah Maun Sing to the Magistrate, Mr. Brereton, and at the same time report on the relations of this district with Oudh.

2. It appears, by our latest information from Fyzabad and Gonda which comes down to the 10th instant, that the Rajah of Gonda, who lately suffered a defeat from the Gurkha division at Bilwa, is still, with some 5,000 men at Naiwaukgunge, eight miles off, and in expectation of being joined by a large body of sepoy, and other insurgents from Fyzabad. At the latter place a large force of rebels, including about 5,000 sepoy, is collected. Among these are two regiments composed of Bhojpoor men, under the command of Burkrishu Sing, the nephew of Roor Sing of Arrah.

3. The sepoy promise to cross the Gogra to the aid of the Gonda insurgents, and invade Goruckpore if their arrears of pay are made good; and Mahomed Hossein, who has been for the last ten days at Fyzabad, has advanced them a considerable sum, and is making great exertions to satisfy their demands in full.

I have always thought it certain that as soon as the Maharajah's army crossed the Gogra, this district would be invaded by the combined forces of the insurgents; but as Natives never do anything at the right moment, it seems highly probable they will not wait for the Gurkhas crossing to the other side to enter this district, and this is the very best thing that could have been for us.

5. The Bhojpoor sepoy must, at some time or other, have in view an escape to their own homes; a road would lie open to them either by the right bank of the Gogra, or through this district; the former would be closed as soon as the Maharajah's army crosses.

6. On Maun Sing's conduct I look with some distrust, which his letter does not tend to remove. Our Fyzabad news-writer, whose information has invariably proved correct, reports that the Rajah has had an interview with some of the sepoy officers, and has agreed to their proposal to invade this district, and moved three of his guns down to the ghat. It would be quite consistent with his known character for duplicity to infer that, while aiding the insurgents, he is trying to keep well with us; and his avowal of his intention to proceed to Ajoodhya with the expression of a hope that his motive may not be misinterpreted, ]



looks very much as if he were trying to play the game of deception to the last moment. It is true this is a great bathing-day with Hindus, but that would be the very time Maun Sing would select to cloak a hostile design. It must be admitted, however, that his neutrality up to the present time has paralysed the plans of the insurgents, and has made him the object of their indignation. Had he declared himself openly against us, the district would long ago have been invaded.

I have told you that the Maharajah could not be induced to leave two of his guns at Goruckpore, but substituted three condemned ones, captured from Mahomed Hossein, which I have been cautioned by the artillery officer against attempting to fire. General Macgregor, however, has promised, if he cannot persuade the Maharajah to change his mind, to leave two of the guns of the Naval Brigade.

8. The division of the Gurkha army is still at Bilwa, and General Macgregor has instructed the officer in command to attack the rebels if assembled within ten miles' distance of him.

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*Translation of a letter from RAJAH MAUN SING, to Mr. BRERETON,—(dated 20th Buddae of Fagoon, 1265 Fualae, corresponding with 8th February 1858).*

After compliments. I have been gratified by the receipt of your kind letter, intimating the arrival of a lady and three children whom I had sent to you.

In regard to the thanks which you have been kind enough to offer to me for my exertions in sending the said lady and children to you, I request that you will consider me as ever obedient to the orders of the Government.

Though I have been obliged, for the fear of my honour and dignity, to keep up an amicable appearance with the rebels, yet, if you reflect on this matter with attention, you will find me as attached in every respect to the interests of the Government.

As you have wished me to send (to you) those ladies and children who were in the custody of the rebels, I beg to say that the wife of Mr. Joseph, son of Johannes, a merchant, has left Lucknow, and is shortly expected here; on her arrival here I will inform you.

You may rest assured that I will not spare any effort to send in those ladies and children who may come into my hands; but it rests with God.

It is necessary for me to represent to you that the festival of Sheorat being near at hand, I shall be under the necessity of going to Ajoodhya for two or four days, in order to worship the deity Maha Deb. I make this previous representation to you, lest anybody should misrepresent to you the cause of my visit to that place. If such should happen, I trust you will not forget this representation of mine, as men of different characters are to be found everywhere.

*P. S.*—Busunttee Sing will verbally intimate to you the other particulars which are worthy of being communicated to you. I hope you will attend to all his representations.



## APPENDIX C

*GENERAL ORDERS by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Fort William, 15th August 1857.*

No. 1031 of 1857.—His Excellency General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., appointed by Her Majesty to be Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's and all other forces serving in the East Indies, having arrived on the 13th instant, assumed command of the Army in India on that date.

Ordered, that all returns of the Army be made, in the usual manner, to General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., as Commander-in-Chief.

His Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir Patrick Grant, K.C.B., Acting Commander-in-Chief in Bengal, will return to Madras and resume the command of the Army at the Presidency of Fort St. George.

The Governor-General in Council directs that all the honours and distinctions paid to the Commander-in-Chief of all the forces in Bengal shall be continued to His Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir P. Grant, K.C.B., until his departure for Madras.

(Signed) R. J. H. BIRCH, Col.,  
Secy. to the Govt. of India, Milg. Dept.

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*GENERAL ORDERS by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Calcutta, 17th August 1857.*

Her Majesty having been graciously pleased to appoint me Commander-in-Chief of the forces in India, in the room of the late lamented General the Hon'ble George Anson, and Her Majesty having also been graciously pleased to confer upon me the rank of General in the East Indies, I now assume the command of the Army in India.

In doing so it affords me the highest satisfaction to find under my orders troops who have so fully proved themselves, in the recent arduous

operations in the field, to be what I have ever known British soldiers in every quarter of the globe, courageous, faithful, obedient and enduring.

In former years, I have commanded Native troops of India, and by their side I have been present in many battles and victories in which they have nobly borne their part; and it is to me a subject of deep concern to learn that soldiers of whom I have been accustomed to think so favourably should now be arrayed in open and defiant mutiny against a Government, proverbial for the liberality and paternal consideration with which it has ever treated its servants of every denomination.

When I join the force now in the field restoring order to the districts disturbed by the disaffection of the Army of Bengal, I shall, at the head of the British troops and of those Native soldiers who, though few in number, have not feared to separate themselves from their faithless comrades, and to adhere to their duty, feel my old confidence that they will march to certain victory.

I shall not fail to notice, and the powerful Government, which I have the honour to serve will not fail to reward, every instance of fidelity and valour shown by the troops under my command.

I call upon the officers and men of both European and Native troops zealously to assist in the task before us; and, by the blessing of God, we shall soon again see India tranquil and prosperous.

(Signed) C. CAMPBELL, *Genl.*,  
*Commander-in-Chief.*

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*Extract from a letter addressed by Sir JAMES OUTRAM, to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Alumbagh, 2nd January 1858.*

I trust that you will forgive me for bringing [a small personal matter to your private notice which has caused me some slight annoyance, for such consideration as you may think it deserving of.

I perceive from the published despatch of Sir Henry Havelock, describing the operations connected with his entrance into Lucknow for the relief of the garrison, the lamented General therein states that, after taking the Chutter Munzil, we held a conversation, at which I recommended that we should remain where we were, while he advocated pushing on at once, and adopted the latter course.

It seems to me that a dispassionate peruser of the above passage would infer that the relief of the garrison was due to General Havelock's



adoption of his own views in preference to mine, and I therefore wish to explain that I proposed a halt of only a few hours' duration, in order to enable the rear-guard, with which were all our heavy guns, the baggage, and the doolies containing our wounded, to come up, by which time the whole force would have occupied the Chutter Munzil in security, which we were then holding, and from which we could have effected our way to the Residency by opening communication through the intervening palaces; in a less brilliant manner, it is true, but with comparatively little loss; at the same time offering to show the way through the street if he preferred it. I submit that the result proved the soundness of my advice. General Havelock pushed on without waiting for the rear-guard, which was consequently cut off for two nights and a day, not effecting its entrance to the entrenchment until the morning of the 27th, and then only at a heavy sacrifice of life, and the loss of a nine-pounder gun and much baggage, and still more sad to relate, at the cost of the lives of very many wounded officers and men, who were cut up in their doolies. (*N. B.*—The return of killed during that period was 61 and 77 missing. The latter being the unfortunate wounded) This disaster would have been prevented, had the rear-guard been allowed to come up before we vacated the Chutter Munzil, as our light artillery from thence would have kept down the fire from the Kaiser Bagh, which was the principal cause of all the casualties. And the wounded were murdered at the entrance of the Chutter Munzil, which we had vacated. \* \* \* \*

It may seem to Your Excellency that I should have made these observations before, and I have therefore to state that I should certainly have requested the General to modify that passage in his despatch in which he mentions that I was desirous of a halt, had my name appeared in the official original which was forwarded through me by Cossid to Captain Bruce, for transmission to Your Excellency. But as such was not the case, I can only conclude that it was subsequently interpolated without the knowledge of General Havelock, when (on hearing that the original had miscarried) a copy was furnished which did not pass through my hands.

I am well aware that, in surrendering the command to General Havelock, I left him at undoubted liberty to put on record his own impressions regarding the conduct of the operations; but I am sure that if he were alive, he would at once assent to the correctness of what I have above stated.

It is with no desire of controversy, or any wish to reflect injuriously on the illustrious dead, that I mention the above facts for your private information. I think it only due to my professional reputation, however, to put you, my superior officer, in possession of the real facts of the case, because if the despatch, as it stands, gives you the impression (which, I think, I am justified in assuming it might do) that General Havelock accomplished such an achievement as that of the relief of Lucknow by adopting a course of action contrary to that which I had recommended, it would naturally shake your confidence in me, and lead you, not unreasonably, to doubt my fitness to undertake the conduct of similar, or other military operations.

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*GENERAL ORDER by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, dated Fort William, 30th December 1857.*

No. 1665 of 1857.—The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council having received last evening a complete nominal roll of officers, members of the Uncovenanted Service, and women and children of the Garrison of Lucknow, is pleased to direct the publication of that document for general information.

*NOMINAL ROLL of officers, Members of the Uncovenanted Service, and women and children of the Lucknow Garrison.*

*General Staff.*

Brigadier-General Sir H. M. Lawrence, Chief Commissioner, killed; Lieutenant Hutchinson, A.-D.-C.; Captain Hayes, Military Secretary, killed; Captain Edgell, Officiating; Captain Wilson, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, contused, recovered; Lieutenant Hardinge Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, twice wounded, recovered; Lieutenant James, Sub-Assistant Commissary-General, wounded, doing well; Major Anderson, Chief Engineer, dead; Major Marriott, Pension Paymaster.

*Brigade Staff.*

Brigadier Handscomb, Commanding Oudh Brigade, killed; Brigadier Inglis, Commanding the Garrison; Lieutenant Birch, A.-D.-C., slightly wounded, recovered; Lieutenant Barwell, Town and Fort Adjutant, Officiating Major of Brigade; Captain Carnegie, Provost-Marshal.



*Artillery.*

Captain Simons, wounded, since dead; 1st-Lieutenant Alexander, wounded, recovered, since killed; 1st-Lieutenant Thomas (Madras); 2nd-Lieutenant Lewin, killed; 2nd-Lieutenant Bryce, wounded, since dead; 2nd-Lieutenant Bonham, wounded three times, doing well; 2nd-Lieutenant J. Alexander, slightly wounded, recovered; 2nd-Lieutenant MacFarlan, wounded, doing well; 2nd-Lieutenant Cunliffe, wounded, since dead.

*Engineers.*

Captain Fulton, Garrison Engineer, killed; Lieutenant Anderson (Madras), Officiating; Lieutenant Innes.

*7th Regiment Light Cavalry.*

Lieutenant-Colonel Master; Captain Staples, killed; Captain Radcliffe, wounded, since dead; Captain Boileau, slightly wounded, recovered; Lieutenant Arthur, killed; Lieutenant Boulton, killed; Lieutenant Warner, Adjutant; Lieutenant Martin, killed; Lieutenant Farquhar, wounded, convalescent; Lieutenant Raleigh, killed; Surgeon Campbell; Veterinary Surgeon Hely, killed; Riding-master Eldridge, killed.

*Her Majesty's 32nd Foot.*

Lieutenant-Colonel Case, killed; Major Lowe, Commanding, twice wounded, doing well; Captain Steevens, killed; Captain Mansfield, dead; Captain Power, wounded, since dead; Captain Bassano, wounded, recovered; Captain McCabe, mortally wounded, since dead; Lieutenant Lawrence; Lieutenant Edmondstone, twice wounded, doing well; Lieutenant Webb, killed; Lieutenant Foster, wounded, recovered; Lieutenant Clery; Lieutenant Brown; Lieutenant Brackenbury, killed; Lieutenant Harmer, wounded, doing well; Lieutenant Cook, slightly wounded, recovered; Ensign Charlton, wounded, doing well; Ensign Studdy, killed; Paymaster Giddings; Quartermaster Stribling; Surgeon Scott, M. D.; Assistant Surgeon Boyd.

*Detachment, Her Majesty's 84th Foot.*

Lieutenant O'Brien, wounded, recovered; Ensign McGrath.

*13th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

Major Bruere, killed; Captain Waterman, wounded, recovered; Captain Germon; Captain Francis, killed; Lieutenant Aitken,

Quarter-master; Lieutenant Chambers, Adjutant, wounded, doing well; Lieutenant Cubitt, wounded, recovered; Lieutenant Thain; Lieutenant Loughnan; Ensign Green, dead; Surgeon Pitt.

*41st Regiment, Native Infantry.*

Major Apthorp; Captain Kemble, wounded, recovered; Captain Sanders; Lieutenant Ruggles; Lieutenant Graves, dead; Lieutenant Darrah; Lieutenant Inglis, wounded, recovered; Lieutenant Keir; Ensign McGregor, dead; Ensign Hewitt, slightly wounded, recovered; Surgeon Macdonald, dead.

*48th Regiment, Native Infantry.*

Lieutenant-Colonel Palmer; Major Bird; Captain Burmester, killed; Captain Green; Lieutenant Huxham, twice wounded, doing well; Lieutenant Smith, Adjutant, wounded (accidentally), doing well; Lieutenant Ouseley, Quartermaster; Lieutenant Fletcher, wounded, doing well; Lieutenant Dashwood, wounded, since dead; Lieutenant Hay, wounded, slightly, recovered; Ensign Farquharson, killed; Ensign O'Dowda, slightly wounded, recovered; Ensign Ward; Surgeon Wells, wounded slightly, recovered.

*71st Regiment, Native Infantry.*

Colonel Halford, dead; Captain Strangways, slightly wounded, recovered; Captain Dinning; Captain Maclean, killed; Lieutenant Langmore, Adjutant; Lieutenant Sewell; Lieutenant Grant, killed; Ensign Worsley; Ensign C. W. Campbell, wounded, doing well; Ensign W. Campbell; Surgeon Brydon, wounded, recovered.

*Officers not belonging to the Oudh Brigade.*

Major Banks, Provisional Chief Commissioner, killed; Captain Stuart, 3rd Native Infantry; Lieutenant Fullerton, 44th Native Infantry, dead; Lieutenant Lester, 32nd Native Infantry, killed; Lieutenant Tulloch, 58th Native Infantry; Lieutenant Birch, 59th Native Infantry, killed; Ensign Inglis, 63rd Native Infantry, doing duty 13th Native Infantry; Captain Weston, 65th Native Infantry, Oudh Frontier Police; Ensign Dashwood, 18th Native Infantry, mortally wounded, since dead.

*Oudh Irregular Force.*

Brigadier Gray, Commanding; Captain Barlow, Major of Brigade, wounded, since dead; Captain Forbes, 1st Oudh Cavalry, slightly



wounded, recovered; Lieutenant Bax, 2nd in Command, killed; Lieutenant Graham, Officiating Adjutant, dead; Assistant Surgeon Greenhow; Major Gall, 2nd Oudh Cavalry, killed; Lieutenant Shepherd, 2nd-in-Command, killed; Lieutenant Barbor, Adjutant, killed; Gentleman Volunteer Fayrer, killed; Assistant Surgeon Partridge; Lieutenant Graham, Adjutant, 3rd Oudh Cavalry, slightly wounded twice, recovered; Lieutenant Clarke, 1st Oudh Infantry; Captain Hughes, 4th Oudh Infantry, wounded, since dead; Lieutenant Soppitt, 4th Oudh Infantry; Assistant Surgeon Hadow; Captain Hawes, 5th Oudh Infantry, wounded, recovered; Lieutenant Grant, 2nd-in-Command, wounded, since dead; Apothecary Thompson; Lieutenant Graydon, 7th Oudh Infantry, very dangerously wounded, since dead; Lieutenant Watson, 2nd-in-Command; Lieutenant Mecham, Adjutant; Lieutenant Vaurenen, 9th Oudh Infantry; Assistant Surgeon Darby, M. D., 10th Oudh Infantry; Captain Hearsey, unattached; Captain Orr, unattached.

*Assistant Chaplains of Lucknow.*

The Reverend H. P. Harris; the Reverend H. S. Polehampton, wounded, since dead.

*Civil Surgeons.*

Surgeon Ogilvie, Superintendent of Jails; Assistant Surgeon Fayrer, Residency Surgeon.

*Gentlemen of the Civil Service.*

Mr. Gubbins, Financial Commissioner; Mr. Ommanney, Judicial Commissioner, killed; Mr. Couper, Secretary, Chief Commissioner; Mr. Martin, Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow; Mr. Benson, Deputy Commissioner, Durriabad; Mr. Capper, Deputy Commissioner, Mullaon; Mr. Lawrence, Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Goudah, wounded, recovered; Mr. Thornhill, Assistant Commissioner, Lucknow, slightly wounded, recovered—dangerously wounded, since dead; Mr. Boulderson, Assistant Commissioner, Lucknow, slightly wounded, recovered.

*Ladies and Children in Garrison.*

Mrs. Hayes and child; Mrs. Edgeff and child; Mrs. Marriott; Mrs. Inglis and three children; Mrs. Barwell and child; Mrs. Thomas and child (Mrs. Thomas dead); Mrs. Lewin and two children; Mrs. Staples; Mrs. Radcliffe and three children (one child dead); Mrs. Boileau and three children; Mrs. Case and sister; Mrs. Steevens; Mrs. Giddings; Mrs.

Bruere and four children ; Mrs. Germon ; Mrs. Aitken ; Mrs. Pitt and child ; Mrs. Apthorp and child (child dead) ; Mrs. Darrah and two children ; Miss Palmer, killed ; Mrs. Bird and two children (one child dead) ; Mrs. Green, dead ; Mrs. Huxham and two children (one child dead) ; Mrs. Ouseley and three children (two children dead) ; Mrs. Dashwood and three children (one child dead) ; Mrs. Wells and child ; Mrs. Halford ; Miss Halford ; Mrs. Strangways and four children (one child dead) ; Mrs. Brydon and two children ; Mrs. Stuart and child ; Mrs. Banks and child ; Mrs. Birch ; Mrs. Orr and child ; Mrs. Hearsey ; Mrs. Barlow ; Mrs. Forbes and three children (two children dead) ; Mrs. Graham and two children (one child dead) ; Mrs. Gall ; Mrs. Barbor ; Mrs. Clarke ; Mrs. Soppitt ; Mrs. Grant and child (both dead) ; Mrs. Watson and child ; Mrs. Harris ; Mrs. Polehampton ; Mrs. Ogilvie ; Mrs. Fayrer and child ; Mrs. Gubbins ; Miss Nepean ; Mrs. Ommanney ; Miss Ommanney ; Miss Ommanney ; Mrs. Couper and three children ; Mrs. Martin and two children (two children dead) ; Mrs. Benson and child (child dead) ; Mrs. Thornhill and child (child dead) ; Mrs. Schilling ; Mrs. Hale and child ; (both dead) ; Mrs. Fullerton and child (child dead) ; Mrs. Dorin, killed ; Mrs. Kendall and child (child dead) ; Mrs. Bartrum and child (child dead) ; Mrs. Clarke and child (both dead) ; Mrs. Anderson and child (both dead) ; Mrs. Anderson (Dr.) ; Mrs. Boileau and four children (one child dead).

*European Women and Children in Garrison.*

Mrs. Evans, dead ; Mrs. Brett and child (child dead) ; Mrs. Bell and child ; Mrs. Cane and three children ; Mrs. Court and two children ; Mrs. Connel and child ; Mrs. Grant ; Mrs. Abbott and child (child dead) ; Mrs. Hembro and three children ; Mrs. Purcell and child ; Mrs. Longton and child ; Mrs. Morgan ; Mrs. Sexton ; Mrs. Ramsay ; Mrs. Watson and child ; Mrs. Royder ; Mrs. Wells and child ; Mrs. Woods and three children (one child dead) ; Mrs. Morton and child (child dead) ; Mrs. Baxter and three children ; Mrs. Fitzgerald and child ; Mrs. Fitzgerald and three children (one child dead) ; Mrs. Martin ; Mrs. Kinsley and four children ; Mrs. Rae ; Mrs. Gabriell and three children ; Mrs. Pew, senior ; Mrs. Pew, junior, and four children (two children dead) ; Mrs. Ireland and child ; Mrs. Swarris and three children ; Mrs. Gamboon ; Mrs. Blyth and child (child dead) ; Mrs. Jones ; Mrs. Luxted ; Miss Luxted ; Mrs. Catania ; Mrs. Forbes ; Mrs. Blaney ; Mrs. Hyde and two children ; Mrs. Sequera, senior ; Mrs. Sequera, junior, killed ; Mrs. Chrestien ; Miss Sequera ; Mrs. Vaughan and two children ; Mrs. Beale ; Mrs. Hardingham ;



Mrs. Sinclair ; Miss Hampton ; Mrs. Elliott ; Mrs. Sangster and two children ; Mrs. Barnett and child ; Miss Sangster ; Mrs. Browne ; Mrs. Hamilton and three children (two children dead) ; Mrs. Velozo ; Miss Velozo ; Mrs. Horn and three children ; Mrs. Parry and four children ; Mrs. Ereth ; Mrs. Bates ; Mrs. Scott and child (child dead) ; Mrs. Need and three children ; Mrs. Higgins, dead ; Mrs. Williams and child (child dead) ; Mrs. Wilkinson, dead ; Mrs. Allnutt and child (child dead) ; Mrs. Reilly and child (child dead) ; Mrs. Collins and child (both dead) ; Mrs. Macgrenan ; Mrs. Garland and child ; Miss Clarke ; Mrs. J. Phillips ; Mrs. W. Phillips and child ; Mrs. Leslie ; Mrs. Lincoln and child ; Mrs. Chick and children (one child dead) ; Mrs. Clancey and two children ; Mrs. Joyce and child ; Mrs. Best and child (child dead) ; Mrs. Pidgeon ; Mrs. Todd and child ; Mrs. Blunt ; Mrs. Garrett and two children ; Mrs. Pedron ; Miss Marshall ; Miss Savaille ; Miss Campagnac ; Mrs. Dudman and three children (two children dead) ; Mrs. Ward and child ; Mrs. Dudman, 2nd ; Mrs. Renuick ; Mrs. Derozario ; Mrs. Dacosta ; Mrs. Archer and two children ; Mrs. Hilton and two children ; Mrs. DeraVara and two children ; Mrs. Peuder and four children ; Mrs. McDonnough and two children ; Mrs. Oliver and two children ; Mrs. Brown ; Mrs. Rontleff and child ; Mrs. Curwan and child ; Mrs. Lynch and child ; Mrs. Morton and two children (both children dead) ; Mrs. Smith and three children ; Mrs. Brandoff ; Mrs. Curtain and three children ; Mrs. Kennedy ; Mrs. Bailey and two children ; Mrs. Peter ; Miss Kennedy ; Mrs. Burnett and child ; Mrs. Cook and four children (one child dead) ; Mrs. Bryson and four children (one child dead) ; Mrs. Marshall ; Mrs. Rutledge and two children ; Mrs. Lawrence and two children (one child dead) ; Mrs. Samson ; Mrs. Horan and three children ; Mrs. Kavanagh and four children (one child dead) ; Mrs. F. Marshall and two children ; Mrs. Sago ; Mrs. Virtue ; Miss Virtue ; Miss Browne ; Mrs. F. Williams and two children ; Mrs. Gordon and two children ; Mrs. Hoff ; Mrs. Wittenbaker and eight children ; Mrs. Donnithorne and two children (one child dead) ; Mrs. Pearce and two children ; Mrs. Mendes, dead ; Miss Gardner ; Miss Roberts ; Mrs. Dubois, senior ; Mrs. Dubois, junior ; Mrs. Campagnac, senior ; Mrs. Campagnac, junior, and four children : Miss Campagnac, 1st ; Miss Campagnac, 2nd ; Mrs. Mahar and two children ; Mrs. Twitchem ; Mrs. Marley and one child ; Miss Hampton ; Mrs. Longden ; Miss Rodgers ; Mrs. Duffy and child ; Mrs. Griffiths and three children ; Mrs. Keogh and five children (three children dead) ; Mrs. McIlloy and

five children; Mrs. Hernon and four children; Mrs. Manton; Mrs. Miller and four children; Mrs. Bickers and three children; Mrs. Barrett and three children (one child dead); Mrs. Casey and five children (one child dead); Mrs. Alone; Miss Alone; Miss Arno; Miss Robinson; Miss Bowhear; Mrs. Johannes and child; Mrs. Queiros and child; Mrs. Dias; Mrs. Pelling; Mrs. Nazareth and two children (Mrs. Nazareth dead); Mrs. Nugent, senior; Mrs. Nugent, junior, and three children; Mrs. Joseph and three children; Mrs. Hamilton; Mrs. Blenman; Mrs. Bates and child; Mrs. Barfoot.

*Members of the Uncovenanted Service.*

Messrs. J. F. Macgrenan; R. Garland; W. E. Fitzgerald; R. M. Collins, F. Leach, F. Williams, E. Kight, J. Gordon, E. Hoff, R. Dorrett; Anthony Wharton, Wittenbaker, Wittenbaker, junior (killed), S. Williams, Donnithorne, Veloso, Pearce, Mendes (killed), Phillips, French, Leslie, Lincoln, Chick, W. Phillips, Clancey (killed), Joice, Best, Pidgeon (killed), Ewart, Todd, R. Joyce, Thriepland, Blunt, Forrester (wounded), Potter, Kavanagh, Marshall, Forder, May; Martin, Morgan (wounded), Mc. Rae (wounded), Bryson (killed), J. Brown (killed), C. Brown (killed), O. Browne (dead), W. Marshall (killed), E. Sequera (killed), Blaney (wounded, recovered), Rutledge (wounded, recovered), Duhan, Hutton, Owen, Morgan, Lawrence, Sarle, Sequera, Parry, Allnutt, B. Alone, A. Alone (wounded), A. Bates, Blenman (wounded), Bailey (wounded, recovered), Bickers (wounded), Ereth (killed), T. Catania, C. Catania, Hardingham, Rees, J. Sinclair (wounded), McAuliffe (killed), Sinclair (pensioner), Rea, Gabriel, Samuells, Pew, senior, A. Pew, junior, G. Ireland, W. Ireland, Swarries (wounded, recovered); Fernandes, Blythe, Jones, Lusted (pensioner), Hyde (wounded slightly, recovered), Howard, Forbes, Blaney, Deprat (killed); W. Hamilton, Sequera, Sequera, junior (wounded, recovered), Chrestien, Schmidth (wounded, since dead), Collins, Vaughan (wounded, recovered), Elliott, Sangster, Beale (killed), Queiros, Queiros, junior, Queiros, 3rd, Johannes, Nazareth, Dias, Signor Barsotelli, Jeffry, W. Brown, Mitchell, Johnson; Symes, Wells (killed); Dubois, Campagnac, C. Campagnac, E. Dudman, Owen, Hill, Crabb (killed), Need (killed) Ward, Barry, Casey (dead), Barret (dead), Wiltshire (dead), Macmanus (killed), Cameron (dead), Gerald Cameron (Merchant).



*Martinière School.*

Mr. Schilling, Principal ; Mr. Crank, Assistant ; Messrs. Archer, Dodd, Wall, Hilton, DeraVara, DeVerrine, and boys.

(Signed) A. BARWELL, *Lieut.,*  
*Town and Fort Adjutant and*  
*Offg. Major of Brigade.*

(True Copy.)

(Signed) H. W. NORMAN, *Maj.,*  
*Depy. Adj.-Genl. of the Army.*

(Signed) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.,*  
*Secy. to the Govt. of India, Milg. Dept.*

*GENERAL ORDERS by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India,—dated Allahabad, the 9th April 1858.*

No. 60 of 1858.—With reference to Government General Order No. 1544, dated 8th December 1857, intimating that every Native commissioned and non-commissioned officer and soldier, who formed part of the garrison of Lucknow, should receive the Order of Merit, and should be permitted to count three years of additional service, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General directs the publication of the following rolls of men belonging to the Native Artillery, the late 7th Regiment, Light Cavalry, 13th, 41st, 48th, and 71st Regiments of Native Infantry, and the 1st and 4th Regiments of Oudh Irregular and Local Infantry, who remained faithful and served throughout the siege of Lucknow.

The promotions specified in these rolls are all confirmed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General.

The following Native officers of the 13th Regiment, Native Infantry, who are reported to have prominently distinguished themselves, are advanced to the 2nd Class of the Order of Merit :—

Subadar Dabeedeen Misser.

„ Sewraj Sing ... transferred to the Cawnpore Levy.  
 Jemadar Kalley Khan.

„ Ramnaraine Pande.

*Return of the Native Artillery who served during the siege of  
Lucknow, from the 30th June to 22nd November 1857.*

CAMP ALUM BAGH,  
The 19th February 1858.

Number.	Rank and Name.	Troop or Company.	Remarks.
<i>Subadar-Major.</i>			
1	Deen Mahomed	2nd Company, 8th Battalion, Artillery.	Promoted to 1st Class Order of Merit by Division Orders, dated 15th October 1857.
<i>Subadar.</i>			
1	Rampersaud	Ditto	Promoted to 2nd Class, and Subadar by above orders.
<i>Jemadars.</i>			
1	Emam Bux	Ditto	Promoted to Jemadar by Division Orders, dated 15th October 1857.
	Jeswunth	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
3	Moorally	Ditto	Promoted to Jemadar by Division Orders, dated 15th October 1857, and 3rd Class Order of Merit.
	Calpie Ram	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
<i>Havildars.</i>			
1	Shekh Sarfoollah	Ditto	Promoted to Havildars, agreeably to Garrison Artillery Orders, dated 24th September 1857.
	Gulam Mohideen	Ditto	
	Shikh Hyder	Ditto	
	Thakoor Sing	Ditto	
5	Buddaloo	Ditto	
<i>Nasicks.</i>			
1	Lalle Sing	Ditto	Promoted to Nasicks, agreeably to Garrison Artillery Orders, dated 24th September 1857.
	Hinghan Khan	Ditto	
	Sewuck	Ditto	
	Juggernath Sing	Ditto	
6	Bhowannle	Ditto	
	Issaroo	Ditto	
	Buldeo Sing	Ditto	
	Beharrie Lall	Ditto	
	Muddarrie Sing	Ditto	
10	Buckwar	Ditto	
	Dhurrun Sing	Ditto	
	Rissall Khan	Ditto	
13	Jubber Khan	Ditto	
<i>Rhodesia.</i>			
1	Shikh Emam Bux	Ditto	



*Return of the Native Artillery who served during the Siege of Lucknow, from the 30th June to 22nd November 1857—(Contd.).*

Number	Rank and Name.	Troop or Company.	Remarks.	
Sirdars.				
1	Ram Deen ... ..	D Company Ordnance Drivers, attached to No. 2 Lt. Field Battery.	Promoted to 2nd Class Order of Merit, by Division Orders, dated 15th October 1857.	
	Seetull ... ..	Ditto ...		
	Davey Sing ... ..	Ditto ...		
	Hurr Lall ... ..	Ditto ...		
5	Buckower ... ..	Ditto ...	Promoted to Sirdars, agreeably to Garrison Artillery Orders, dated 26th September 1857.	
	Chopee ... ..	Ditto ...		
	Petumba ... ..	Ditto ...		
	Sunker ... ..	Ditto ...		
	Lorton ... ..	Ditto ...		
10	Bindah ... ..	Ditto ...		
	Mootee Lallo ... ..	Ditto ...		
	Sunker (2) ... ..	Ditto ...		
	Lallah ... ..	Ditto ...		
	Chudah ... ..	Ditto ...		
15	Perasad ... ..	Ditto ...		
OTHER IRREGULAR FORCE.				
Jemadars.				
1	Khan Sing ... ..	No. 1, Hs. Lt. Pd. Battery.	Promoted to Jemadar and 2nd Class Order of Merit, by Division Orders, dated 15th October 1857.	
Subadars.				
1	Davey Sing ... ..	No. 2, Hs. Lt. Pd. Battery.	Promoted to 2nd Class Order of Merit, by Division Orders, dated 15th October 1857.	
2	Shaum Sing ... ..	Ditto ...	Promoted to 3rd Class Order of Merit, and Subadar by above Orders.	
Jemadars.				
1	Joos Sing ... ..	Ditto ...	Promoted to Jemadars, by Division Orders, dated 15th October 1857.	
	Foja Sing ... ..	Ditto ...		
	Gokul Sing ... ..	Ditto ...		
	Chanda Sing ... ..	Ditto ...		
6	Dhurram ... ..	Ditto ...		
	Akbar Sing ... ..	Ditto ...		
7	Ummer Sing ... ..	Ditto ...	Promoted to Havildars, by Garrison Artillery Orders, dated 26th September 1857.	
Havildars.				
1	Sewdya ... ..	.....		
2	Sahadut Khan ... ..	.....		

*Return of the Native Artillery who served during the Siege of Lucknow, from the 30th June to 22nd November 1857—(Contd.).*

Number.	Rank and Name.	Troop or Company.	Remarks.
<i>Sirdars.</i>			
1	Oorie	Drivers, attached to No. 2 Battery.	Promoted to Sirdars, agreeably to Garrison Artillery Orders, dated 26th September 1857.
	Muttra	Ditto	
	Deri	Ditto	
	Bodall	Ditto	
2	Matadeen	Ditto	
<i>Subadars.</i>			
1	Heers Sing	No. 3, Hs. Lt. Fd. Battery.	Promoted to 1st Class Order of Merit by Division Orders, dated 15th October 1857.
	Mutter Persaud	Ditto	Promoted to 1st Class Order of Merit by Division Orders, dated 15th October 1857. Subadar by same Order.
<i>Jemadar.</i>			
1	Dyal Sing	Ditto	Promoted to Jemadar by above Orders.
<i>Havildars.</i>			
1	Sewdah Sing	Ditto	Promoted to Havildars, by Garrison Artillery Orders, dated 26th September 1857.
	Jewahir Khan	Ditto	
3	Sirdool Sing	Ditto	
<i>Sirdars.</i>			
	Bughah	Drivers of No. 3 Battery.	Promoted to Sirdars, by Garrison Artillery Orders, dated 26th September 1857.
	Seetul	Ditto	
<i>Subadar.</i>			
1	Khalas Sing	Reserve Company of Artillery.	Promoted to 3rd Class Order of Merit by Division Orders, dated 15th October 1857, and in continuation of the same to Subadar.
<i>Jemadars.</i>			
1	Kassie Ram, Bengal Artillery	Lucknow Magazine	Promoted to Jemadar in continuation of Division Orders dated 15th October 1857.
2	Gun Lascar Detail	4th Company, 1st Battalion, Artillery.	
<i>Jemadar.</i>			
1	Ellie Bux	Ditto	
<i>Havildars.</i>			
1	Shikh Soobrathee	Ditto	Promoted to Havildars, agreeably to Garrison Artillery Orders, dated 26th September 1857.
2	Shikh Hossain	Ditto	



*Return of the Native Artillery who served during the Siege of Lucknow, from the 30th June to 22nd November 1857—(Concl'd.)*

Number.	Rank and Name.	Troop or Company.	Remarks.
<i>Naicks.</i>			
1	Takoor Sing ... ..	4th Company, 1st Battalion, Artillery.	Promoted to Naicks by above Orders.
2	Kullian Sing ... ..	P. Company, Syce Drivers.	
<i>Havildars.</i>			
1	Salar Buksh ... ..	Ditto ... ..	Promoted to Havildars by above Orders.
	Sow Deen ... ..	Ditto ... ..	
	Ghazie Khan ... ..	Ditto ... ..	
	Jewan Sing ... ..	Ditto ... ..	
5	Nurbadda ... ..	Ditto ... ..	

(Sd.)

L. F. C. THOMAS, 1st Lieut.,  
Late Comdg. Artillery, Lucknow Garrison.

*Roll of men of the 13th Regiment, Native Infantry, who served throughout the Siege of Lucknow and who are now alive.*

CAWNPORE,  
The 14th February 1858.

Number.	Rank.	Name.	Date of present rank.	Rewards by Sir J. Outram.
1	Subadar-Major.	Unmer Sing ... ..	1st May 1856 ...	1st Class Order of Merit, 1st October 1857.
	Subadar	Sookraj Sing ... ..	1st May 1856 ...	2nd Class Order of Merit, 1st October 1857.
	Do. ...	Ramdeen Sing ... ..	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Unnoka Sing ... ..	14th June 1857 ...	Ditto ditto.
5	Do. ...	Dingoor Tewaree ... ..	3rd August 1857 ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Baldo Sing ... ..	6th September 1857 ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Goordat Doobey ... ..	1st October 1857 ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Dabeedeen Opndyah ... ..	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Unnoopah Sing ... ..	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
10	Do. ...	Sewlall Sing ... ..	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Sooka Tewaree ... ..	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
15	Do. ...	Dabeeden Misser ... ..	Ditto ...	3rd class Order of Merit, October 1857.
1	Jemadar	Shekh Golam Hussain ... ..	Ditto ...	Promoted from Havildar.

*Roll of men. of the 15th Regiment, Native Infantry, who served throughout the Siege of Lucknow, and who are now alive—(Contd.).*

Number.	Rank.	Name.	Date of present rank.	Rewards by Sir J. Outram.
5	Jemadar	Ramlochan ...	1st October 1857 ...	Promoted from Havildar.
	Do. ...	Adfoodiah Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Lall Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Bunarsee Chowbey ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Kalley Khan ...	Ditto ...	3rd Class Order of Merit, 1st October 1857, and promoted from Havildar.
	Do. ...	Chuckun Khan ...	Ditto ...	Promoted from Havildar.
	Do. ...	Doorgadeen Tewaree ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Balwunt Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Budha Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Rammurine Pande ...	Ditto ...	3rd Class Order of Merit, 1st October 1857, and promoted from Havildar.
10	Do. ...	Urbal Sing ...	Ditto ...	Promoted from Havildar.
	Do. ...	Hurreeram Misser ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Tinun Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Joomwar ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Degumber Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
15	Havildar	William Smith ...	1st May 1851 ...	3 months' pay.
	Do. ...	Deena Pattuck ...	26th September 1857 ...	Promoted from Naick.
	Do. ...	Shekh Macdoomlux ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Lackraj Sing ...	26th September 1857 ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Neembar ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Goolam Allee Khan ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Goolab ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Kalley Khan ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Dulaiser Khan ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Rambux Doobey ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
20	Do. ...	Bhola Doobey ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Luchmen Doobey ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Oomrawo Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Mohan Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Poorie ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Gopee Tewaree ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Rugoonath Tewaree ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Gungaddeen Pande ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Goorbox Misser ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Fuckera ...	1st October 1857 ...	Ditto ditto.



*Roll of men of the 13th Regiment, Native Infantry, who served throughout the Siege of Lucknow, and who are now alive—(Contd.).*

Number.	Rank.	Name.	Date of present rank.	Rewards by Sir J. Outram.
83	Havildar	Bhugwandeem Pande	1st October 1857	Promoted from Nalck.
	Do.	Dhean Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
	Do.	Haerah Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
1	Nalck	Lall Khan	1st May 1854	Promoted to Havildar.
	Do.	Jaygobind Tewaree	26th September 1857	Promoted from Sepoy.
	Do.	Rundheer Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
5	Do.	Narain Thirbadee	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
	Do.	Goburdhun Gosaine	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
	Do.	Marye	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
10	Do.	Sewruttun Opudya	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
	Do.	Teeluckdharree Doobey	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
	Do.	Lall	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
15	Do.	Sewtahn Ojah	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
	Do.	Cooml Ram	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
	Do.	Soetul Sookool	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
20	Do.	Lucknun Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
	Do.	Issurepersad Ditchil	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
	Do.	Rampersad Doobey	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
25	Do.	Kawsee	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
	Do.	Soetul Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
	Do.	Sewruttun Doobey	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
30	Do.	Dursun Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
	Do.	Ramjenwan Pande	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
	Do.	Lawo	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
35	Do.	Goman Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
	Do.	Sewpersun Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
	Do.	Shekh Chand	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
40	Do.	Ramgolam Doobey	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
	Do.	Thayja Tewaree	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
	Do.	Buldeo Pattar	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
45	Do.	Shekh Mularbux	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
	Do.	Dedar Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
	Do.	Jayram Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
50	Do.	Prem Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
	Do.	Burreeam Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
	Do.	Shekh Boodhoo	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
55	Do.	Mahass Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.

*Roll of men of the 13th Regiment, Native Infantry, who served throughout the Siege of Lucknow, and who are now alive—(Contd.).*

Number.	Rank.	Name.	Date of present rank.	Rewards by Sir J. Outram.
33	Naick ...	Khujan Sing ...	26th September 1857	Promoted from Sepoy.
	Do. ...	Gujadhar Misser ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Aywnj Khan ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Sockdeo Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Chingun Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
40	Do. ...	Madho Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Meer Ubdool Ruheem ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Khujan Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Karm Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Ramsuran Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
43	Do. ...	Hurpanl Misser ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Bodhoo Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Jessa Rai ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Bhowanee Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Jhugroo Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
50	Do. ...	Teepoo Khan ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Rynath Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Nundram Misser ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
53	Do. ...	Summa Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Jowahir Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
55	Do. ...	Myhepat Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
1	Mussain	Shekh Moosahmib ...	Ditto ...	Promoted to Naick.
1	Drum Major.	William Elliott ...	28th March 1855 ...	3 months' pay.
1	P i f e Major.	Dixon Elliot ...	1st May 1851 ...	Ditto.
1	Drummer	George Lindsey ...	.....	Ditto.
	Do. ...	Charles Henry Elliott ...	.....	Ditto.
	Do. ...	Frederick Ford ...	.....	Ditto.
	Do. ...	James Sheridan ...	.....	Ditto.
	Do. ...	John Henry Elliott ...	.....	Ditto.
	Do. ...	Thomas James Elliott ...	.....	Ditto.
7	Do. ...	Thomas Murphey ...	.....	Ditto.
1	Bhistee	Shekh Lall Mahome ...	.....	Ditto.
	Do. ...	Shekh Ruambux ...	.....	Ditto.
	Do. ...	Shekh Gocher ...	.....	Ditto.
	Do. ...	Shekh Janoo ...	.....	Ditto.
	Do. ...	Shekh Khodabux ...	.....	Ditto.



*Roll of men of the 13th Regiment, Native Infantry, who served throughout the Siege of Lucknow, and who are now alive—(Concl'd.).*

Number.	Rank.	Name.	Date of present rank.	Rewards by Sir J. Outram.
6	Bhistee	Shekh Hoosainbux ...	.....	3 months' pay.
1	Pundit	Dookhurn Misser ...	.....	Ditto.
1	Ghunta Pande.	Radhey Uginhottree ...	.....	Ditto.
	Do. ...	Ramgobind Misser ...	.....	Ditto.
3	Do. ...	Mungul Misser ...	.....	Ditto.
<i>Men since transferred to Cawnpore Levy.</i>				
1	Subadar	Sewraj Sing ...	15th January 1858	3rd Class Order of Merit, 1st October 1857, and promoted to Jemadar from Naick.
1	Jemadar	Indur Sing ...	Ditto ...	Promoted from Naick to Havildar.
	Do. ...	Mudarbux Khan ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Ramsurn Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.
	Do. ...	Kalley Khan ...	Ditto ...	Ditto Sepoy to Naick.
	Do. ...	Bijnore Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto
	Do. ...	Sendaas Sing ...	Ditto ...	Ditto ditto.

The above seven men have been transferred to the Cawnpore Levy with additional rank.

(Sd.) J. INGLIS, Brigadier, (Sd.) R. H. M. AITKEN, Lieut., 13th N.I.,

Commanding Cawnpore.

Comdg. Cawnpore Levy.

*Roll of men of the late 7th Regiment, Light Cavalry, 41st, 48th and 71st Regiments of Native Infantry, and 1st and 4th Regiments of Oudh Irregular and Local Infantry, who served throughout the Siege of Lucknow, and who are now alive.*

CAWNPORE,

The 6th March 1858.

Number.	Present rank.	Name.	Date of present rank.	Rewards and by whom.
<i>7th Regiment Light Cavalry.</i>				
1	Subadar-Major and Bahadur, 1st Class Order Merit.	Madhey Khan ...	1st March 1854.	
2	Subadar	Doorga Sing ...	1st May 1850	Subadar and 2nd Class Order of Merit, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B., 1st October 1857.
3	Jemadar	Buddun Sing ...	9th June 1857	Subadar, and 2nd Class Order of Merit, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B., 1st October 1857.

*Roll of men of the late 7th Regiment, Light Cavalry, 41st, 48th and 71st Regiments of Native Infantry, and 1st and 4th Regiments of Oudh Irregular and Local Infantry, who served throughout the Siege of Lucknow, and who are now alive—(Contd.).*

Number.	Present rank.	Name.	Date of present rank.	Rewards and by whom.
4	Nalik	Ramulal Sing	27th September 1857.	Havildar from 1st October 1857, by Order of Sir J. Outram, G. C. B.
5	Do.	Goekul Sing		
6	Do.	Zalim Sing		
7	Do.	Thakoor Sing		
8	Ghantah Pande	Sohun	1st January 1852.	
9	Do.	Bhowanydeen	1st February 1852.	
10	Syee	Muttowah	1st June 1857.	
11	Do.	Hoodhoosh	30th June 1857.	
12	Do.	Bussuntah	30th June 1857.	
13	Do.	Ghunsan	27th September 1857.	
14	3rd Class Native Doctor.	Shalok Kunam Bux	27th May 1842	1st Class Native Doctor, and Rs. 500, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B., 1st October 1857.
15	Dresser	Toornap Ally <i>41st Regiment, Native Infantry.</i>	1st February 1847.	
1	Drum Major...	Simon Bailey	1st February 1845.	
2	Fife Major	John Kennedy	1st March 1847.	
3	Drummer	John Peter	15th August 1838.	
4	Do.	Mathew Cochrane	4th May 1839.	
5	Do.	John Mohar	3rd October 1839.	
6	Do.	George Newjunt	12th November 1847.	
7	Do.	James George Faithful	4th November 1847.	
8	Do.	James Wyborne	5th October 1849.	
9	Do.	Francis Bailey	5th June 1850.	
10	Sopcy Drummer.	Simon Downing <i>48th Regiment, Native Infantry.</i>	4th August 1842.	
1	Subadar-Major, Bahadur, 3rd Class Order of Merit.	Gyand Sing	16th June 1857	Serdar Bahadur, and 1st Class Order of Merit, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B., 1st October 1857.
2	Subadar	Sewah Tewary	28th January 1846	Subadar Bahadur, and 2nd Class Order of Merit, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B., 1st October 1857.
3	Do.	Mattadeen Sing	30th June 1857	Ditto ditto.
4	Do.	Sheik Sollar Bux	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
5	Jemadar	Bulderam Doobey	1st May 1857	Ditto ditto.



*Roll of men of the late 7th Regiment, Light Cavalry, 41st, 48th and 71st Regiments of Native Infantry, and 1st and 4th Regiments of Oudh Irregular and Local Infantry, who served throughout the Siege of Lucknow, and who are now alive—(Contd.).*

Number.	Present rank.	Name.	Date of present rank.	Rewards and by whom.
6	Jemadar	Soodhan Sing	10th June 1857	Subadar Bahadur, and 2nd Class Order of Merit, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B., 1st October 1857.
7	Do.	Bissoon Sing	30th June 1857	Ditto ditto.
8	Do.	Heeraloll Deobey	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
9	Naick	Heeraloll Mhair	Ditto	Subadar, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B., 1st October 1857.
10	Havildar	Bucktour Pandey	1st May 1856	Jemadar, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B., 1st October 1857.
11	Do.	Shaik Dillawall	1st May 1852	Ditto ditto.
12	Do.	Bucknith Sing	1st May 1853	Ditto ditto.
13	Do.	Ramadheen Tewary	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
14	Do.	Puttroo Sing	31st May 1857	Ditto ditto.
15	Band Sergeant	Charles Martin	3rd June 1857	Ditto ditto.
16	Do.	Suivan Sing	30th June 1857	Ditto ditto.
17	Do.	Rhopaul Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
18	Do.	Noor Khan	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
19	Do.	Gungah Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
20	Naick	Ram Sing	31st May 1857	Ditto ditto.
21	Do.	Ramjaun Khan	27th June 1857	Ditto ditto.
22	Do.	Khoorram Sing	31st May 1857	Havildar, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B., 1st October 1857.
23	Do.	Hannooman Ojah	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
24	Do.	Uggund Eam	10th June 1857	Ditto ditto.
25	Do.	Peer Khan	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
26	Do.	Ally Boccus	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
27	Do.	Sunker Tewary	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
28	Do.	Buldeo Tewary	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
29	Do.	Miahram	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
30	Do.	Ograh Tewary	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
31	Do.	Munnehar Sing	30th June 1857	Ditto ditto.
32	Do.	Ramsurran Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
33	Do.	Ramoad Tewary	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
34	Do.	Hoerah Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
35	Do.	Sewmungal Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
36	Do.	Roop Chund	Ditto	Ditto ditto.

*Roll of men of the late 7th Regiment, Light Cavalry, 41st, 48th and 71st Regiments of Native Infantry, and 1st and 4th Regiments of Oudh Irregular and Local Infantry, who served throughout the Siege of Lucknow, and who are now alive—(Contd.).*

Number.	Present rank.	Name.	Date of present rank.	Rewards and by whom.
37	Naick	Lutehmun Opahdia	1st July 1857	Havildar by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B., 1st October 1857.
38	Do.	Beharee Choubey	22nd July 1857	Ditto ditto.
39	Do.	Sewburn Missir	10th August 1857	Ditto ditto.
40	Drum Major	Joseph Letta	13th May 1850	Ra. 105 by Sir J. Outram G. C. B.
41	Pife Major	John Flower	1st May 1844	Ditto ditto.
42	Drummer	Rambuccus	23rd February 1812	Ra. 75 by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B.
43	Do.	Joshua Walsh	.....	Ra. 65 ditto.
44	Do.	John Field	9th June 1840	Ditto ditto.
45	Do.	Samuel Grant	13th June 1832	Ditto ditto.
46	Do.	Thomas Flower	.....	Ditto ditto.
47	Bhistee	Sheik Hoesain Bux	16th May 1824	Ra. 30 ditto.
48	Do.	Shere Khan	13th April 1838	Ditto ditto.
49	Ghunta Pandey	Oodit Missir	15th January 1850	Ditto ditto.
50	Do.	Bindha Pandey	23rd December 1850	Ditto ditto.
51	Do.	Sumjowun Doobay	4th June 1857	Ditto ditto.
<i>71st Regiment, Native Infantry.</i>				
1	Subadar	Doorgah Persaud	1st May 1851	2nd Class Order of Merit, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B., 1st October 1857.
2	Subadar, and 2nd Class Order Merit.	Sew Sing	10th January 1853	1st Class Order of Merit, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B., 1st October 1857.
3	Subadar	Buddie Sing	1st May 1854	2nd Class Order of Merit, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B., 1st October 1857.
4	Do.	Löchun Sing	1st May 1855	.....
5	Jemadar	Shailck Nubbie Bux	Ditto	Subadar, 2nd Class Order of Merit, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B., 1st October 1857.
6	Do.	Heerah	9th June 1857	Subadar, 2nd Class Order of Merit, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B., 1st October 1857.
7	Do.	Adjodhia Tewary	1st May 1857	.....
8	Havildar	Dabeedin Tewary	12th October 1848	Jemadar, 1st October 1857, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B.
9	Do.	Kassieram Tewary	9th March 1850	Ditto ditto.
10	Do.	Makhun Sing	1st May 1851	Ditto ditto.



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Number.	Present rank.	Name.	Date of present rank.	Rewards and by whom.
11	Havildar	Lall Sing	1st May 1853	Jemadar, 1st October 1857, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B.
12	Do.	Lallahram Loll	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
13	Do.	Buldeo	3rd May 1854	Ditto ditto.
14	Do.	Junglee	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
15	Do.	Jwallah Sing	30th May 1857	Ditto ditto.
16	Do.	Bhekarie Ram	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
17	Do.	Anant Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
18	Do.	Moongarie	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
19	Do.	Gumbheer Pandey	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
20	Do.	Ramchurrun	Ditto	3rd Class Order of Merit, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B., 1st October 1857.
21	Do.	Monsahram Sookul	Ditto	Jemadar, 1st October 1857, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B.
22	Do.	Doorgah Pattnuk	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
23	Naick	Shalek Emam Bux	Ditto	Havildar, from 1st October 1857, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B.
24	Do.	Hurnam Panday	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
25	Do.	Lokie	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
26	Do.	Rhuggoo Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
27	Do.	Karamuthoolah Khan	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
28	Do.	Jankiepersand Tewary	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
29	Do.	Gangapersand Sookul	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
30	Do.	Hannoman Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
31	Do.	Shalek Hoosain Bux	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
32	Do.	Allah Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
33	Do.	Goordut Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
34	Do.	Bootah Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
35	Do.	Mannah Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
36	Do.	Chore Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
37	Do.	Kharruck Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
38	Do.	Burram Sing	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
39	Do.	Wooler Sing	7th July 1857	Ditto ditto.
40	Do.	Jewhine Sing	6th July 1857	Ditto ditto.
41	Do.	Chumpath Sing	10th July 1857	Ditto ditto.
42	Do.	Shejad Khan	30th July 1857	Ditto ditto.
43	Do.	Heerah Sing	8th August 1857	Ditto ditto.

*Roll of men of the late 7th Regiment, Light Cavalry, 41st, 48th and 71st Regiments of Native Infantry, and 1st and 4th Regiments of Oudh Irregular and Local Infantry, who served throughout the Siege of Lucknow, and who are now alive—(Concl'd).*

Number.	Present rank.	Name.	Date of present rank.	Rewards and by whom.
44	Drum-Major...	Edward Hughes ...	1st May 1840 ...	Ra. 108, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B.
45	Lance...	Dabce ...	19th November 1844 ...	Ra. 24, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B.
46	Rhiste...	Peer Bux ...	20th March 1841 ...	Ditto ditto.
47	Sweeper...	Zallm ...	20th February 1825 ...	Ra. 13, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B.
48	Do. ...	Harrook ...	1st May 1855 ...	Ditto ditto.
49	Do. ...	Sullah ...	20th January 1850 ...	Ditto ditto.
<i>1st Regiment, Oudh Irregular Infantry.</i>				
1	Subadar, 2nd Class.	Jungah Sing ...	1st May 1850 ...	Sirdar Bahadur, 1st Class Order of Merit, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B., 1st October 1857.
2	Jemadar ...	Mokhun Sing ...	1st May 1851 ...	Subadar, from 1st October 1857, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B.
3	Havildar ...	Sunnath Panday ...	1st June 1845 ...	Jemadar Bahadur, 2nd Class Order of Merit, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B., 1st October 1857.
4	Do. ...	Goordet Sing ...	11th June 1845 ...	Jemadar, from 1st October 1857, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B.
5	Do. ...	Ramdeeb Doobey ...	4th February 1847 ...	Ditto ditto.
6	Sepoy ...	Myhepath Sing ...	1st March 1838 ...	Nalek, from 1st October 1857, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B.
7	Do. ...	Lutchmun Doobey ...	9th March 1838 ...	Ditto ditto.
8	Do. ...	Lallah Hanneoman ...	11th March 1838 ...	Ditto ditto.
<i>2nd Regiment, Oudh Irregular Infantry.</i>				
1	Drummer ...	Henry Collins.		
2	Sepoy ...	Khoobur Doobey ...	6th June 1826 ...	Havildar, from 1st October 1857, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B.
<i>Local Infantry.</i>				
1	Sepoy ...	Poorun Doobey ...	1st June 1857 ...	Nalek, from 1st October 1857, by Sir J. Outram, G. C. B.
2	Do. ...	Moorbux Ally ...	Ditto.	
3	Do. ...	Omari Tewary ...	Ditto.	
4	Do. ...	Low Sookul ...	Ditto.	
5	Do. ...	Doorjun ...	Ditto.	
6	Do. ...	Ramnath Misir ...	Ditto.	

(84.) J. INGLIS, *Maj.-Genl.,*  
Comdg. at Cawnpore.

(84.) H. L. BIRD, *Maj.,*  
Comdg. Native Details,  
late Lucknow Garrison.



## APPENDIX D

*Journal of Sir COLIN CAMPELL's campaign of 1857-58, by Captain G. ALLGOOD, Officiating Assistant Quartermaster-General of the Army.*

THE Commander-in-Chief left Calcutta by rail on the night of the 27th October 1857 for Raneegunge, from whence, travelling by carriage dāk, he started for Cawnpore, which place he reached on 3rd November.

Troops were then being concentrated with all available haste for

**\*Remington's Troops—**

	Guns.
Bengal Horse Artillery	5
Blunt's Bengal Horse Artillery...	5
Bourchier's Light Field Battery ..	6
Her Majesty's 9th Lancers.	
1st Punjab Cavalry (1 squadron).	
2nd " " ( " )	
5th " " ( " )	
Hodson's Horse ( " )	
Her Majesty's 8th Foot.	
" " 75th	
2nd Punjab Infantry.	
4th " Rifles.	
Detachment, Punjab Sappers.	

the relief of Lucknow. Brigadier-General [Hope] Grant's force \* which had marched down country after the fall of Delhi was encamped on the Bunthurra plain, 35 miles in advance of Cawnpore on the Lucknow road.

As fast as troops reached Cawnpore (the railroad was then open from Allahabad to Lohunga) they were

pushed on to Bunthurra.

Materials for an engineer and artillery park, hospitals and commissariat stores were sent to the front with incredible despatch.

At Cawnpore all was activity and preparation; the entrenchment situated on the right bank of the Ganges near the mouth of the Ganges Canal was being rapidly strengthened and provisioned, and an engineer officer was left behind to throw up new works so as to strengthen the place as speedily as possible, that it might be tenable against any sudden attack of the Gwalior Contingent, which, it was then anticipated, might attack Cawnpore during the Commander-in-Chief's absence at Lucknow.

Major-General Windham was left in command at Cawnpore, and was ordered to watch closely the movements of the Gwalior Contingent, which for some time had held a threatening attitude at Calpee.

Our garrison at the Residency at Lucknow was so closely invested that nothing but the most meagre intelligence regarding its condition reached us. The latest intelligence was that their supplies were almost exhausted, and they could hold out but a few days longer.

At 3 A.M. on the morning of the 9th November, the Commander-in-Chief started from Cawnpore towards Bunthurra with an escort of two horse artillery guns and two squadrons of cavalry (which had been purposely left behind by Brigadier [Hope] Grant), and arrived in Brigadier [Hope] Grant's camp at 4 P.M. on the same day, having marched 35 miles.

The force halted on the 10th and 11th to enable the troops and stores in the rear to close up, the parks to be organised, and the troops brigaded.

On the latter day the troops were paraded, and regiments were harangued separately by the Commander-in-Chief.

Alum Bagh was at this time held by a small detachment which had been left behind by Brigadier-General Havelock for the protection of his stores on his marching to relieve the garrison at Lucknow. This detachment had been subsequently increased by detachments from Cawnpore which had escorted thither convoys of grain.

Alum Bagh is a square walled garden. The wall is of masonry, and about 15 feet in height. The inner area of the garden is about 400 × 400 yards. It now contained a large dépôt of grain, and the whole of the baggage of Brigadier-General Havelock's force. The garrison of Alum Bagh, if not absolutely invested, was closely watched by a very superior force of the enemy, and annoyed hourly by a desultory cannonade.

On the morning of the 12th, the Commander-in-Chief moved towards Alum Bagh, which was distant about eight miles. About half-way the enemy opened fire on our advance guard from some guns on the right of the road.

Two horse artillery guns with one squadron of the 9th Lancers and two squadrons of Punjab cavalry were at once moved out to drive them off; a light field battery with more cavalry supported. The rebels retired hastily on the fort of Jellalabad, but lost two of their guns and about 20 or 30 men killed by a charge of a squadron of "Hodson's Horse" under Lieutenant Gough.



The Commander-in-Chief's camp was pitched during the afternoon about 1,000 yards in rear of the Alum Bagh. A village on our right front was occupied by a strong picket, and smaller pickets were thrown out on our flanks and rear.

A semaphore had been constructed on the roof of the house in the centre of the Alum Bagh garden by which a communication was opened with the semaphore on the roof of the Residency by means of signals which had been agreed on. Our plans were thus revealed to the besieged.

While our camp was at Bunthurra, Mr. Kavanagh, a gentleman of

*DETAIL OF BRIGADE.  
Engineer Brigade.*

Sappers and Miners under Major Goodwyn.  
*Naval Brigade.*

Six 24-pounders.  
Two 8-inch howitzers } under Captain  
Rocket carts. } Peel.

*Artillery Brigade.*

Remington's Troop—	Guns.
Bengal Horse Artillery ...	5
Blunt's Bengal Horse Artillery ...	5
Middleton's Light Field Battery, Royal Artillery ...	6
Bouchier's Bengal Artillery ...	6
Madras Horse Artillery (Native) ...	2
Captain Traver's Heavy Field Battery, Royal Artillery—	
Three-18-pounders. }	...
One 8-inch howitzer }	4
	—
	28
	—

*Cavalry Brigade.*

9th Lancers.	
Military Train.	
1st Punjab Cavalry	} 1 squadron each.
2nd " "	
5th " "	
Hodson's Horse	

*3rd Infantry Brigade.  
(Brigadier Grouched's.)*

6th Foot.  
75th " "  
Battalion of Detachments.  
2nd Punjab Infantry.  
*4th Infantry Brigade.  
(Brigadier Hope's.)*  
Her Majesty's 53rd Foot.  
" " 93rd "  
Battalion of Detachments.  
4th Punjab Rifles.

*5th Brigade.  
(Brigadier Russell's.)*

Detachment, 23rd.  
" 82nd.  
NOTE.—The 1st and 2nd Infantry Bri-

gades were in Lucknow.  
kusha. The first-named road with our small force was considered impracticable.

the besieged garrison in Lucknow, volunteered to carry despatches from Sir J. Outram to the camp of Sir Colin Campbell. After a most perilous and adventurous journey he arrived in our camp, bringing with him plans, &c., of the place and the code of signals which we afterwards used. His knowledge of Lucknow proved of considerable assistance.

On the morning of the 13th a force was despatched against the fort of Jellalabad. It had been abandoned by the rebels on the previous night.

As its re-occupation by the enemy would have cut off our communication with Alum Bagh, it was deemed desirable to destroy a portion of its defences previous to advancing. This was effected during the day by the engineers. A strong reconnaissance was pushed out on our left front during the afternoon to deceive the enemy as to our intentions.

There were two roads leading to the Residency open to us: one by the Charbagh bridge through the heart of the town; the other by the Dil-

On the 13th all our camp equipage was stocked in the Alum Bagh, and our carriage made over to the commissariat. The Alum Bagh was garrisoned by Her Majesty's 75th Regiment and by a small detachment of the regiments of Ferozepore.

At 9 A.M. on the morning of the 14th, the column of route was formed under His Excellency's eye in rear of the Alum Bagh, and was moved direct on the Dilkusha, passing between the Charbagh and the fort of Jellalabad. The country presented no obstacles to our march, a great portion of which lay through fields of Indian corn and other cultivation. An enclosed gurhee at the village of Bunda, about 1,000 yards from the wall of the Dilkusha Park, was occupied by a small party of the enemy, but they were soon driven out by a few round shot from a light field battery.

On our approaching the Dilkusha Park wall, the whistling bullets over our heads proved the enemy to be in possession of the Dilkusha Palace. The wall which bounds the park is built of mud, and about seven feet in height, but is broken in places. Through one of these gaps some light guns and cavalry were immediately pushed forward to threaten the enemy's retreat, and at the same time our skirmishers advanced against the palace under cover of an artillery fire from the wall. The palace was in our possession in a few minutes.

The palace of the Dilkusha stands on a plateau which gradually shelves towards the city of Lucknow and the Martinière College. Towards the Goomtee the descent is more steep (see plan of relief). The Martinière is about 1,100 yards from the edge of the plateau, on to which some heavy guns and a light field battery were at once ordered. These guns played on the Martinière for about an hour under a brisk fire of round shot and shrapnel from the Martinière and garden adjoining.

Under cover of our fire our skirmishers gradually advanced, and our guns were brought forward about 400 yards nearer the college. The college and garden were soon in our possession. Some of the enemy were cut up on retiring by the Punjab Cavalry under Lieutenants Watson and Probyn.

The enemy kept up a cannonade on the Martinière throughout the day, and about an hour before sunset made a feeble attack in considerable force on the Martinière garden from the city side. They were easily repulsed. In this affair Captain Wheatcroft, of the Carabineers, and Lieutenant Mayne, of the Quartermaster-General's Department, were killed.

The Dilkusha Palace was converted into a general hospital, and the head-quarters of the commissariat were established round about



it. The Commander-in-Chief's head-quarters were established in the Martinière. Such of the artillery park and engineer park stores as had arrived were parked near the Dilkusha. Our force was distributed for the defence of both places. A semaphore was mounted on the summit of the Martinière, but was, I believe, unperceived by the garrison at the Residency.

Our rear-guard did not arrive at the Dilkusha until the morning of the 15th, having on the previous day been frequently engaged.

Our ammunition and other stores did not arrive at the Dilkusha in sufficient time to admit of a forward movement. The men were short of small-arm ammunition, and, moreover, had to cook a supply of meat and bread to take on with them. A slack desultory fire was kept up on our posts during the day, and [in] the afternoon our cavalry had to repulse an attack on the lowland by the Goomtee River.

During the night of the 15th our mortars kept up a constant fire on the Begum's kotee and barracks.

On the morning of the 16th (all baggage and cattle having been ordered to the Dilkusha) preparations were made for an onward movement.

A metal road leads from the Martinière towards the Residency, passing through suburbs and gardens up to the Begum's kotee. The canal is covered by a stone bridge 600 yards in front of the Martinière garden wall.

From the Begum's kotee are two roads: one running down the Huzrutgunge and in front of the Kaiser Bagh, the other turns off at right angles and runs between the barracks and suburbs direct on the Sekunder Bagh (see plan of relief). The latter road was recommended by Sir J. Outram.

As the suburbs and gardens swarmed with the enemy, the hospital, Begum's kotee, barracks, and suburbs [were] strongly entrenched and occupied, the Commander-in-Chief determined on moving up the river up to the Sekunder Bagh, which report stated to be strongly occupied. A native guide volunteered to point out a practicable road. A garrison was left in the Martinière to keep up our communication with the Dilkusha.

The canal was covered near the Martinière where the banks were low, and the troops moved up the right bank of the Goomtee until they struck a cart track which was bounded on both sides by gardens. The track shortly led us into a suburb through which we moved for a few hundred yards. The head of the column on making a sharp turn to the left came under a sharp fire of musketry, which was directed on it from its right flank. An opening in the street revealed to us the Sekunder Bagh about 150 yards distant.

The moment was critical, for our advance guard (partly composed of cavalry) was jammed up in the narrow street which would scarcely admit of artillery and infantry passing. It was, moreover, expected every minute that a direct fire would be opened on us down the lane up which we were advancing. A troop of horse artillery was on the advance guard.

The Commander-in-Chief at once turned a 12-pounder howitzer to sweep the lane, and set a party of sappers to work to loop-hole the houses facing towards the Sekunder Bagh, and the gun was run out to an opening leading towards the bagh. The cavalry adroitly got into the side lanes and allowed the infantry and guns to pass. The heavy guns and infantry were ordered up with all haste to the front. As soon as some of the infantry had come up, Blunt's troop of Bengal Horse Artillery was pushed forward on to the open ground on to the west side of the Sekunder Bagh, and at once came into action at the north-east corner of the enclosed square (marked in accompanying plan as "used for field hospital") within 120 yards of the Sekunder Bagh: two guns were turned towards the bagh and the remainder towards the barracks which were swarming with troops, the other gun was pointed towards a village in the direction of the Shah Nujeeb. The square which was subsequently occupied by our field hospital was then held by the enemy, who fired on our infantry and artillery at a few yards' distance. They were quickly ejected by our infantry. Our infantry were ordered to lie down, and to keep up a brisk fire on the defences of the place.

Two heavy guns (one an 18-pounder and the other an 8-inch howitzer) were pulled with drag ropes to within 60 yards of the Sekunder Bagh wall opposite the south-west bastion and opened fire.

The Sekunder Bagh is a square building, about 150 × 150 yards, with a circular bastion at each corner. On the east face there is an outer courtyard. The walls are of brick, and about 20 feet in height, and have battlements of the usual oriental pattern. Rooms of uniform height and breadth are built inside the bastions, their roofs forming a rampart to fire from. There are two gates on the east and west faces, respectively: that on the east leads into the courtyard from which there is a narrow passage to the outside.

A breach having been made in the south-west bastion by our heavy guns, sufficiently large to admit a couple of men at a time, the place was gallantly carried after a most desperate resistance by Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders, 4th Punjab Rifles, and a large portion of



Her Majesty's 53rd Foot. Two thousand of the enemy were killed inside the place, as it was enveloped by our fire, and escape was next to impossible. Our loss amounted to between 300 to 400 killed and wounded.

A portion of the barracks and the Kudum Russool next fell into our hands, and as the evening was setting in the Shah Nujeef was captured by the 93rd Highlanders, who were led to the assault by Sir Colin Campbell in person. Captain Peel dragged one of his 24-pounders to within ten yards of the wall before he opened fire. Our loss was rather heavy, but was compensated for by the capture of this important place.

As regards size and general appearance, the Shah Nujeef resembles the Sekunder Bagh. Its northern face is within 150 yards of the River Goomtee. At the time of its capture it was almost hidden from our view by trees and mud huts.

The troops lay down on the ground with their arms beside them ready to repulse an attack. The night passed quietly over.

On the 17th the barrack square was all ours, and all the suburbs and gardens between the roads leading from the Sekunder Bagh to the Begum's kotee and from the latter to the Martinière fell into our hands.

Our left flank was now better protected, more especially as "Banks' House" had been captured by a party of the 2nd Punjab Infantry. The fire on the extreme left near the "Begum's Kotee" and hospital was very heavy. Colonel Biddulph was killed. Brigadier Russell was severely wounded.

At about 3 P.M. the "mess-house" which had been shelled by our artillery for several hours was carried by Her Majesty's 53rd Foot. The Motee Mahal was now the only intervening place held by the enemy between us and Sir J. Outram's position. The British flag was flying on the "engine-house" and "Hiran Khana," both of which places had been captured on the previous day by Sir J. Outram. The "Motee Mahal" being between two fires was soon in our possession. A hot fire of round shot was poured on the "mess-house" from the Kaiser Bagh and on our advance positions.

At about 4 P.M. Sir J. Outram and Brigadier-General Havelock walked over from the "engine-house" to the mess-house, and had an interview with Sir Colin Campbell. Two or three of their staff officers were wounded while accompanying them. Arrangements were made at the interview for the withdrawal of the women and children and stores from the Residency.

Captain Peel constructed a heavy battery near Martin's house, which is about 800 yards distant from the "Kaiser Bagh" and kept



up a very heavy fire, both with shell, round shot, and rockets, until the withdrawal of the garrison had been effected.

A mortar battery played perpetually on the "Kaiser Bagh" from the mess-house. Sir J. Outram had made a breaching battery in the "Hiran Khana" close to the "Kaiser Bagh," and his mortar batteries in different parts of his position kept up a constant fire on the enemy's position.

The disposition of the Commander-in-Chief's force during the 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st and 22nd, is shown in the plan of the relief. During these days, the women, children, wounded, sick, ammunition, treasure, stores and baggage of all kinds were removed from the Residency; all cannons that could not be taken away were burst. A flying sap had been constructed between the engine-house and Martin's house to protect the women and children in their withdrawal, as the space was swept by round shot and musketry from the Kaiser Bagh. The garrison had no means of transport, and our camels were used to remove everything.

On the afternoon of the 22nd, all arrangements having been completed, our heavy guns, ammunition, field hospital, &c., in short everything but the troops, were quietly withdrawn to the Dilkusha, and by 9 o'clock P.M. all the roads leading to the rear by which the several detachments were to retire (and which had previously been well reconnoitred and improved) were reported clear of all baggage and impediments.

The Residency garrison was to commence its retirement at midnight. The Commander-in-Chief had arranged that the most advanced posts should retire first, the retirement of each party being thus covered by that next to it, which in its turn retired. In this way all our posts to the Sekunder Bagh were to be abandoned. The Commander-in-Chief was to remain in person near the Sekunder Bagh with 15 field guns pointing up the road towards the Residency and two or three battalions of infantry. This force was intended to crush the enemy if he dared to follow. It was a strong rear-guard. Our troops holding the barracks and the gardens on our extreme left were to retire simultaneously with the Commander-in-Chief by different routes leading on the Martinière and Dilkusha. A rocket cart under Sir W. Peel was kept in advance to the last, and kept up an unceasing fire on the Kaiser Bagh. Moonlight favoured our retirement.

Twelve o'clock midnight was past, the most intense silence prevailed, interrupted now and then by one of Captain Peel's rockets or by a stray musket shot from one of the enemy's sentries at an imaginary foe.



At 1 A.M. the tramp of the Residency garrison down the road leading to the Sekunder Bagh approached us. Infantry and artillery passed on without halting, followed closely by the most advanced posts of the Commander-in-Chief's force. Sir J. Outram's force was to retire on the Martinière garden and on the open ground between it and the Mohamed Bagh, while a portion of Sir Colin's was to fall back on the Martinière and the greater part on the Dilkusha.

The Commander-in-Chief waited for about 20 minutes after all the advanced posts had retired that the roads might be clear, and to ascertain if the retiring columns were followed up. The rear-guard retired, moving back leisurely to its assigned ground near the Dilkusha. Such was the silence and order maintained during the retirement that the enemy remained ignorant of what had occurred until the following morning.

During these operations the cavalry had patrolled incessantly between the Sekunder Bagh and the Dilkusha. On the 23rd the Mohamed Bagh was occupied by a strong picket from Sir J. Outram's force.

On the 24th the Commander-in-Chief retired with the relieving force to Alum Bagh by the same route he had advanced, taking with him a great portion of our numerous sick and wounded men, the women and children, the artillery and engineer parks, and all our commissariat stores.

Sir J. Outram's force, lightly equipped, remained to cover the retirement. The doolies were sent back to the Dilkusha on our arrival at Alum Bagh for the remainder of the sick and wounded, who came in on the following day with Sir J. Outram's force. The enemy made a feeble attack on Sir J. Outram's force on its leaving its ground.

The Commander-in-Chief's force encamped about 1,000 yards in rear of Alum Bagh, and Sir J. Outram's a short distance in rear on each side of the Lucknow road. He remained on the same ground until the siege of Lucknow in March.

Brigadier-General Havelock, who for sometime past had been suffering from severe indisposition, was buried in the Alum Bagh on the 26th November.

The march on the following day was delayed until a late hour, as Sir J. Outram's force had to be equipped with camp equipage, carriage and hospital establishments.

His force was strengthened by the military train, a company of Madras Sappers; Her Majesty's 75th Regiment was exchanged for the 32nd Foot.

Our march commenced at 11 A.M. We took with us all the sick and wounded men (both of our own force and from the Residency), the women, children, and the artillery and engineer parks. The length of our column of march was necessarily very great. Halted, as the afternoon was closing, two miles in advance of Bunnee bridge, having made 13 miles. The rear-guard arrived about midnight.

Heavy firing was heard during the day in the direction of Cawnpore.

Marched at sunrise on the 28th. The cavalry and horse artillery were ordered on ahead of the infantry, as the incessant booming of guns told us that our garrison there was warmly attacked. Two or three short notes brought by Cossids were received by Sir Colin during the march, which informed him that the Gwalior Contingent were in possession of the town of Cawnpore, and that our troops had almost all retired within the entrenchment.

The cavalry and horse artillery arrived on the Mungurwar plains at sunset on which ground was at once marked out for our encampment. The Chief rode into Cawnpore at once, and having ascertained the state of affairs returned to camp. The infantry arrived in camp after dark, and the rear-guard at sunrise on the following morning. The distance was 25 miles.

Our position at this time at Cawnpore was most critical. The Gwalior Contingent with 38 guns of English manufacture, manned by trained artillerymen, had driven General Windham's force within the entrenchment; had destroyed a quantity of clothing and grain on which the army had depended, and were in full possession of the town of Cawnpore and of our communication with Allahabad. Their guns commanded the bridge-of-boats across the Ganges into Oudh, the destruction of which appeared in their power, an event which would have cut off the communication with Sir Colin Campbell's army. The bridge had, strange to say, hitherto escaped damage.

Captain Peel's heavy battery had not arrived in camp above an hour (at sunrise on 29th) before it was pushed down to the sand on the river's bank to silence the enemy's battery which was playing on the bridge. Brigadier Adrian Hope with twelve field guns, a great portion of the

\* Her Majesty's 53rd.  
" " 93rd.  
4th Punjab Rifles.

cavalry and his own brigade \* of infantry, crossed the bridge at 9 A.M. on the 29th, and passing through the entrenchment took up a position on the parade ground in the new cantonment for the purpose of covering the Allahabad road. During the same evening and night the greater portion of the force with the women and



children and field hospital followed. By 3 P.M. on the 30th everything was across. Our pickets held Generalgunge, the bullock sheds, and the Swad, a house on the Allahabad road. The enemy occupied the line of the canal with some brick kilns at this side, the town, and the old cantonment down to the river bank. On the 1st December the enemy brought some of their guns to the edge of the canal opposite Generalgunge and threw shell into our camp; this necessitated the removal of our artillery park further to the rear. Captain Peel took down a 24-pounder and a rocket cart, and caused the rebels to withdraw their guns. We loopholed the houses on the edge of the canal and occupied them with our riflemen, and thus rendered further annoyance from their guns impracticable. Brigadier Greathed's brigade held the Gunge.

Preparations were made on the 2nd and 3rd to get off towards Allahabad all our sick and wounded and the women and children. They left on the latter evening under a strong escort. Reinforcements were daily arriving.

*\* Artillery.*

	Guns.
Longden's Heavy Battery	4
Peel's	4
Remington's Troops, Bengal Horse Artillery	5
Blunt's Bengal Horse Artillery	4
Detachment, Madras Horse Artillery	2
Middleton's Light Field Battery, Royal Artillery	6
Smith's Light Field Battery, Royal Artillery	4
Bouchier's Bengal Artillery	6
Total	35

*Cavalry Brigade.*

Her Majesty's 9th Lancers.
1st Punjab Cavalry, (1 squadron).
2nd " " ( " " ).
5th " " ( " " ).
Hodson's Horse.

*Hop's Brigade.*

Her Majesty's 42nd Highlanders.
" " 53rd Foot.
" " 93rd Highlanders.
" " 4th Punjab Rifles.

*Greaded's Brigade.*

(Holding Generalgunge).
Her Majesty's 5th Regiment.
" " 64th
2nd Punjab Infantry.

*Walpole's Brigade.*

Her Majesty's 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.
Her Majesty's 3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.
Her Majesty's Detachment, 35th Foot.

*Inglis' Brigade.*

Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers.
" " 32nd Foot.
" " 82nd " (in reserve).

On the afternoon of the 5th, the enemy made a vigorous attack on our pickets near the Cawnpore and Delhi road, but were driven off by our artillery fire. The cannonade ceased at sunset. The enemy's fire was sharp and well directed.

At 8 A. M. on the 6th our tents were struck, and, together with the baggage, were all collected in a safe place near the river's bank under the fire of our entrenchment. The troops were under arms at the same hour.

At 10 A.M. we opened a very heavy fire from the guns in the entrenchment to conceal our real attack. During the cannonade the troops \* were drawn up in order of battle (see plan of the battle of Cawnpore) on both sides of the Delhi road. At 11-30 A.M. our guns opened on the enemy who occupied the brick kilns and uneven ground on this side of the canal, on the left of the Delhi road, and some gardens on the right of the road. Captain Peel's 24-pounders and rocket carts moved

\* Captain Middleton's Royal Artillery. along the road in  
 Captain Bourchier's Bengal " skirmishers with two light \* field  
 batteries alongside. So vigorous was the attack of our skirmishers, and  
 so sharp the fire of our artillery, that the enemy after a few minutes gave  
 way and fled panic-stricken across the canal. Our force followed by three  
 different bridges and advanced on their camp, which was at the junc-  
 tion of the Delhi and Calpee roads. The enemy were in quick retreat.

The cavalry, with Blunt's and Remington's troops, Bengal Horse  
 Artillery, and two guns, Madras Horse Artillery, crossed the canal by a  
 bridge higher up the canal and were joined by Bourchier's Battery, Bengal  
 Artillery, a short distance beyond the enemy's camp. Captain Peel's heavy  
 battery with several battalions of infantry followed. The pursuit was  
 kept up for fourteen miles along the Calpee road at a very brisk pace.  
 Seventeen guns, light and heavy, with their ammunition, fell into our  
 hands. Their camp was ours, and above 4,000 bullocks and numerous  
 camels rewarded the exertions of the pursuers. The pursuing force  
 returned to camp at about 8 P.M., which, with the force that held the  
 enemy's camp during the pursuit, bivouacked on the ground.

When the enemy's camp was won, General Mansfield, by order of  
 the Commander-in-Chief, advanced against the enemy's camp at the  
 Subadars' tank in the old cantonment with two battalions of the Rifle  
 Brigade, Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders, Longden's Heavy Battery, and  
 Smith's and Middleton's Light Field Batteries. The enemy after a slight  
 \* resistance fled towards Bithoor. General Mansfield having no cavalry  
 was unable to pursue, but he held his position at the Subadar's tank until  
 the following morning. The enemy's loss in this action did not, perhaps,  
 exceed 300 men.

On the morning of the 7th the town of Cawnpore was patrolled by  
 two squadrons of cavalry, and found clear of the enemy. The tents  
 and baggage were brought up and pitched at the junction of the Delhi  
 and Calpee roads.

On the 8th a force † under Brigadier-General Hope Grant went in  
 pursuit of the enemy towards Bithoor.

† A troop Bengal Horse Artillery.  
 A Light Field Battery.  
 9th Lancers.  
 One squadron, 1st Punjab Cavalry.  
 Hope's Brigade of Infantry.

On the morning of the 9th he came  
 up with the enemy, who were prepar-  
 ing to cross the Ganges into Oudh at

Serajpore Ghat. He attacked them vigorously, capturing all their guns  
 (fifteen in number). Many of the rebels were drowned in crossing the river.

† A troop Horse Artillery.  
 A Light Field Battery.  
 Three squadrons, 9th Lancers.  
 One squadron, Punjab Cavalry.  
 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.  
 3rd " "  
 4th Punjab Rifles, "  
 Her Majesty's 35th Foot.

On the 18th a force ‡ under Briga-  
 dier Walpole marched towards  
 Etawah and Mynpooree to clear those  
 districts. This force joined head-  
 quarters again at Futtehar after  
 its occupation by us.



On 24th head-quarters force marched towards Chaubeyppore, thirteen miles. Halted on 25th (Xmas day) and marched to Poora (12m. 7f.) on 26th. To Aroul on 27th (13m. 3f.) To Meerunkee Serai (9m. 5f.) on

\* A Light Field Battery and 8-inch  
howitzer.  
Half of the Sappers and Miners.  
One squadron, Hodson's Horse.  
Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers.  
" " 82nd Foot.

28th. From Aroul a force \* under Major-General Windham was sent to destroy the palace of the rebel Raja of Thuttia.

Brigadier [Adrian] Hope's brigade, which was at Bithoor, visited several of the ferries on the Ganges, and destroyed as many boats as could be found. The Commander-in-Chief halted on 29th and 30th to allow Brigadier [A.] Hope's force to rejoin him.

On 31st marched to Gosaiegunge (13m. 5f.), where a metalled road branches off to Futtehgarh.

On 1st January General Windham's force joined head-quarters camp at Gosaiegunge. Brigadier

A company Royal Engineers.  
4 Light Field Battery guns.  
One squadron Cavalry.  
Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment.  
" " 93rd Highlanders.

[Adrian] Hope with a force as per margin marched to the iron suspension bridge where the Futtehgarh

road crosses the "Kalee Nuddee." The enemy had removed the planks, but had not otherwise injured it. A strong advanced picket of the enemy from Furrukabad had hitherto been posted at Khoodagunge to watch the bridge, but had retired on Furrukabad on the previous day after partially destroying it.

On the morning of the 2nd January, the enemy having heard that we were repairing the bridge, re-occupied Khoodagunge in force, and, bringing down several guns, opened fire on the bridge. The bridge had fortunately already been repaired, and the remainder of our troops were on the point of moving forward from Gosaiegunge, which was six miles distant from the bridge.

Sir Colin had just arrived at the bridge when the enemy commenced to open fire. He forthwith moved across it three heavy guns, a light field battery, and several battalions of infantry. Our cavalry (in all about 300) followed and found shelter behind a small village on the left of the road (see plan of the skirmish). The infantry were placed under cover of a sandy ridge.

After an hour or two firing our artillery had silenced the enemy's guns, and the village of Khoodagunge was carried by Her Majesty's 53rd with the 93rd [Highlanders] in support. The enemy would have

succeeded in carrying off most of their guns but for the spirited conduct of the cavalry under Brigadier-General Hope Grant. The cavalry made a wide detour out of sight of the enemy and suddenly fell on their line of retreat, following them up for several miles and killing a considerable number of them.

Eight guns with a quantity of ammunition fell into our hands, and the enemy fled in great confusion towards Furrukabad. As evening was coming on, our camp was pitched in advance of the village of Puttee, two miles beyond Khoodagunge.

The position of Khoodagunge is naturally strong. If the bridge had been destroyed, and the enemy had strengthened the village of Khoodagunge and otherwise made the most of the commanding ground on both sides of it, the operation of crossing this narrow but deep stream, which has a soft bottom, would have given us considerable trouble.

Early on the morning of the 3rd January, the Commander-in-Chief advanced on Futteharh. The town of Furrukabad was found to be abandoned by the rebels, and the fort of Futteharh, in which the gun-carriage factory is, was left undamaged. The bridge-of-boats across the Ganges was uninjured. Several heavy guns were left behind. To our success on the previous day may be attributed the capture of Furrukabad without a struggle.

Our camp was pitched on the parade ground, garrisons were at once placed in the gun-carriage fort, and in the fort belonging to the Nawab in the town; a strong guard was also sent to guard the bridge-of-boats.

Brigadier Seaton's column \* arrived in Futteharh on 4th and 5th,

\* A troop, Bengal Horse Artillery.  
A company, Sikh Artillery, with three heavy guns.  
One squadron Carabineers.  
Hodson's Horse.  
1st Bengal Fusiliers.  
7th Punjab Infantry.

giving escort to a strong convoy from Delhi. Brigadier Walpole's force also rejoined head-quarters.

On the 6th a force under Brigadier [Adrian] Hope marched towards Shumsabad, but returned on the 12th. The 7th Punjab Infantry were sent to watch Mehudee Ghat near Karrong.

On the 8th, 400 Native sappers arrived from up-country.

On the 12th the bridge-of-boats across the Ramgunga near Bojpoorea Ghat, on the Shahjehanpore road, which had hitherto remained uninjured, was broken up by the enemy.



On the 13th a force \* under Brigadier Walpole was sent to Bojpoorea

- \* A Light Field Battery.  
One squadron Carabineers.  
50 Engineers.  
One squadron Hodson's Horse.  
2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.  
3rd " " "  
2nd Punjab Infantry. "

Ghat on the Ramgunga to watch the enemy who had assembled on the opposite side of the river in considerable force. Her Majesty's 64th started for Allygurh, and Alexander's

Irregular Horse arrived in camp.

On the 19th Alexander's Horse marched for Mynpooree. On the 21st two troops of Wale's Horse arrived in camp. On the 24th Her Majesty's 8th Regiment marched to Mynpooree. Rain fell on the evening of the 25th.

On the 26th the head-quarters of Hodson's Horse returned to camp

- † Two troops, Bengal Horse Artillery.  
Two squadrons, 9th Lancers.  
Her Majesty's 42nd Highlanders.  
" 93rd "  
4th Punjab Rifles.

from the Ramgunga, and on the same night accompanied a force † under Brigadier [A.] Hope towards Shumsabad, where the rebels had again

assembled in considerable numbers. The Brigadier after making a long night march came up with the rebels, and drove them across the river after inflicting on them severe punishment.

On the 27th the 1st Bengal Fusiliers marched towards Cawnpore, and were followed on 31st by the Lahore Light Horse (one squadron) which had brought in a convoy of ammunition on the previous day.

On 1st February the Commander-in-Chief accompanied by a troop of Bengal Horse Artillery, Her Majesty's 9th Lancers, and a squadron of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, marched to Jellalabad (23½ miles) on his way towards Cawnpore.

Brigadier-General [Hope] Grant started a few hours afterwards with the head-quarters of the cavalry and artillery and Hope's brigade, leaving at Futtegharh a troop of Bengal Horse Artillery to join Brigadier Walpole's force, which was ordered into Futtegharh from the Ramgunga.

Brigadier-General [Hope] Grant was ordered to move into Cawnpore by the usual marches. Brigadier Walpole was directed to remain at Futteghurh for three days, when, if not followed by the enemy, he was to retire towards Cawnpore.

- Detail of Sappers.  
A Light Field Battery, Royal Artillery.  
Her Majesty's 82nd Regiment.  
Detail of Police Cavalry.

A garrison as per margin remained at Futtegharh.

On the 2nd, head-quarters marched to Aroul (18m. 7½f.); on the 3rd to Chaubeypore (25m. 1½f.); and to Cawnpore on 4th (16m. 3½f.).

On the same morning the 7th Hussars, Anderson's Troop, Royal Horse Artillery, and the 79th Highlanders under Brigadier Campbell crossed the River Ganges and encamped at Onao.

Two good bridges-of-boats across the Ganges about half a mile apart—one opposite the entrenchment and the other lower down below the junction of the canal—greatly facilitated the crossing of our numerous troops, ordnance and baggage. Our 68-pounders crossed by the upper bridge, as the boats were closer to each other.

On the 7th Brigadier-General Grant's force reached Cawnpore; a <sup>\* Her Majesty's 38th Regiment.  
Detachment of Wale's Horse.  
Detachment of Sappers,</sup> convoy of ordnance and ammunition from Agra also arrived under an escort.\* The Commander-in-Chief proceeded to Allahabad to confer with the Governor-General.

On the 8th Brigadier-General [Hope] Grant crossed the Ganges <sup>† A troop, Bengal Horse Artillery.  
9th Lancers.  
1st Bengal Fusiliers.</sup> into Oudh and marched to Onao with force † as per margin, the force at that place being pushed on to Busseerutgunge.

‡ Her Majesty's 38th Regiment.  
4th Punjab Rifles.  
800 Sappers.

On the 9th more troops ‡ crossed the river and Sir Colin returned from Allahabad.

On the 10th the artillery park under a strong escort § crossed the bridge and encamped on the Mun-  
gurwar plain. The last cart was not across until noon of the 11th. On the latter day the army was divided into divisions and brigades.

Brigadier Walpole's force reached Cawnpore, having been joined by about 800 Delhi Pioneers from up-country.

On the 12th Captain Peel's heavy battery with the troops as <sup>One company Reserve Artillery.  
Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment.</sup> per margin joined Brigadier-General [Hope] Grant's force at Onao. The first division of the artillery park moved to Onao and the second division of it followed on 13th: Brigadier [Adrian] Hope's brigade escorted it.

Some rebels had collected on the Oudh side of the river opposite Powah, and Brigadier Walpole was despatched with a force || to prevent their crossing the river and to afford protection to the convoy of families which was coming down from Agra.

|| A troop, Bengal Horse Artillery.  
Detachment, Hodson's Horse,  
2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.  
2nd Punjab Infantry.



On the 15th a force under Brigadier [D.] Wood arrived from Allahabad, and the 3rd Sikh Irregular Cavalry from up-country.

Brigadier-General [Hope] Grant moved from Onao towards Futteh-pore-Chowrassee to disperse the rebels collected there. He carried by storm the town of Mecangunge with Her Majesty's 53rd Foot. Three hundred or four hundred of the enemy were killed in and around the place.

On the 17th the 3rd Sikh Cavalry marched towards Allahabad, and Her Majesty's 75th arrived to garrison Cawnpore.

The divisions and brigades were formed as follows :—

#### ARTILLERY DIVISION.

(Under Sir A. Wilson.)

E Troop, Royal Horse Artillery.  
 F " " " "  
 1st " 1st Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery.  
 2nd Troop, 1st Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery.  
 2nd Troop, 3rd Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery.  
 3rd Troop, 3rd Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery.  
 3rd Company, 14th Battalion, Royal Artillery, with 20th Light Field Battery.  
 2nd Company, 3rd Battalion, Bengal Artillery, with 12th Light Field Battery.  
 3rd Company, 8th Battalion, Royal Artillery.  
 6th Company, 11th Battalion, Royal Artillery.  
 5th Company, 12th Battalion, Royal Artillery.  
 5th Company, 13th Battalion, Royal Artillery.  
 4th Company, 1st Bengal Artillery.  
 1st " 5th " "  
 3rd " 5th " "  
 Bengal Artillery Recruits.

#### ENGINEER BRIGADE.

(Under Brigadier Napier.)

4th Company, Royal Engineers.  
 23rd " " "  
 Punjab Sappers and Miners.  
 Corps of Delhi Pioneers.

#### CAVALRY DIVISION.

(Under Sir H. Grant.)

*1st Brigade.*

Her Majesty's 9th Lancers.  
 2nd Punjab Cavalry.  
 2nd Battalion, Military Train.  
 5th Punjab Cavalry (1 squadron),  
 Wale's Horse.

*2nd Cavalry Brigade.*

7th Hussars.  
 2nd Dragoon Guards.  
 Volunteer Cavalry (1 squadron).  
 1st Punjab Cavalry ( " ).  
 Hodson's Horse.

#### 1ST INFANTRY DIVISION.

(Sir J. Outram.)

*1st Brigade.*

Her Majesty's 5th Foot.

" " 8th "  
 1st Madras Fusiliers.

*N. B.*—This includes all the forces under Sir J. Outram at Alum Bagh.

*2nd Brigade.*

Her Majesty's 78th Foot.

Her Majesty's 90th Foot.

Regiment of Ferozepore.

## 2ND INFANTRY DIVISION.

(Sir Edward Lugard.)

*3rd Brigade.*

Her Majesty's 34th Regiment.

" " 38th "

" " 53rd "

N. B.—The force, under Brigadier-General Franks, joined the army before Lucknow. The detail of his force is given further on.

*4th Brigade.*

Her Majesty's 42nd Foot.

" " 93rd "

4th Punjab Rifles.

## 3RD INFANTRY DIVISION.

(Brigadier-General Walpole.)

*5th Brigade.*

Her Majesty's 23rd Foot.

" " 79th "

1st Bengal Fusiliers.

*6th Brigade.*

2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.

3rd " " "

2nd Punjab Infantry.

Between the 17th and 27th Brigadier-General Walpole's force returned to Cawnpore giving escort to the convoy of families from Agra. Tombs' Troop, Bengal Horse Artillery, and the 2nd Punjab Cavalry had joined him. The families proceeded to Allahabad. Bodies of troops were daily crossing into Oudh. The troops were echeloned on the Lucknow road, at Onao, Busseerutgunge, Nawabgunge and Bunnee to protect our parks and huge convoys of stores. The artillery park moved in three divisions on successive days from Onao towards the Bunthurra plain (four miles beyond Bunnee), at which place the army was to assemble. Brigadier-General Lugard's division arrived first.

The Commander-in-Chief having seen the last detachment of the army put in movement, made a forced march from Cawnpore to Bunthurra. On the 27th on the afternoon of the same day he rode once to Alum Bagh and had an interview with Sir J. Outram.

A force \* under Brigadier Maxwell remained at Ukbarpur in the

\* A Light Field Battery Royal Artillery.  
Detachment Punjab Cavalry.  
Her Majesty's 86th Foot.

Cawnpore and Calpee road to prevent any inroad of the Calpee rebels into that district.

The entrenchment at Cawnpore had been recently much strengthened by new outworks and by the demolition and clearance of houses and trees within 800 yards of the works. A strong garrison was left there.

On the 2nd of March the Commander-in-Chief with Brigadier-

Three troops, Horse Artillery.

Naval Brigade.

Head-quarters of the Cavalry Division.

Her Majesty's 34th Foot

" " 38th "

" " 53rd "

" " 42nd "

" " 93rd "

4th Punjab Rifles.

} Sir E. Lugard's  
Division.

General Lugard's division and troops as per margin moved on the Dilkusha. His route was along the Lucknow road to General Outram's camp at the Alum Bagh, thence past the fort of Jellalabad, which place was



held by a detachment from Alum Bagh, and was the extreme right of the Alum Bagh position. In this fort were stored commissariat stores, fascines, gabions and other engineer park stores. A sharp shower of rain fell as we passed Jellalabad, which cooled the air for several days.

The enemy had a strong picket and guns at the village of Ghylee (see plan of siege of Lucknow) which, as our advanced guards debouched into the open plain in front of the village of Khurka, immediately opened from their guns. Their picket was quickly driven in by our horse artillery and cavalry. One gun fell into our hands. No further opposition was offered to our advance, and we quietly occupied the Dilkusha Palace and Mahomed Bagh and took up ground for encamping behind the Dilkusha Park wall, our right resting in a wood a short distance from the Goomtee. The troops bivouacked in the open air—the infantry with their arms at their sides and the artillery with horses in their guns. The fords in the Goomtee were watched by our pickets.

On the 3rd and 4th the remainder of the army (with the exception of that at the Alum Bagh) (see plan) arrived at the Dilkusha escorting the artillery and engineer parks.

On the latter day Brigadier-General Franks arrived with his

- Two Light Field Batteries.
- Heavy Field Battery.
- Labere Horse (1 squadron).
- Pathan Horse ( " )
- Her Majesty's 10th Regiment.
- " " 20th Regiment.
- " " 97th " "
- 3,000 Gurkha Infantry.

column \* from Sultanpore, and encamped in a second line in our rear.

Our large parks of artillery and engineers were now in camp. Hodson's Horse was encamped midway between Jellalabad and Dilkusha

to protect the carts conveying commissariat stores into camp.

Heavy guns were placed in battery on the edge of the plateau in advance of the Dilkusha Palace to keep down the fire of the enemy's guns at the Martinière, which kept up a constant fire towards our camp. Heavy guns were also brought down to the river side behind the Dilkusha Park to flank the enemy's guns at the Martinière and to prevent the enemy from annoying us from the opposite side of the river.

The country was covered with ripening crops which supplied our cattle with abundant fodder for many days.

On the 5th two cask bridges (over which our 24-pounders passed with safety) were prepared and thrown across the Goomtee (see plan), which averages about 100 yards in width. There were one or two deep fords which were practicable for cavalry, but were not used by us.

At about 2 A.M. on the 6th a force \* under Sir J. Outram crossed the Goomtee, following the route indicated in the plan by a blue line, entering the Fyzabad road near Ismaelgunge. The enemy on perceiving a strong column established across the river moved out to attack him, but were soon driven back on the town by

the field guns and cavalry. Strong pickets were at once posted on the edge of the high ground overlooking the Kokrel Nuddee, and orders were sent to bring up the camp equipage and baggage which had been left behind ready laden on the right bank of the Goomtee.

Brigadier-General Franks' force occupied the space in the front line left vacant by the departure of Sir J. Outram.

The Alum Bagh force remained stationary, keeping open the Cawnpore road.

Sir J. Outram's force was again attacked on the 7th, but repulsed the enemy without difficulty.

On the morning of the 8th several heavy guns were sent across the river to Sir J. Outram. On the same night a battery was constructed near the Kokrel Nuddee for the purpose of driving the enemy out of the race-stand and adjacent gardens and suburbs.

On the 9th at daybreak this battery opened fire, and at 7 A.M. the race-stand was carried with great spirit by the 1st Bengal Fusiliers and Her Majesty's 79th Highlanders accompanied by two troops of horse artillery. The Rifle Brigade at the same time cleared the gardens on the right of the Fyzabad road; cavalry and horse artillery covered our right flank. The rebels were pressed with spirit through the gardens and suburbs, and in an hour or two we were in possession of the Badshah Bagh. The rebels lost a number of men.

The primary object having been attained by the success of Sir J. Outram's movement, *viz.*, his being in a position to enfilade the first line of the enemy's works, the left of which rested on the Goomtee, no time was lost by the Commander-in-Chief commencing operations on the right bank of the river.

Early in the afternoon of the same day, a force † under the com-

\* Detachment, Engineers and Sappers.  
Three Troops, Horse Artillery.  
Two Light Field Batteries.  
Her Majesty's 9th Lancers.  
2nd Dragoon Guards.  
1st Punjab Cavalry (1 squadron).  
2nd " " " "  
5th " " " "  
Brigadier-General Walpole's Division of  
Infantry.

† A troop, Horse Artillery.  
Her Majesty's 42nd Highlanders.  
93rd " "  
4th Punjab Rifles. " "  
mand of Brigadier-General E. Lugard, with a reserve drawn up near the Dilkusha, was formed under cover of the Dilkusha Palace for the purpose of attacking the Martinière



College and garden. The enemy stood a well-directed and heavy fire of shrapnel from our heavy guns for a couple of hours, replying with occasional shots from a battery at the corner of the college, and a wild fire of musketry.\* Captain Peel of the Naval Brigade was shot through the thigh.

\* But on Brigadier Hope's Brigade advancing down the slope with skirmishers thrown out, the rebels fell hastily back on their first line of works, in which they evidently felt disposed to make a firm stand, and from which they poured a very sharp fire of grape and musketry on the Martinière garden.

The sections in the plan will give the reader an idea of the nature of the enemy's first line of entrenchment.

Orders had been sent to Sir J. Outram that as soon as he perceived that the Martinière was in our possession, he was to move a heavy battery on to some rising ground near the village of Jugrowlee, from whence he would be in a position to enfilade the enemy's first line of works. The Commander-in-Chief had ordered a village near the River Goomtee, in advance of the Martinière, to be occupied. From this village Major Wyld of the 4th Punjab Rifles was ordered to advance with his own regiment, supported by Her Majesty's 42nd Highlanders, and establish himself in the enemy's works, effecting an entrance near the Goomtee, from which place the enemy had been driven by the enfilade fire from the right attack. He was then gradually to push on and clear the line of works up to the bridge across the canal. The duty was well performed, and the enemy's attempts to dislodge us were quite ineffectual.

Early in the following morning a breach having been made in the high wall surrounding Banks' house, the place was carried with little loss. The first line of the enemy's works was all in our possession.

Some 68-pounders and heavy howitzers were placed in battery during the day near Banks' house to breach the "Begum's kotee." A mortar battery was made in the compound of Banks' house, and several of the gardens and some of the suburbs on the right of the road leading up towards the Begum's Palace were occupied by our troops. The Sekunder Bagh was also taken possession of without resistance. Our camp was brought forward in advance of the Dilkusha Palace.

Maharaja Jung Bahadur's army arrived on the 11th and encamped in two lines on our extreme left.

During the afternoon the "Begum's kotee" and adjoining buildings on our right and left—the barracks included—were stormed by Brigadier [A.] Hope's Brigade, Her Majesty's 93rd leading. Some Gurkha troops

were in support. The contest was very severe, the place being strongly entrenched with a deep ditch in front, and a battery across the Huzrutgunge road commanding the approach to it. The enemy left about 500 or 600 dead bodies in the place. Our loss in killed and wounded was very considerable.

The news of the success of the attack was conveyed by the Commander-in-Chief to Maharaja Jung Bahadur at a formal visit of ceremony which the latter was paying to the former at the time of the attack.

The plan was to approach the Kaiser Bagh by working through the blocks of palaces and buildings on the right and left of the Huzrutgunge road, and thus turn the enemy's second and third lines of formidable works, and approach the Kaiser Bagh under good cover. To this plan may be attributed our comparatively small loss of life at the siege of Lucknow.

Sir J. Outram had meanwhile captured the suburbs up to the iron bridge, where he constructed a battery to sweep the bridge and fire on the Muchee Bhawun. Sir H. Grant with cavalry and horse artillery had patrolled the cantonments and covered Sir J. Outram's operations.

Since the 10th several mortar batteries had been employed in shelling the Kaiser Bagh day and night from the left bank of the river. As soon as the Begum's kotee had been captured, our mortars kept up a perpetual cross fire of shells both on the Emambara and Kaiser Bagh.

During the 12th and 13th our sappers were employed in breaking the houses and courtyard walls of the several palaces lying between the "Begum's kotee" and the Emambara. As an entrance into each palace was made, our infantry took immediate possession.

By the afternoon of the 13th a practicable road for our breaching guns had been made to within 25 yards of the wall of the Emambara, and by evening a 68-pounder and a 24-pounder were in battery ready to commence breaching.

Our progress on the opposite side of the Huzrutgunge road advanced *pari passu* with that on our left.

A 5½-inch mortar battery shelled the Emambara during the night of the 13th from our most advanced post.

At 8 A.M. on the morning of the 14th a practicable breach having been made in the Emambara wall, the place was stormed by the regiment of Ferozepore, Her Majesty's 10th and 90th Regiments, the Sikhs leading the assault.



The enemy's second line of works was turned by the capture of this place. The order of our troops carried them on through the blocks of buildings up to the Kaiser Bagh wall. By 10 o'clock A.M. (such was the panic amidst the enemy at seeing all the works on which they had confidently relied turned, they offered but slight opposition), a lodgment had been made in the Kaiser Bagh itself. Troops were pushed forward into the Kaiser Bagh as fast as possible, and by the afternoon it was entirely in our possession.

The rebels who had held the mess-house and the Moti Mahal were cut off from the city, and about 300 of the rebels who took refuge in the engine-house were all killed. Between the 15th and 19th the city was almost cleared of rebels.

The Moosa Bagh was captured on the latter day; but by some

- Two troops, Horse Artillery.
- 7th Hussars.
- Wale's Horse.
- 3rd Sikh Cavalry.
- 5th Fusiliers.
- 78th Highlanders.

mistake the force \* under Brigadier Campbell, which had been sent by the Commander-in-Chief from the Alum Bagh on the previous day to intercept the retreat of the enemy

from the Moosa Bagh, did not make its appearance. The force on the left bank of the Goomtee, under Sir H. Grant, were unable to cross and follow the rebels. Her Majesty's 9th Lancers, who formed a portion of Sir J. Outram's force, pursued the enemy for some miles, cutting up a good many, and capturing ten guns.

On the 16th Sir H. Grant with force as per margin [sic] was ordered to start in pursuit towards Seetapore whither it was supposed that the great body of the rebels had fled. On the following day the force was recalled to Lucknow.

A large portion of the rebels retired in the direction of Sundeela, and a considerable number crossed the stone bridge and retired towards the Gogra.

On the 20th some desperate fanatics headed by the moulvie made a determined stand in an enclosed serai in the heart of the town; they were eventually driven out with some loss to ourselves, leaving 150 of their number dead behind them. This was the last stand made by any detachment of the rebels in Lucknow.

Sir H. Grant marched to Koossee on the 23rd, where some of the Lucknow rebels had retreated. In the afternoon of the same day he

attacked them, killing about 150 and capturing 15 guns. He returned to Lucknow on the 24th.

On the 29th a force \* under Sir E. Lugard marched to the relief of Azeemgurrh down the right bank of the Goomtee.

\*  $\frac{1}{2}$  E Troop, Royal Horse Artillery.  
A Light Field Battery, Mountain Artillery.

A Heavy Field Battery.  
25 Royal Engineers.  
125 Sappers.  
Military Train.  
3rd Sikh Cavalry.  
12th Irregular Cavalry (1 squadron).  
Her Majesty's 10th Regiment.  
" " 34th "  
" " 84th "

† Tombs' Troop Bengal Horse Artillery.  
Remington's Artillery.  
Heavy Field Battery.  
23rd Co., Royal Engineers.  
Bengal Sappers and Miners.  
Head-Quarters Punjab Pioneers.  
Her Majesty's 9th Lancers.  
2nd Punjab Cavalry.  
Her Majesty's 42nd Highlanders.  
" " 79th "  
" " 93rd "  
4th Punjab Rifles.

march from Futtehgarh.

Sir Colin proceeded on the same day to Allahabad to have an interview with the Governor-General, and returned on the 11th.

‡ Two Batteries Light Field Artillery.  
One Heavy Field Battery.  
Her Majesty's 7th Hussars.  
Hodson's Horse.  
Her Majesty's 3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.  
Her Majesty's 38th Foot.  
1st Bengal Fusiliers.

On the 14th a force ‡ under Sir H. Grant proceeded towards Bithoulee (a fort built in the bank formed by the confluence of the Chowka and Gogra Rivers), where a large force of the rebels under the Begum had taken refuge.

The garrison § of Lucknow was quartered in the palaces and large houses in the town, the best adapted for the accommodation of troops, in continuous line extending from the Begum's kotee, Chuttur-Munzil, and from thence along the line of the Goomtee to the Moosa Bagh.

The force under Sir H. Grant, which had proceeded towards Bithoulee, also

belonged to the Lucknow garrison.

§ Two troops, Horse Artillery.  
Two Light Field Batteries.  
Heavy Field Battery.  
2nd Dragoon Guards.  
Wale's Horse.  
Her Majesty's 23rd Foot.  
" " 53rd "  
" " 90th "  
2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.  
1st Bengal Fusiliers.  
1st Madras "  
Regiment of Perozepore.  
5th Punjab Infantry.



A moveable column from the garrison was to be kept up and	remain under convoys ready to
Four 24-pounder guns.	move out on a moment's notice.
Six 18-pounder „	Siege ordnance as per margin was
Four 8-inch howitzers.	ordered to be maintained with the
Night 8-inch mortars.	Lucknow Field Force.
Four 5½-inch „	
Two 4½-inch „	
with 1,000 rounds per gun, and 500	
rounds per mortar howitzer.	

Head-quarters camp left Lucknow for Cawnpore on the 15th with a small escort, and made the following marches into Cawnpore, *viz.*, Buntthurra, Nawabgunge, Onao, Cawnpore. The Commander-in-Chief and Chief of the Staff remained behind at Lucknow, and joined camp on the 18th at Cawnpore.

A siege-train under Lieutenant Tod Browne of the artillery had	left Cawnpore for Futteharh three
1st Punjab Cavalry (1 squadron).	days previous to our arrival with
Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders.	
2nd Punjab Infantry.	

an escort as per margin.

On the 24th the Commander-in-Chief arrived at Futteharh by	the usual stages. The camp reached
5th Punjab Cavalry (1 squadron).	on the following morning. Our
Lahore Light Horse (1 squadron).	escort from Cawnpore to Futteharh is noted in the margin.
Wing, Her Majesty's 80th Foot.	

On the 25th the artillery park and siege-train crossed the Ganges by a bridge-of-boats which was under the guns of the fort at Futteharh, and marched about four miles on the other side. The 82nd Regiment from Futteharh accompanied the siege-train, their place at Futteharh being taken by the wing of the 80th which formed our escort from Cawnpore.

Brigadier-General Walpole's force was at Allahgunge on the Ramgunga. On his march from Lucknow he had lost Brigadier [Adrian] Hope and about 100 men in killed and wounded in an unsuccessful attack on the fort of Rooya. The fort was, however, abandoned by the enemy

* 23rd Co., Royal Engineers.	during the night. He had a successful
Bengal Sappers and Miners.	affair on the Ramgunga, where he
Head-quarters, Punjab Pioneers.	defeated the enemy, killing 300 or
Tombs' troop, Bengal Horse Artillery.	400 and taking some guns. The
Remington's Artillery.	bridge-of-boats across the Ramgunga
Bengal Horse Artillery.	was secured uninjured, and our siege-
Heavy Field Battery.	train left to join Brigadier-General
Her Majesty's 9th Lancers.	Walpole's force on the night of the
2nd Punjab Cavalry.	26th.
1st „ „ (1 squadron).	
5th „ „ { „ }.	
17th Irregular „ { „ }.	
Lahore Light Horse { „ }.	
Her Majesty's 42nd Highlanders.	
„ „ 78th „	
„ „ 79th „	
„ „ 93rd „	
„ „ 82nd Foot.	

2nd Punjab Infantry.	On the morning of the 27th Sir
4th Punjab Rifles.	Colin and staff joined the army
28 Heavy guns and mortars in parks.	at Thigree, six miles in advance of
	Allahgunge. The force * assembled

there was encamped in front of the village with its left resting on the Ramgunga and its right thrown back at right angles to its front. A battalion of infantry and a regiment of cavalry faced to the rear. The village is a small one, with wells few in number.

On the 28th marched to Jellalabad, distant 4m. 4½f.—a picket of the enemy which held it on the previous day. Jellalabad, though an unassuming looking town, is one of considerable importance in Rohilkhand, and is the residence of numerous influential Mohamadan families. On the south and east sides the town is hidden by mango groves and gardens. The former are large and afford admirable shade for a large force. There is a small fort on the west edge of the town, which is elevated above and commands it. Its defences had recently been strengthened by the enemy. It is a good place for a post, both politically and strategically. The fort is approached most easily from the west side by moving up the Bareilly road (which branches off here), from which it is visible. The direct road from here to Bareilly joins the Shahjehanpore and Bareilly road at Meerunpore Kuttra.

From Futtegharh to Jellalabad there are two roads. The old one runs up the right bank of the Ramgunga by Imrutpur, crossing it at the Kuchla Ghat, about 2½ miles short of Jellalabad. The new road is that by which the army moved, crossing the Ramgunga at Bojporeah Ghat.

Our camp was pitched in advance of Jellalabad on both sides of the Shahjehanpore road, taking advantage as much as possible of the magnificent topes of trees on the east side of the town. There is a small jheel on the east edge of the town which is seldom dry, and numerous wells.

On the 29th the army reached Kanth (10½ miles), the enemy's picket retiring as we advanced. The road is well raised between Jellalabad and Shahjehanpore, but is unmetalled. Our camp was pitched on some rising ground half a mile in advance of the village, which slopes gradually into low swampy ground, down which the Gurrie Nuddee winds.

Our rear rested on the village, and our flanks were thrown back. Water plentiful from the Gurrie Nuddee and wells.



On our march towards Shahjehanpore on the morning of the 30th, we received positive intelligence that the enemy had evacuated the town and retired in the direction of Mohamdee. Our camp was pitched on the Bareilly road in advance of Azeezgunge, our right resting on the Gurrie Nuddee; three battalions faced the town. Distance from Kanth to bridge-of-boats over the Gurrie Nuddee 7m. 2½f. The town of Shahjehanpore was almost deserted, most of the inhabitants having taken refuge in the adjacent villages and fled to Powain. Every house in the cantonment, except the one called Hukeem Mehndees, was destroyed.

During the 30th April and 1st May arrangements were made for establishing the small garrison\*

\* Two 9-pounders, with bullock draught.  
Two heavy guns.  
Detachment DeKantzou's Horse.  
600 men, Her Majesty's 82nd Foot.

which was to remain at Shahjehanpore until Bareilly had fallen in a safe position. The town is a long

straggling place, and it was felt that it would be impossible to prevent the enemy from re-occupying it if he had the will to do so. Under these circumstances the jail in the cantonment, which had been but partially destroyed, was selected for the garrison.

On the 2nd May the Commander-in-Chief moved on Tilhur (12m. 3f.), a long straggling town through which the Bareilly road runs. There are good topes of trees both before reaching it and on the other side of it. Our camp was pitched in advance of the town on both sides of the Bareilly road, beyond an old loop-holed brick serai. Advantage was taken of the shady mango groves for encamping. The regiments under our flanks were thrown back and rested on the town, and our rear was shut in by two battalions of infantry.

On the morning of the 3rd we marched ten miles to Futtehgunge, passing through Meeranpore Kuttra at 5m. 6f. The Bygool Nuddee is crossed by a good bridge of several arches a few furlongs before reaching Futtehgunge. The village is a middling one. Our force was encamped on both sides of the road in advance of the villages with our flanks thrown back on the Nuddeo.

† A Light Field Battery.  
A Heavy Field Battery.  
Two squadrons Carabineers.  
Lind's Mooltanee Horse.  
Her Majesty's 64th Regiment.  
22nd Punjab Infantry.  
Wing Beluch Battalion.

The force † under Brigadier [Richmond] Jones (General Penny having been killed) joined the Commander-in-Chief at this place, and formed the rear of our camp.

This force had forded the Ganges opposite Suhawah, and had been attacked on the road leading to Budaon, in which affair General Penny

fell. Brigadier Jones then crossed the Ramgunga and moved across country to our camp.

This would have been a good position for the rebels to have taken up to oppose us. The stream is fordable near the bridge and in some other places both above and below: the banks are often steep, the stream deep, and the bottom unsound.

It was anticipated that the enemy might make a stand at Furreedpore but our scouts reported to us on the march that their picket had fallen back on Bareilly. Our march was eleven miles; encamped in advance of the town. Water for cattle is not plentiful near at hand, but is found in the Bygoool Nuddee, which is one-and-a-half miles distant. Our main picket was one-and-a-half miles in front of our camp on the Bareilly road. It consisted of cavalry, infantry, and guns.

At an early hour in the morning of the 5th we marched on Bareilly. A halt was made at the sixth mile to allow the baggage to close up, and the troops were formed in order of battle (see accompanying plan of the action of Bareilly) and moved in admirable order towards the Nukuttee Nuddee, where we heard that the enemy were posted with the intention of fighting. Our intelligence as to the exact position they had taken up and the number of guns our opponents possessed was not satisfactory. As we came in sight of the Nukuttee bridge, it was perceived that a large portion of the rebels had taken up a position on this side of the nulla. Their guns opened fire on our line as it advanced.

Our advance was covered by a line of cavalry skirmishers and by Tombs' and Remington's troops of Bengal Horse Artillery and Hammond's Light Field Battery. Our guns advanced to the front at a rapid pace and replied to the enemy's guns with such precision that they fled across the nulla, abandoning their guns which were on this side of the nulla. Our troops then advanced leisurely, as the numerous dense topes of trees concealed from our view the enemy's position in the cantonment and towards the town. Considerable bodies of cavalry hovered on our left flank and watched their opportunity to attack our baggage. It was deemed necessary to allow it to close on the Nukuttee Nuddee before we advanced further. A reconnaissance was pushed round the south-west side of the cantonment at about 11 A.M., and the fort was found abandoned, but most of the cantonment still occupied.

Meanwhile some 200 or 300 "Ghazees" made a fierce onslaught on the 4th Punjab Rifles (which regiment had just taken possession of



the Irregular Cavalry lines and were in broken order) and drove them back on Her Majesty's 42nd Highlanders. The latter regiment had just time to form in line and receive them. The "Ghazees" came on, sword in hand, utterly regardless of death, over the bodies of their fallen comrades. They were all shot down and killed, many in hand-to-hand conflict with the Highlanders.

A simultaneous attack made by a large body of their cavalry on our camp followers and baggage was repulsed by the fire of Tombs' troops and by the cavalry. The cavalry lines were at once retaken and that end of the cantonment was abandoned by the rebels. An hour or two afterwards the topos and villages towards the civil lines were taken by Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders, supported by the wing of the Beluch Battalion. It was not deemed prudent to follow the enemy into the dense gardens and suburbs towards the town. The fort was occupied by a detachment of the 42nd Highlanders.

As all the baggage was jammed up near the Nukuttee Nuddee, ground was taken up for our camp on the Bareilly side of it. Our parks and baggage soon found their allotted places. Hospital tents only were pitched, the troops bivouacking in convenient positions on the field of battle. No reliable information of the movements of the enemy could be obtained, but it was afterwards ascertained that a considerable portion of them had retired towards Pilibhit. Hot winds blew all day and several men were killed by sunstroke.

The Nukuttee Nuddee contains but little water, except after heavy rain, but its bottom is almost everywhere unsound, and it is dangerous to cross, except where there is a beaten ford. There are beaten fords near the bridge, opposite the Sudder Bazar, where guns can cross. Its banks, especially above the bridge, are steep.

Seven guns were captured during the action and several others were found abandoned in the town when we entered it. On the morning of the 6th our troops changed their ground.

Brigadier-General [John] Jones' guns were heard on the opposite side

**Brigadier-General Jones' Force—**

A Light Field Battery.  
A Heavy Field Battery.  
Carabineers (1 squadron).  
Cureton's Mooltanee Horse.  
Her Majesty's 60th Rifles.  
1st Punjab Rifles.  
1st Sikh Infantry.  
17th Punjab Infantry.

of the town. A portion of the rebels were posted outside the town on the Dojora Nuddee to oppose his entrance into the town. He attacked them and drove them into the town, capturing four guns. He then

occupied the Tohseel which is in the heart of the town, and opened a communication with the Commander-in-Chief during the afternoon.

A reconnaissance was made by a troop of Lancers and a squadron of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry towards the Pilibhit road. They came on a large body of fugitives and cut up 200 or 300 of them after a long pursuit.

On the 7th the entire town was occupied. A few fanatic Mussalmans took possession of a house in the town, and were shelled out. All were killed. It was ascertained that the rebels had gone off in the direction of Pilibhit and Bissowlie.

On the 8th a force \* under Brigadier-General [John] Jones marched to relieve Shahjehanpore. The garrison which had occupied the jail was closely invested and short of supplies, and the town was in possession of the enemy. The enemy came out to meet Brigadier-General [J.] Jones' force, but were defeated and driven through the town, which was again in our possession. The garrison was relieved on the 10th.

On the afternoon of the 8th, a thunderstorm accompanied by heavy rain blew down many of the tents and flooded the camp.

On the 10th, the 2nd and 4th Punjab Infantry returned towards the Punjab. The head-quarters of the Carabineers accompanied them as far as Meerut.

† A Light Field Battery.  
A Heavy Field Battery.  
100 Pioneers.  
17th Irregular Cavalry (1 squadron).  
Her Majesty's 42nd Highlanders  
(wing).  
1st Punjab Infantry.  
1st Sikh Infantry.

Remington's Troop, Bengal Horse  
Artillery.  
Heavy Field Battery.  
2nd Punjab Cavalry.  
Her Majesty's 42nd Highlanders.  
" " 78th "  
" " 93rd "  
17th Punjab Infantry.

‡ Tombs' Troop Bengal Horse Artillery  
LeMeaurier's Co., Royal Artillery.  
Foot Artillery, Detachment.  
9th Lancers (2 squadrons).  
Lahore Light Horse (1 squadron).  
1st Punjab Cavalry ( " ).  
5th " ( " ).  
Her Majesty's 64th Regiment (7 Cos.)  
Wing Beluch Battalion.  
Park Artillery.

On the 11th a column † under Brigadier Coke marched towards Pilibhit.

The force noted in the margin was ordered to form the garrison of Bareilly, a wing of Her Majesty's 42nd Highlanders moving hereafter to Moradabad.

On the 15th the Commander-in-Chief marched towards Shahjehanpore with column † noted, at Tihur the remainder of the 9th Lancers joined him: marched into Shahjehanpore on the 18th.



Brigadier-General [J.] Jones' force was not considered strong enough to follow the enemy, as he (the enemy) was strong in cavalry, so he remained at Shahjehanpore on the defensive. The rebel force had been greatly increased by a large portion of the Bareilly rebels and had become formidable in cavalry. They were commanded by Feroz Shah and the Moulvie.

Our whole force was encamped in the cantonment. A battery of heavy guns commanded the ground on the opposite side of the Kanout Nuddee, and all the fords across it were watched. The town was occupied by a strong detachment of infantry, and on the day of our arrival a strong picket with guns was thrown into the village of Lodhipore, on the left bank of the Kanout. A bridge was completed across the nulla by the same evening in rear of the Lodhipore picket.

At about 3 p.m. the enemy brought out some guns and displayed large bodies of cavalry in front of the village of Lodhipore as well as higher up the nulla opposite our left. Our picket was reinforced. As the enemy advanced, our guns opened fire at long range. A desultory cannonade on both sides lasted until evening.

On the morning of the 22nd Brigadier Coke's force, which had proceeded to Pilibhit, returned *via* Bareilly and joined us.

During the Commander-in-Chief's stay at Shahjehanpore, the Nawab's fort in the town (which was completely choked up by buildings and courtyards) was cleared and put into a state of defence. Walls had been thrown down on all sides, and the place had assumed a new aspect. Heavy guns were mounted on the walls, and grain and ammunition stored inside. The fort, which is near the south end of the town, commands Hukeem Mehndee's bridge across the Kanout Nulla, and as soon as the houses on the west of it are cleared, it will command the bridge over the Gurrie Nuddee on the Bareilly and Jellalabad roads. The Kanout Nuddee has three fords in it in the first mile above the bridge-of-boats.

On the night of the 23rd at 12 p.m. (orders having been given to Brigadier-General [J.] Jones to attack the enemy at daybreak), the Commander-in-Chief and staff with a small escort marched to Jellalabad, and on the following morning reached Futtebgarh. The heat had been very great within the last three days.

The operations which were being carried on in other parts of India rendered it necessary that the Commander-in-Chief should be near the [telegraph] wire. The advance on Gwalior was being made, and

our columns were traversing Oudh and Behar. These reasons induced the Commander-in-Chief to hasten to Futtegharh.

Brigadier-General [J.] Jones engaged the enemy on the morning of the 24th, but they retired too hastily to admit of our cavalry getting their guns. Mahomdee fell into his hands on the following day, and the rebels fled beyond the Goomtee. His force returned to Shahjehanpore, from whence a column under Colonel Taylor was detached to drive the rebels out of Shahabad. Colonel Taylor's column then returned to Shahjehanpore.

On the morning of the 5th June Sir Colin started for Allahabad, at which place the Governor-General was staying. From Murunkee line he proceeded by carriage dāk accompanied by General Mansfield. Head-quarters camp marched to Futtehpur, and proceeding there by rail, arrived at Allahabad on 15th June.

(Signed) G. ALLGOOD *Capt.*  
*Offg. Asst. Qrmr.-Genl.*



## APPENDIX E

*Journal of Lord CLYDE's Campaign in Oudh during the cold weather of 1858-59, by Captain G. ALLGOOD, Officiating Assistant Quartermaster-General of the Army.*

FROM Allahabad to Soraon, 11m. 4f., 31st October 1858.

The Commander-in-Chief remained at Allahabad until the morning of the 2nd November to be present at the ceremony of making over the Indian Government to the Queen and joined his camp at Pertabgurh at 10 A.M. on the same day.

Most of the officers belonging to Head-Quarters marched to Soraon on 31st. Road well defined, but dusty. Ganges crossed by a bridge of boats recently constructed at Papamow Ghat.

Lalgunj, 13m. 2f., 1st November. Road lies over low land most of the way; at ninth mile it enters a belt of jungle passing the forts of Tirhal and Byspoor. A nullah is crossed in the jungle, but at this season is quite dry.

Beylah Cantonment near Pertabgurh, 11m. 4f., 2nd November. Road similar to last march, and dusty from the great traffic which has lately passed along it. Passed Mehudeegunj Kuttra at 7m. 4f.; Beshampoor at 8m. 4f. Beyond the latter a track branching off to the left leads to the town of Pertabgurh.

Encamped alongside Brigadier Pinckney's force on good ground one mile short of the Sye Nuddee. The Commander-in-Chief arrived in camp at 10 A.M., having ridden in from Allahabad.

The British columns were now disposed as follows in the Byswarrah District.

Advancing from Soraon Brigadier Wetherall's column \* had moved

- \* A Troop, Royal Horse Artillery.
- A Heavy Field Battery, Royal Artillery.
- 1st Punjab Cavalry.
- H. M.'s 79th Highlanders.
- Belooch Battalion.
- Wing, 9th Punjab Infantry.
- † A company Royal Engineers.
- Delhi Pioneers.
- A Light Field Battery, Royal Artillery.
- A Heavy Battery, Bengal Artillery.
- 1 Squadron Carabineers.
- 1 Regiment Oudh Police Cavalry.
- 1 Squadron 6th Madras Cavalry.
- Pathan Horse (250 sabres.)
- Wing, Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers.
- H. M.'s 54th Regiment.
- 1st Sikh Infantry.
- 1 Regiment Oudh Police Infantry.

through Chowrass and Lalgunj carrying by storm the Fort of Rampoor Kussia on the River Sye, with a loss of about 80 men killed and wounded.

Brigadier Pinckney's column † held Pertabgurh with a post at Loolee on the Sultanpoor Road, distant from Pertabgurh about 9 miles.

After assisting the operations of Colonel Kelly's column (which marched from Azeemgurh on 8th October and had established itself at

† Column—

- Two guns, Q Battery, Royal Artillery.
- F Troop, Royal Horse Artillery.
- Heavy Field Battery, Royal Artillery.
- C Company, Madras Sappers.
- Her Majesty's 7th Hussars.
- One regiment of Hodson's Horse.
- Her Majesty's 32nd Light Infantry.
- " " 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.
- 1st Madras Fusiliers.
- 5th Punjab Infantry.

Tanda, Akberpore and Dostpore, in the Fyzabad District), Major-General Sir Hope Grant ‡ had advanced from Sultanpore up the Lucknow road as far as Jugdespore, when turning sharp to the westward he moved by Jais and took post at Uttehur, eight miles west of the fort of Amethee. From

Uttehur he patrolled towards Brigadier Wetherall's column at Rampoor Kussia.

On the 4th November, the Commander-in-Chief wrote to Raja Lal Madho of Amethee, enclosing a copy of the Governor-General's proclamation. He called on him to surrender his fort and munitions of war, but informed him that his lands and property should be secured to him. In the event of his refusing these terms, he was to abide the consequences. He was allowed until the 6th idem to consider these terms. On the following day a vakeel brought a reply from the Raja stating that he was desirous to submit, but that he was apprehensive that his sepoys would murder him if he attempted to do so. In answer to this letter an ultimatum was sent by Lord Clyde to the effect that



if he did not surrender on the following day, operations would commence against him.

The Governor-General was particularly anxious to extend his clemency towards Lall Madho, as he had behaved well at the commencement of the rebellion. Lall Madho was, moreover, an influential man in Byswarrah, and it was hoped that his submission would have a beneficial effect, and would induce Raja Benee Madho and other powerful talukdars in that district to accede to like terms.

*Dheema, 10m. 4f., 8th.*—No reply having been received, the force under Lord Clyde crossed the Sye River on the morning of the 8th, and encamped one mile beyond Loolee. The post at the latter place joined head-quarters.

\* Twenty Sikh Artillery.

Two companies, Her Majesty's 54th Regiment.

A detachment Oudh Military Police, Horse and Foot.

A detachment \* was left to hold Pertabgurh.

The approaches to the ford across the Sye River are steep, but were improved previous to our crossing. The water is about one-and-a-half feet in depth, and the bottom sound; on the left bank the ground is broken for 200 or 300 yards. Nawabgunje is passed at 2m. 1f. Good encamping [ground] at Dheema; good in dry weather.

No further communication was received from Lall Madho.

*Hindu temple three miles short, Amethee, 9th October, 13m. 3f.*—

The route of the column lay across a country practicable for our heavy ordnance. The track left the Sultanpore road three-fourths of a mile after starting, turning to the left amidst rice fields. At three miles a nulla was crossed with steep banks, but a few hours' labour on the previous day had rendered it practicable. [Passed] Tewaree-ke-Poorwa at 3m. 5f. and Bhadur (a large village) at 6m., at half a mile on our left hand. Teeka at 8m. 6f., a small dry nulla at 9m. 4f., Googwaj at 9m. 7½f., Hutkilli (large village) at 11m. 7f. Through the latter the road runs, and is narrow. Our camp was on a hard open plain with abundance of water from a tank and two or three wells. The village of Bheek Lall, one mile in front of our camp, screened the fort of Amethee from our view. Rice cultivation covered the left front of our camp and extended far away to our left. Our position was on the west side of the fort.

By a preconcerted arrangement the columns under Sir H. Grant and Brigadier Wetherall had simultaneously with ourselves invested the fort on the north and south faces, and established themselves at a

distance of about three miles, respectively, from the Commander-in-Chief's column. They had orders to patrol well to their flanks and to place themselves in communication with head-quarters. All these columns were visible from the fort.

Driven to extremities, Raja Lall Madho surrendered himself to Lord Clyde on the following morning, and agreed to give up his fort. He expressed a doubt as to the sepoys submitting, but was of opinion that his own followers were strong enough to coerce them if they attempted to stop him. Arrangements were made by Lord Clyde to seize the fort on the following morning. It was, however, evacuated during the night. The enceinte of the works is very extensive, the greater portion of its area consisting of thorny impenetrable jungle. The outer ditch, deep and wet, was the most formidable feature in the works. The greater portion of the garrison retreated towards Shunkerpore, towards which place Lord Clyde's attention was now directed.

Sir H. Grant marched on the morning of the 11th towards Parsuddipoor, leaving Her Majesty's 32nd Light Infantry (a very weak regiment) with Lord Clyde. On the following morning Brigadier Wetherall's column and that with the Commander-in-Chief moved in the same direction. Lord Clyde remained at Amethee on the 12th and caught up the column at Oodepore on the next day.

A detachment\* was left at Amethee until the fort had been de-

- \* Two Guns Light Field Battery.
- Stokers' Pathan Horse.
- Three companies Her Majesty's 54th Foot.
- Wing, 9th Punjab Infantry.

stroyed, and Brigadier Pinckney was directed to establish the head-quarters of the Sultanpore District at that place. The head-quarters of the

54th with two guns, Q Battery, Royal Artillery, proceeded to Sultanpore and Fyzabad, respectively.

Oodepore, 18m. 6½f., 13th November.—Road runs by Bheek Lall and on the south of the fort through old Amethee. The latter at 4m. 1f., Koorai at 7m. 2½f., Narrainee at 9m. 1f., Ramlal kee Bagh at 12m., Dalzarpore at 13m. 4f., Uttehur at 16m. 4f. (500 houses), Sumet nuddee at 17m., Oodepore at 17m. 1f. Road fair, rice cultivation prevails, and country low: good encamping ground.

Keshwapoor, 9m. 4f., 14th November. Pass Munowtee at 2m. 6f., Boorbar at 3m. 7f., Beerpoora at 5m. 4f., Parsuddipoor, at 6m. 4f.—The latter is an old town through which the road runs down a narrow and tortuous street. There is fair encamping ground between the town and Sye River, which is crossed by a firm good ford, two feet in depth. The banks of the river are steep and sandy on both sides.



They were shelved by the Pioneers, and a strong fatigue party soon succeeded in getting all our heavy baggage safely across. Our camp was pitched on the left of the road one-and-a-half miles beyond the river.

Sir H. Grant's column was four miles ahead of us on the Rai Bareilly road. Lord Clyde directed Sir H. Grant to proceed on the following morning up the road towards Rai Bareilly parallel with the River Sye, and when opposite Shunkerpore to make a detour to the left, and establish himself on the north face of the fort, while his own column would advance on the south-east corner of it by a direct road. Shunkerpore was the stronghold of the rebel Raja Bencee Madho, and considered to be the strongest fort in the Byswarrah country.

Brigadier Eveleigh \* had left Poorwah on the 8th November, having

\* Column—

Heavy Field Battery, Bengal Artillery.  
Four guns, Bengal Horse Artillery.  
2nd Light Field Battery, Royal Artillery.  
1st Sikh Cavalry.  
Regiment Oudh Police Cavalry.  
Detachment 20th, 23rd and 80th Foot.  
A regiment Oudh Police Infantry.  
(Three companies of each.)

had a successful affair with the enemy on the same day, and on the 9th had stormed the fort of Simree. He had been instructed by the Commander-in-Chief to move on Shunkerpore from the north-west and thus

complete the investment of the place. The order was received too late, and consequently a loophole of escape was open to the rebels.

The circumference of the outer ditch of Shunkerpore measured nearly eight miles. Within it, there are three separate strongholds, the intervening space between them being covered with a dense impenetrable jungle of thorns, which is here and there pierced by narrow footpaths. The above description will show how difficult, if not impossible, it was to prevent the escape of the garrison during a dark night.

Bencee Madho had for some time foreseen that a cordon was being drawn around him. He had vainly attempted to break it by driving our garrison out of the posts of Poorwah and Jubrowlee. The sepoys who had escaped from Rampore Kussia and Amethee had flocked to his standard.

The Commander-in-Chief's march on Shunkerpore on the 15th November lay near the undermentioned villages.

Selon passed on the left soon after leaving camp at Rajapore, which was passed at 3m. 2f. We crossed the Pertabgurrh and Rai Bareilly road, Metka at 4m. 6½f, Jodhee-ke-Poorwah at 5m. 6f, Realee at 7m. 2f, Oomarpora at 7m. 7f, Paree at 9m. 3½f, Puchwara at 10m. 4f. Encamped on good ground at 11m. 2f, about two miles short of the fort of Shunkerpore.

[Major-General] Sir H. Grant patrolled to his right and left. Lord Clyde patrolled towards Sir H. Grant on his right, and established a strong picket about one-and-a-half miles on its left to watch the south face of the fort.

At midnight the rebel garrison, numbering, it is said, 4,000 sepoys, evacuated the fort with nine or ten guns. They made a wide circuit to the westward, avoiding [on the pickets on] Sir H. Grant's extreme right, and made for the Poorye jungle (distant eight miles north-west of Rai Bareilly), with the ultimate intention of escaping across the Goomtee and Gogra Rivers. Intelligence of the flight of the garrison reached camp at 2 A.M. An Aide-de-Camp was immediately despatched to Sir H[ope] Grant to direct him to march at daybreak on Rai Bareilly.

At daybreak we occupied the fort. One or two guns only were found, the rest having been taken away or buried.

On the same morning (the 16th) Brigadier Taylor was detached with a force \* to Fyzabad in order that operations might commence across the Gogra as soon as the Byswarrah country had been cleared of the rebels. A small force was left

\* One company, Royal Engineers.  
Detachment, Delhi Pioneers.  
E Troop, Royal Horse Artillery.  
Heavy Field Battery.  
1st Punjab Cavalry.  
79th Highlanders.  
1st Sikh Infantry.

to destroy the fort and cut down the jungle.

At 9 P.M. on the night of the 18th, Lord Clyde marched for Rai Bareilly, where he arrived at 3 A.M. on 19th. The road from our camp skirted the north-east corner of the outer ditch of Shunkerpore, passing a small village at 4m. 6f. and a large one 7m. 4f., Koonchee at 10m. 1½f., Moonsheegunge at 12m. 1f. The latter is enclosed by a high wall, the road passing in and out through lofty gateways. The Sye River is crossed by a substantial old stone bridge at 13m. 1f. Our camp was pitched by daybreak on good ground between the river and the town of Rai Bareilly, and about 1m. distant from the latter.

Sir H[ope] Grant had moved towards Jugdespore on the Goomtee, for which place the rebels were supposed to be making.

On the morning of the Commander-in-Chief's arrival at Rai Bareilly, a patrol was sent to Poorye to feel for Brigadier Eveleigh's column which had been ordered thither. It had not arrived. During the night a letter was received from him stating that he had been attacked at Bern on the 17th by a large body of the rebels, whom he had defeated, and that their course was in a westerly direction. He had, therefore, halted near Hajee pore, and now solicited instructions.



Benee Madho had evidently been headed by Sir H. Grant's movement towards Jugdespore.

On the morning of the 20th, a party of cavalry was sent to Hajee-pore to relieve the Brigadier of all his sick and wounded men, heavy guns, ammunition, and surplus stores. Thus lightly equipped, he was directed to make a night march towards Simree in which direction the rebels had gone, and to keep them constantly on the move.

The road to Hajee-pore crosses the Sye River at Raj Ghat, about half a mile on the west of the town of Rai Bareilly. The ford is very good. Deedom was passed at 4m. from our camp, Poorye at 8m., Mhow at 10m., and the fort of Hajee-pore reached at 12m. Near Poorye there is a small wet nulla which was made practicable for heavy guns by forced labour from the village.

Force as per margin remained at Rai Bareilly. At midnight

Two guns, Light Field Battery, Royal Artillery.

Brigadier Eveleigh's and Commander-in-Chief's Heavy Field Batteries.

Siege-train.

A regiment Oudh Police Cavalry.

Her Majesty's 32nd Foot.

19th Punjab Infantry, arrived from Fatehpur.

One regiment Oudh Police Infantry.

of the 20th (Brigadier Eveleigh's heavy guns, &c., having reached Rai Bareilly), the Commander-in-Chief marched to Buchraon, [on the Lucknow road], distant 22 miles. He was there in readiness to act as circumstances might render necessary

when the rebel force had been struck by Brigadier Eveleigh. The road is not well defined, and for the first three miles should be well examined by daylight. A large village is passed at 5m. 5f., Sulunpoora at 12m., Mujgam at 12m. 7f., beyond which on the left of the road is a large jheel, Babugunj at 16m. 4f., Phooliaree at 20m. The country is open, but in many places the track destroyed by cultivation.

During the afternoon certain information reached the Commander-in-Chief that Benee Madho had taken up a position at Doundeckhera on the Ganges, his rear resting on the river, and evidently with the determination of risking an engagement. Brigadier Eveleigh was at Nuggar, six miles distant, watching him. The Brigadier being weak in infantry, Lord Clyde determined to effect a junction with him and attack Benee Madho.

On the 22nd he marched to Woonae, 15m. 6f., crossing River Sye at Khanpore Ghat. The road turns to the west before reaching Buchraon, passing Kundaon at 1m. 3f., Puchegaon at 4m. 7f., Tera at 8m. 1f., Khanpore under which the Sye flows at 8m. The river is crossed by two

tolerably good fords, 2 feet 9 inches in depth. Its banks are low. The road skirts the south side of the village, taking a southerly direction, Khoonsa<sup>a</sup> at 11m. 3f., from whence there is a road to Kheroon. There is a fort at Woonae. Beyond the village a swamp crosses the left of the road which leads towards Dalamow.

On the 23rd the Commander-in-Chief marched 20 miles and effected a junction with Brigadier Eveleigh in the vicinity of Nuggar. Bhuturgaon passed at 3m. 6f., Kheroon at 7m. 4f., Simree at 14m. 1f. The road here runs for three furlongs through jungle, is very narrow and sunk 10 or 12 feet; a cart breaking down in this narrow track would block up the road completely. On debouching from the jungle, the Lunee Nuddee (now dry) is crossed. The fort of Simree is hidden from view. Bhoeten is passed at 14m. 6f., Maharraneegunj 15m. 3f., Khungapore at 15m. 6½f., Serajan at 19m. 6½f. Bence Madho still held his position with his left on Doundeeakhera, his right on Buksur, and his rear resting on the Ganges. [The thick thorny] jungle [which] covered his front [was held by his skirmishers].

On the morning of the 24th all tents having been struck and packed, the whole of the baggage animals were collected together under a strong escort and left on the ground. At 7 A.M. the column marched towards Doundeeakhera, passing Nuggar at 1m. 6f. In front of it the force was divided into two separate columns at about an interval of half a mile. One [was] commanded by Colonel Jones \* of the Carabineers,

\* One company, Royal Engineers.  
Four guns, Light Field Battery, Royal Artillery.  
One squadron Carabineers.  
One squadron, 6th Madras Infantry.  
Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers.  
Baluch Battalion.

† Four guns Bengal Horse Artillery.  
1st Sikh Cavalry.  
11th Oudh Police Cavalry.  
Detachment of 20th, 23rd, and 80th Regiments (Three companies of each.)

the other by Brigadier Eveleigh.† The columns moved in contiguous order.

Passed the village of Bidhaura at 4m. 4½f., from whence two roads lead—one on Doundeeakhera by Kantee Moobarikpore; the other on Buksur by Oonchgaon, Nanamow and Juggutpore. Doundeeakhera and Buksur are about one mile distant from each other and equidistant from Bidhaura.

Brigadier Eveleigh's column was directed on Doundeeakhera and Colonel Jones' on Buksur. The roads gradually diverged from each other.

From Bidhaura Lord Clyde sent in a letter to Bence Madho giving him a last chance to surrender. The column halted one hour and no reply came: it again advanced. A line of skirmishers thrown out from each of our columns preserved perfect communication between them.



As we approached the rebels' position, a short halt was made under fire to enable Lord Clyde to reconnoitre. The cavalry was placed on our right and left flanks to intercept the enemy's retreat. \* \* \* \*

In five minutes the advance was resumed. Our skirmishers advanced briskly through the jungle and forced the rebels into the first channel of the river, driving them headlong out of the village of Doundeekhera and Buksur. Our main line of infantry was never engaged. The enemy lost severely, but the greater majority escaped to their flanks up and down the river, but not without being roughly handled by our cavalry. On the left about 70 were cut up; on the right the pursuit was pressed with vigour till after dark. About 300 or 400 dead bodies were left on the ground. All the guns, seven in number, were captured. The force returned to Oonchgaon and encamped for the night.

A halt was made on 25th. The enemy's retreat having been in two directions, it was not known until late in the day for what place they were making. On the morning of 26th, a force \* under [Lieutenant-]

Colonel Gordon, R. A., was detached in pursuit towards Poorye on the Sye River. It having been ascertained that Benec Madho was making for the Goomtee, [Lieutenant-] Colonel Carmichael † was detached from Rai Bareilly on 1st December, with direc-

tions to follow him up briskly and drive him across the Gogra. He effected this on 5th idem. [Lieutenant-] Colonel Gordon took post at Rai Bareilly, at which place a wing of Her Majesty's 54th had arrived from Shunkerpore.

On the 26th Lord Clyde marched with the rest of the force towards Lucknow, Byswarrah having been cleared of rebels. The first day he reached Poorwah (distance twenty miles). The road passes by Nuggar at 3m. 4½f., from whence it takes a northerly direction, Rampore at 6m. 7f., a small dry nulla is crossed just beyond it, Mundappa at 8m. 1½f., Patun at 9m. 3½f., Meree-Lal-ke-khera at 11m. 4f., cross Ton Nuddee at 12m. 1½f., Punhun at 14m. 3f., encamped half mile short of Poorwah. The mud fort here was occupied by our police. Country less fertile than heretofore.

On 27th he encamped beyond Bunnee bridge (on the Lucknow and Cawnpore road, 16m. 1f.), Mirhee passed at 6m. 5½f., Sirhawan at 12m. 3½f., Oomur at 13m. 1f., Datonlee at 14m. 1½f., Bunnee 15m. 4f. Country less wooded and cultivated.

\* Four guns, Light Field Battery, Royal Artillery.  
Sowana Horse.  
Detachment, Her Majesty's 23rd Baluch Battalion.

† Four guns Light Field Battery.  
Regiment of Oudh Police Cavalry.  
Her Majesty's 32nd Light Infantry.  
19th Punjab Infantry.

Brigadier Eveleigh marched from Poorwah to Nawabgunge on the Cawnpore road with 1st Sikh Cavalry and detachment, 20th Foot, to pick up the two guns of the Bengal Horse Artillery, and the headquarters of the latter which were stationed there. He moved on to Lucknow on 29th.

On 29th the Commander-in-Chief marched into Lucknow and encamped near the Dilaram (16m. 5f.). The force with him stopped short at the Alum Bagh and reached Lucknow the next day.

It is now necessary to revert to the operations of the other columns in Byswarrah and other parts of Oudh.

[Major-General] Sir H[ope] Grant left Rai Bareilly on 17th and marched eastward towards the Goomtee. On his arrival at Jugdespore he proceeded with a regiment of Hodson's Horse to Fyzabad (where a bridge-of-boats was being constructed) to superintend and assume command of the operations which were about to take place across the River Gogra. At Fyzabad he found Brigadier Sayson's Brigade which had marched thither from Shunkerpore, Her Majesty's 9th Lancers (a wing), Her Majesty's 53rd Foot, half a troop, Bengal Horse Artillery. He added also to his force four guns, Light Field Battery, Royal Artillery. Sultanpore was occupied by the right wing, Her Majesty's 54th, in lieu of Her Majesty's 53rd.

- \* Company Royal Engineers.
- Delhi Pioneers.
- E Troop, Royal Horse Artillery.
- Half troop, Bengal Horse Artillery.
- Four guns, Light Field Battery, Royal Artillery.
- Heavy Field Battery, Royal Artillery.
- Wing, 9th Lancers.
- 1st Punjab Cavalry.
- Regiment of Hodson's Horse.
- Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment.
- 79th Highlanders.
- 1st Sikh Infantry.

Sir H[ope] Grant\* crossed the Gogra by the bridge-of-boats on the 25th in the face of a rebel force under the Gonda Raja, whom he completely defeated and whose guns he captured.

On Brigadier Horsford devolved the command of the force left at Jugdespore by Sir H[ope] Grant. He

was ordered to reduce the country between that place and Lucknow and to destroy all forts held by the rebels. This officer's column† came across Bennee Madho's force in its flight at Jugdespore, and drove it in confusion across the Goomtee. As before narrated, Colonel Carmichael's force drove it eventually across the Gogra.

The greater portion of Brigadier Horsford's column reached Lucknow on 4th December, the remainder two days afterwards.

- † Heavy Field Battery, Royal Artillery.
- E Troop, Royal Horse Artillery.
- Company Madras Sappers.
- Her Majesty's 7th Hussars.
- Detachment Hodson's Horse.
- 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.
- 1st Madras Fusiliers.
- 5th Punjab Infantry.



Three separate columns had been operating in the north of Oudh simultaneously with those in the south of that province. Third \*

- \* Troop, Bengal Horse Artillery.
- Heavy Field Battery.
- Wing, Bengal Sappers and Miners.
- 3rd Squadron Carabincers.
- Cureton's Multani Horse.
- 4th Irregular Cavalry, 2nd Sikh Cavalry.
- (Joined about ten days afterwards)
- Her Majesty's 60th Rifles.
- " " 93rd Highlanders.
- 66th Gurkha Light Infantry.

- † Four guns, Light Field Battery, Royal Artillery.
- Heavy Field Battery.
- 8th Irregular Cavalry.
- Her Majesty's 8th Regiment.
- Fatehgarh Cavalry.

- † Two 5½-inch Mortars, Royal Artillery.
- Four guns, Light Field Battery.
- 2nd Dragoon Guards (200 Sikh).
- Oudh Police Cavalry (760).
- Her Majesty's 88th Foot, detachment.
- 3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade, detachment.
- Oudh Police Infantry (600).

under Brigadier Troup advanced from Shahjehanpore on 18th October. A second † under Brigadier Hale from Fatehgarh on 15th October. One † under Brigadier Barker marched from Lucknow on 5th October, relieved Sundeela which was then besieged by the rebels, making that place the base of his future operations for the reduction of the surrounding country.

Brigadier Troup advanced on Naurangabad and on 8th November captured the fort of Mittowlee. He occupied it with a strong detachment and then advanced on Aligunge, near which (at Mehudee) he had a smart

skirmish with the rebels. He then moved down to Biswah (where he established himself on 2nd December) near the right bank of the River Chowka. Brigadier Hale's column crossed the River Ganges at Fatehgarh and afterwards the Ramganga (both by bridge-of-boats) and advanced on Palae, then striking directly south, moved on Sandee. On 28th October he appeared before Nurput Sing's fort at Rooya simultaneously with Brigadier Barker's force from the south. The rebel garrison abandoned the fort during the night.

Brigadier Barker after relieving our post at Sundeela inflicted on the rebels a very severe loss. On 21st October he carried the fort of Birwa by storm, losing himself a considerable number of men. He appeared on the south side of Rooya on 28th. He then marched on Bangarmow, from whence returning he subjected the country by Kuchouna and Benegunge, arriving at Khysabad on 28th November and at Biswah on 3rd December.

Ferozshah, who was at that time at Mamdabad, with about 1,500 or 2,000 men, chiefly cavalry, doubled back, and pushing rapidly past Baru and Sundeela succeeded in crossing the Ganges near Meerun-ke-Serai. He caused considerable alarm in the Doab, and in the vicinity

of Etawah had a drawn engagement with some levies which the magistrate of Etawah had taken out with him to oppose him. Meanwhile a small force under Brigadier Hubert started after Ferozshah from Cawnpore, and drove him across the Jumna into Central India. Some days afterwards Brigadier-General Napier encountered Ferozshah and utterly routed him.

On 30th November a column \* was detached from Lucknow under

- \* A Troop, Bengal Horse Artillery.
- Heavy Field Battery.
- Company, Royal Engineers.
- Detachment, Delhi Pioneers.
- 1st Sikh Cavalry.
- Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers.
- Wing, 3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.
- A regiment, Oudh Police Infantry.

Brigadier Eveleigh to reduce the fort of Oomeriah, about twenty miles distant from Lucknow, and to settle the country to the north-east between that place and Fatehpore. On the 2nd December Oomeriah fell into his hands.

The time had now arrived for commencing operations across the Gogra. The Begum's force at Bouraree had been swelled by the accession of large bodies of rebels who had been driven across that river.

On the 5th December Lord Clyde marched from Lucknow to

- † F Troop, Royal Horse Artillery.
- Heavy Field Battery.
- Two guns, Light Field Battery, Royal Artillery.
- One squadron, Carabineers.
- Her Majesty's 7th Hussars.
- One squadron, Lahore Light Horse.
- " " 6th Madras Cavalry.
- A regiment, Oudh Police Cavalry.
- Her Majesty's 20th Regiment.
- 2nd Battalion, Rifles.
- Wing, Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers.
- Balooch Battalion.
- 2nd Regiment, Oudh Police Infantry.

Nawabgunge (Barabankee) (18m. 4f.) with a force as per margin.† Crossed Kokrel Nuddee by bridge at 2m. 4f., Ismaelgunge at 5m., Chinhut at 6m. 3f., Loonee Nuddee (bridged) at 8m. 3½f., Narrainee at 10m., Dhunsanee at 13m. 6½f., Allahapore at 15m. 1½f., Rait Nuddee by bridge at 15m. 2f., Jumeria Nuddee at 16m. 5½f.

(bridged), Nawabgunge at 17m. 3f. A narrow road leads through a long bazar. A detour should be made to the right through the fields to avoid it. Encamped on the far side of the town where the roads to Fyzabad and Byramghat separate. Road very dirty and heavy. The troops quartered here were in huts on the west of the town on high open ground favourable for an encampment. Our force was joined here by other troops.‡

- ‡ Four guns, Light Field Battery.
- Wing, 23rd Fusiliers.
- Her Majesty's 90th Light Infantry.

The Commander-in-Chief marched to Byramghat (20m. 2½f.) on the following morning. Road good. The country for some miles is low. Beyond Kullianee Nuddee it becomes richer and better wooded. Shahpore is passed at 2m. 4f., Barragum at 7m. 2f., Mosowlee (a large



village) at 8m. The Kullianee nuddee is crossed by a ford with six inches of water at 9m., Killowlee village passed at 11m. 1f., Dulserai at 14m.  $\frac{1}{2}$ f., Ramnuggar (large) at 14m.  $\frac{1}{2}$ f., Kuttra at 17m. 4f., a small nulla by old stone bridge at 19m. 3f., Lahtee at 19m. 4f.

Four Horse Artillery guns with a few riflemen mounted on the carriages, and a large portion of the cavalry trotted on from Killowlee with Lord Clyde in hopes of intercepting some rebels, who, it was expected, would have been driven in that direction by Brigadier Eveleigh's column. There was a chance, moreover, of seizing some boats at this side of the river. Encamped 1,000 yards in rear of the village of Gunespore, which is situated at the confluence of the Gogra and Chowka Rivers. All the boats were in the enemy's hands on the opposite side of the Gogra, about a mile above its junction near the village of Nawabgunge. The rebels appeared to be in force.

The River Gogra at Byramghat is a fine deep stream, measuring at the narrowest point 450 yards in breadth. The velocity of the current was three miles an hour. A wide expanse of sand stretched away for about a mile to the proper left bank of the river.

The Chowka, generally considered fordable at this season, did not appear to be so, as the men we sent across it had to swim. Deep fords doubtless exist in places. It is reported to be a treacherous stream, with many quicksands. The amount of water carried down the Chowka is constantly varying. The Dour river (not marked in the map) which connects the Chowka and Gogra Rivers near Mullapore during some years carries a great portion of the Chowka water into the Gogra. This year it is reported that the Dour is smaller than usual, which accounts for the Chowka being found unfordable by us. At about two miles above the point of junction with the Gogra and Chowka stands the fort of Bitowlee, which is reputed to be one of the most inaccessible strongholds in Oudh. It was now held by the rebels, who showed themselves on the opposite bank of the Chowka, and fired occasional shots at us as we watched them from the right bank. This fort was, it is believed, abandoned by the rebels on the following day, as numerous boats filled with armed men were seen to cross the Gogra opposite Nawabgunge.

[Lieutenant-]Colonel Carmichael's column, which had pursued the rebels under Benec Madho from Rai Bareilly to the Gogra, was encamped within three miles of us and was ordered to retrace its steps on the following day.

On the 7th the force halted. With the exception of a few small canoes, no boats were forthcoming for the passage of the river. Under

these circumstances, Lord Clyde ordered [Major-General] Sir H[ope] Grant (who had meanwhile been destroying the forts of Muchleegaon and Bunkussea to the eastward of Gonda) to advance on Secrora, which movement would inevitably turn the enemy's positions at Nawabgunge. He himself determined to proceed towards Fyzabad, leaving Brigadier Parnell with troops noted in the

- \* One squadron Light Horse.
- A regiment, Oudh Police Cavalry.
- Light Field Battery.
- Heavy Field Battery.
- Company, Royal Engineers.
- 23rd Royal Fusiliers.
- 90th Light Infantry.
- A regiment, Oudh Police Infantry.

margin \* to watch the ghat, and to collect boats for the construction of a bridge. An express was sent to Brigadier Eveleigh to march to Fyzabad.

Lord Clyde marched † to Derriabad on 8th (twenty miles), passed Selowta at 4m. 1f., Murka Mow at 5m. 6f., Buddoo-serai at 7m. 4½f. At

- † F Troop, Royal Horse Artillery.
- One squadron Carabineers.
- 7th Hussars.
- A squadron, 6th Madras Cavalry.
- Two squadrons, Oudh Police Cavalry.
- 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.
- Her Majesty's 20th Regiment.
- Balooch Battalion.
- A regiment, Oudh Police Infantry.

the latter place the road through the town should be avoided, as there is a narrow gateway near the far side through which guns cannot pass, a road leads round on the right-hand side just before entering it.

Vodra Narainpore at 11m., Chickovapore at 12m. 6f., Uddra Naggur at 13m. 2f., Meeangunge at 16m. 5f. Beyond the last-named village the road separates; that on the right leads to the town, the other one skirts it and leads to the encamping ground on the Fyzabad road beyond it. Country throughout the march well wooded and cultivated. Two guns, Bengal Horse Artillery, a detachment of Hodson's Horse, and the 1st Bengal Fusiliers were encamped here.

Lord Clyde gave an audience to the Raja of Kupoorthulla. His contingent had recently marched to Jugdespore.

[Lieutenant-] Colonel Christie was following us towards Fyzabad

- ‡ A troop, Bengal Horse Artillery.
- Heavy Field Battery.
- Detachment, Hodson's Horse
- Wing, Her Majesty's 80th Foot.
- 5th Punjab Infantry.
- Kumaon Battalion.

two marches in rear with the siege-train and other troops.‡

On the 9th the Commander-in-Chief reached Begumgunge (17m. 1f.).

Road very dusty. It is in a half-made state. Passed Chundra Mow at 5m., Alhun Mow at 6m. 7f., Burae-ke-serai at 8m. 5½f., Mahomedabad at 10m. 5f., Phugolee at 11m. 4f., Scojagunj at 12m. 1½f., Hullemnaggur at 13m., Naice serai at 13m. 2f., Raheemgunj at 13m. 6f., Moomrejnuggar at 14m. 7½f., Jehangirabad at 15m., Serayan at 15m. 7f., Shahbazpore 16m. 3f., Nuddee just beyond it (now dry), Begumgunge at 16m. 6f. Our camp was pitched in a large grove, and on



cultivated ground beyond it. Country very highly cultivated. Raja Man Singh joined Lord Clyde's camp.

On the following day (10th December) the force reached Fyzabad (19m. 3f.). Road in a half-made state and very dusty and bad. Country unusually fertile. The road lies within a short distance of the Gogra during a great portion of the march. Passed Mohomedpore at 1m. 2f., Begumgunge at 2m. 2f., Umarpura at 2m. 5f., Kuttra Moobarikpore at 5m. 6½f., Aligunge at 6m. 4½f., Sanahee at 7m. 2f., Kuttra at 8m. 1f., a dry nulla at 9m., Nowrahee (a small town) at 10m., Benepura at 10m. 5½f., a dry nulla at 12m. 6f., Brahmipura at 13m. 2f., Serai at 14m. 5f., Poora serai at 15m. 4f., dry nulla at 16m. 3½f., Muntajnuggar at 16m. 6½f., Drabgunge at 17m. 2f., dry nulla at 17m. 7f., Shahadutgunge at 19m. Camp pitched within an old mud wall or moat on the right of the road before it turns down to the cantonment. The cantonment is on the banks of the river above the town about one-and-a-half miles from our camp. Fyzabad is about a mile distant. It is a large town approached by an avenue of tamarind trees of great age. The houses for the most part are of mud interspersed with the pucca houses of the wealthier residents, which are bounded by enclosure walls. The bazar is large, the principal street running north by south, terminating in a kind of square, through which the main road leading to Agoodin passes.

From early morning on the 11th the force commenced crossing the bridge, regiments marching independently to Nawabgunge, which is on the left bank of the Tehree Nuddee, distant about seven miles.

The bridge was made at Meeranghat in the cantonment and was well put together. The Gogra is here a fine deep running stream. On the far side there was three-fourth mile of heavy sand, over which a temporary roadway had been made with brushwood. Between the left bank of the Gogra and the Tehree Nuddee the ground is covered with short coarse grass and stunted jhow bushes, and shows evidence of its being more or less under water during the rainy season. Nawabgunge is a small town from whence the roads to Gonda and Secrora divide. The usual ferry across the Gogra is below the old town of Ajoodiah and the junction of the Tehree Nuddee with the Gogra. The ford across the Tehree at Nawabgunge is pretty good.

The Commander-in-Chief remained behind at Fyzabad during the 11th.

It was ascertained during the afternoon that the Tehree Nuddee was not fordable at the place where the Secrora road crosses it, and it

was arranged that the column should re-cross it a few miles lower down. The best road from Fyzabad to Secrora does not cross the Tehree Nuddee at all, but strikes it at its junction with the Bugla Nuddee, about four-and-a-half miles higher up than Nawabgunge, and in a direct line about six miles from the left bank of the Gogra at Meeran Ghat.

On the morning of the 12th the force marched from Nawabgunge up the left bank of the Tehree Nuddee, passing lower at 2m., Mungoo-poorra at 2m. 4f. (a ford in the Tehree Nuddee opposite village), Kuttra at 3m. 6½f., near which, at Kowrea Ghat, there is said to be a good ford. Our force crossed the nuddee by a sand ford two feet deep near the village of Chowkarea, at a ghat named Tirmonea, at fifth mile. The left bank was high and required sloping. One furlong above this ford the Bugla Nuddee joins the Tehree. The former, which is crossed at its junctions, has an unsound bottom, which becomes spongy after guns and horses have crossed it. To judge from appearances, the Tehree Nuddee is seldom or never fordable above its junction with the Bugla, as it runs sluggishly.

Lord Clyde, who rode across country from Fyzabad, joined the column on the march. Bhiginia is passed at 6m. 4f., Bheekapore at 7m. 5f., Khancha at 8m. 5f., Goputpoora and Poorainia at 9m. ½f., Tuktona at 9m. 5f. Hitherto what was merely a track beyond Tuktona becomes a well-defined path. This road would be impassable before the fords had quite subsided. Encamped in rear of a ridge of sand hillocks along the foot of which the Tehree Nuddee runs. Distance from Nawabgunge 12m. 1f.

On 13th marched 15m. 6f., halting between the villages of Deras and Puruspore. Road hard and good. Passed Dhoreepore at 3m. 3½f., Pensuddah at 6m., Bersur at 7m. 5f., Kumrounce at 10m. 1½f., Sirsae at 11m. 3f., Mohun-ka-Poorwa at 12m. 3f., Deras at 14m. ½f. A small nulla from which water was obtained flows 800 yards on the right of the road.

On 14th marched to Secrora (commonly called Colonelgunge), distance 11m. 3f. The road runs through the town of Puruspore at 2m. The village of Atta adjoins it, the two names being invariably coupled together. The ground is low for some distance beyond it and swampy in wet weather. Bunmutha passed at 6m., Susamow at 7m. 5½f. From the ninth mile the road runs along the bank of a jheel or old bed of nulla up to Colonelgunge. Encamped in front of the cavalry lines Colonelgunge contains a good bazar. Weather cloudy.



When Sir H[ope] Grant arrived at Secrora, the rebel position of Nawabgunge on the Gogra was at once abandoned. Our troops at Byramghat crossed over and secured a number of boats. Boats had been also sent up by Lord Clyde when at Fyzabad under charge of a steamer, with a detachment of British troops on board. The bridge was now being put together, and was finally completed on 23rd December.

Brigadier Parnell at Byramghat was ordered to watch the ghats on

Light Field Battery.  
One squadron, Lahore Light Horse.  
Her Majesty's 90th Light Infantry.  
Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers.

the Chowka as far up as Jehangirabad and to prevent any rebels crossing. A similar duty devolved on Brigadier Troup from that place up

to the confines of Rohilkhand.

The police at Byramghat proceeded to Secrora. A detachment \*

\* One squadron, 1st Sikh Cavalry (from Gonda).  
Two guns, Light Field Battery.  
Her Majesty's 23rd Regiment.

under [Lieutenant-]Colonel Pratt of Her Majesty's 23rd was thrown across the Chowka above Byramghat and directed to march up the Mullapore

Doab.

Brigadier Eveleigh's column which had been directed on Fyzabad was ordered to halt at Gonda.

[Major-General] Sir H[ope] Grant's force marched from Secrora towards Bulrampore on the day of our arrival at Secrora for the purpose of assisting Brigadier Rowcroft's advance on Toolseepore and driving the rebels beyond the British frontier.

The latter † officer had advanced from Bustee with orders to cross

† Light Field Battery, M. A.  
Naval Brigade.  
Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry.  
Detachment, Madras Cavalry.  
Her Majesty's 13th Light Infantry.  
Regiment of Ferozepore.  
Wing, 27th Madras Infantry.

the river Raptée at the north-east corner of the Gorukhpore District, and advanced on Toolseepore after one or two affairs with the rebels. Toolseepore was occupied by Brigadier Rowcroft on 23rd December.

and afterwards joined by 1st Punjab Cavalry.

A detachment, 1st Sikh Infantry, with a heavy battery and one company, 53rd Regiment, was detached from Bulrampore to Bhinga by [Major-]General [Sir Hope] Grant for the purpose of constructing a bridge across the Raptée. General Grant afterwards joined Brigadier Rowcroft at Toolseepore.

There are two roads from Secrora to Buracch, one up the left bank of the Chotta Surjoo, the other *via* Hissampore up the right bank, crossing the Chotta Surjoo at Painah ghat (ten miles from Secrora)

near Hissampore. It runs by Rowaree, Barbutpore and Telea. The ford is 3m. 3f. in the deepest place and has a sound sandy bottom. The banks are low on both sides; laden camels can cross. The Chotta Surjoo is a narrow deep running sluggish stream, and only fordable here and there.

On the 15th Lord Clyde marched to Kurmoola (10m. 6f.) on the road leading up the left bank of the Chotta Surjoo. The column marched across country for two miles, striking the road (which runs direct from Colonelgunge bazar) near Bursalutpore. Passed Byrageeke-Poorwah at 2m. 5½f., Ubhura at 3m. 5½f., Kurmoola (3f. on left of road) at 10m. Camp three-fourth mile beyond village. Our left flank was within three-fourth mile of Chotta Surjoo. Road low, and bad in wet weather.

On 16th marched to beyond Premdas-ke-kotee 11m. 1f. It rained during the night, and the march was put off until 10 A.M., as the tents were wet. Road good at this season of the year. It runs parallel with the Chotta Surjoo to Buraech, keeping at a distance of one or two miles from it. A few small hamlets only are passed near the road up to Premdas-ke-kotee at 9m. 7½f. Our camp was pitched some distance beyond the latter village. Our left flank rested on the Chotta Surjoo, and a swamp covered our left front. Two or three small poorwahs [or hamlets] were dotted here and there in front of, and within the limits of, our camp. The country as we advance becomes less cultivated and more of a cattle country.

There is said to be a good ford across the Chotta Surjoo at a village called Bursouna on the south-west of Premdas-ke-kotee. Its depth is from 2 feet 6 inches to 2 feet 9 inches with a sound bottom. Another ford is reported at a village named Simree, one-and-three-fourth kos higher up than our camp. It is shallower than that at Burswana at Jubdee. One-and-a-half kos above Simree there is a third ford better and with less water than the other two. It is said that a man can cross it without wetting his "dhotee."

Pukerpore is four kos from our camp.

On the 17th the Commander-in-Chief reached Buraech (10m. 5½f.). Road ill-defined, but over a country with hardly any obstacles. Water rills on it during the rains.

Passed a village named Kutgurree at about one-and-a-half miles. A small narrow nulla called "Sonk" is forded at 6m. 4f. Encamped on hard open ground by the old cantonment between the town and Chotta Surjoo. A few rebels, ignorant of our approach, were killed in the



town. It had been vacated on the previous day by the bulk of them. Rain commenced at 8 A.M., and lasted a great portion of the day.

During the cold weather the road taken by Commander-in-Chief from Secrora to Buraech is preferable to the one leading up the right bank of the Chotta Surjoo, as two crossings of that nuddee are avoided. At one mile east of the town of Buraech the Chotta Surjoo divides into two streams, the branch leading to the north retains its old name, the other goes under the name of the Gundoura Satee. It takes a bend to the eastward, passing close to the town on its northern side, and afterwards skirts the jungle lying between Buraech and Nunparah, and taking its rise in some swamps north of Intaha. The Chotta Surjoo is the deeper, but both are fordable in places.

The town of Buraech is concealed from view as you approach it from Secrora by groves of mango and other trees. Before reaching the town, the ground is rugged, and there are several mounds or old brick kilns which conceal the town until you are close to it. Groves of trees extend round on the east of the town for above a mile. The tomb of Syad Salar, nephew of the great Mahomed Ghuznee, is situated amidst the trees on the left hand side of the Bhinga road, about one mile from the town. It is a great place of pilgrimage both for Mahomedans and Hindoos. The town is open on the north and west sides. It covers a considerable extent of ground, but the houses are scattered and detached with small courtyards and walled gardens. The population does not, I imagine, exceed 3,000 or 4,000 souls. It may be entered at any point and has no wall or means of defence.

The rebels are said to be awaiting us at Nunparah; it is also reported that a small body of them remains above Bournee on the River Surjoo. Heavy rain fell during the night of the 17th which flooded the camp in places. Halted on 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22nd.

\* Troop, Bengal Horse Artillery.  
Heavy Field Battery.  
Detachment, Hodson's Horse.  
Company, Royal Engineers.  
Company, Madras Sappers.  
Wing, Her Majesty's 80th.  
5th Punjab Infantry.  
Kumaon Battalion.

Four guns, Bengal Horse Artillery.  
50 Carabineers.  
Detachment, Hodson's Horse.  
Detachment, Oudh Police Cavalry.  
Company, Madras Sappers.  
Two companies, Her Majesty's 20th.  
Wing, Her Majesty's 80th.  
5th Punjab Infantry.

On 21st Lieutenant-Colonel Christie arrived in camp with force as per margin.\* On the following day he was detached † to Oorohee near the left bank of the Surjoo with orders to move parallel with Commander-in-Chief and to prevent any rebels from doubling round our left flank and crossing the Surjoo into the Mullapore Doab.

- \* Two guns, Bengal Horse Artillery.
- Two squadrons, Police Cavalry.
- Kumaon Battalion.
- Regiment, Oudh Police Infantry.
- Detachment of Eurasian regiments.

Force as per margin \* was left at Buraech.

- The Commander-in-Chief † marched to Deodutpore near Intaha on 23rd (fifteen miles). The Gundour or Satee Nuddee is crossed by a ford at 1m, depth 2 feet 9 inches with a hard sandy bottom over which our heavy guns passed with great ease. A wide expanse of grassy plain now lay before us covered with herds of cattle.
- † Troop, Royal Horse Artillery.
  - Heavy Field Battery, Royal Artillery.
  - Company, Royal Engineers.
  - Squadron, Carabineers.
  - 7th Hussars.
  - One squadron, Madras Cavalry.
  - One squadron, Oudh Police Cavalry.
  - 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.
  - 8th Company, Her Majesty's 20th Regiment.
  - Baluch Battalion.

Sohurwah passed at 4m.  $\frac{1}{2}$ f., Begumpore at 5m.  $\frac{3}{4}$ f., Tipraha (a bamboo fort) at 7m. 6f. It is surrounded by a double fence of tall bamboos and ditch, and is impenetrable save by the entrance on the north-east corner. Country all round it perfectly open. The interior space is overgrown with jungle. Orders were given for its destruction. Shunkerpore passed at 12m. 4f. Intaha is on the left bank of the Gondoura Nuddee, which is here about 4 feet 6 inches in depth. Encamped near the nuddee on good ground in front of the village of Deodutpore.

The enemy were reported to be posted [at] Churdah and Burgediah and to have abandoned Nunparah. Guns heard in the direction of the River Surjoo, which afterwards proved to be from Colonel Christie's column, which had a skirmish with the enemy.

It rained heavily during the night of the 23rd and on the 24th.

On the 25th the tents were too saturated to pack, and the road was slippery. Christmas day was therefore celebrated in camp. The snowy peaks of the Himalayas appeared close to us, and shone brightly in the morning sun.

On 26th marched to Burgediah 21m. 5f. The road was fair and the country open. Chundel is passed at 5m. The ground between it and the belt of jungle on the south side of Nunparah, which is entered on 8m. 7f., is low. The belt runs from east to west, and is 1m. 2f. in width. The infantry of the advance guard was brought to the front and a portion of it thrown into skirmishing order. The cavalry took its place in rear. On emerging from the jungle, Nunparah is visible at a short distance in front of you. It is passed at 11m. 1f. It is a large straggling village, but was almost deserted. A mud fort on the north-east of the town is in bad repair. The ground on the north of the town is a swamp in wet weather, and now covered with coarse rushes. The place is said to be very unhealthy in the hot weather and rains.



A scout brought in intelligence that the enemy were in force near Burgediah. The column was halted and the baggage allowed to close up. Meanwhile the men breakfasted and the horses were watered. A cavalry picket was thrown out on the Churdah and Burgediah road. After resting a couple of hours, the column was again put in motion and the baggage cleared up completely on the reverse flank.

From Nunparah two tracks lead to Burgediah and Churdah. The most direct road skirts the west side of the swamp and runs by Bhooliah. The road taken by Lord Clyde skirts the east side of it, passing Tansea at 12m. 6f, Seesowrah at 13m. 6f, Likhaia at 15m. 5f, Nowagunge at 16m. 6f. At the 18th mile we sighted the enemy's pickets, which fell back slowly towards their main body drawn up in front of a village on our left front.

The column was halted for a few minutes while Lord Clyde was reconnoitring. The afternoon was far advanced. A disposition of the troops was at once made for action.

Four guns, Royal Horse Artillery, with the 7th Hussars on the left, and a squadron of 6th Madras Cavalry on the right, were formed in advance. The rest of the force formed up on its left rear, viz., 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade, on the right, two guns, Royal Horse Artillery, Baluch Battalion, Heavy Field Battery, eight companies, Her Majesty's 20th, a squadron of Carabineers. The 1st Punjab Cavalry which arrived on the field (after having made forced marches from Toolseepore) after the affair had commenced, formed up, one squadron on the right of the Rifles, and two squadrons on the left of the Carabineers. Skirmishers were thrown out in front of the line, which was directed on the village held by the enemy.

The Commander-in-Chief advanced to the front at a canter with four Horse Artillery guns, the 7th Hussars, and a squadron of Madras Cavalry. On approaching within range of their guns, he took ground suddenly to his right for several hundred yards, and when opposite their extreme left, he again advanced to his front up to within 600 yards and brought his guns into action. The effect of this manœuvre was instantaneous; the enemy's flank was turned, and they broke in disorder across the plain towards Burgediah and Churdah. The pursuit was carried on until dark. All their guns (six in number) fell into our hands. Lord Clyde had a serious fall and dislocated his shoulder. Our loss was little or nothing. We encamped after dark round the fort of Burgediah. The enemy probably numbered 4,000 men.

At 10 A.M. on the morning of the 27th, the Commander-in-Chief marched on the fort of Musjidiah which was about six miles distant in a north-west direction. A large portion of the rebels had fled towards it on the previous day.

Our route lay across fields up to the fourth mile, when we struck a cart track leading to the fort. Passed Ramnaggur at 1m. and Thunnaie at 2m. 1f. At 4m. 3f. we passed through a belt of jungle about 300 yards in breadth, from the far side of which the fort of Musjidiah was visible at about 1,500 yards distant. The fort was occupied.

The heavy guns were ordered up. One 8-inch howitzer and one 24-pounder were taken by a circuitous path into the jungle on the east side of the fort and placed in a sheltered position ready to open fire within 350 yards of the fort; a strong guard of infantry accompanied them. Two 8-inch mortars were placed simultaneously at a distance of about 800 yards on the south-west of the fort; our flanks were covered by cavalry and field artillery. The rifle skirmishers approached to within 300 yards of the works and kept up a deadly fire on the embrasures and defences. The mortars and heavy guns fired for about three hours. The enemy's guns gradually ceased to reply. A soldier crept stealthily up to the ditch, and reported the place abandoned. The enemy had escaped into the almost impenetrable jungle at the back of the fort, leaving their guns, ammunition, and grain in our hands.

The enceinte of the fort of Musjidiah is of small extent compared with the forts in Byswarrah, but it was considered by the engineers the most complete and strongest fort we had seen in Oudh: a very formidable abattis of thorn wood was firmly planted round the outside of the ditch. Our camp was pitched on cultivated ground, out of shot, while the bombardment of the fort was going on. The soldiers, with the exception of an adequate garrison, were all in camp before sunset.

Halted on 28th.

Fifty men of the 1st Punjab Cavalry with a wing of the Baluch Battalion having been left to destroy the Fort of Musjidiah, the Commander-in-Chief marched on 29th back again to Nunparah, as he considered that he would at that place be in a more central and advantageous position to watch the enemy's movements.

Our route to Nunparah was more direct than our advance, passing 2 or 3 miles to the westward of Burgediah. Our march lay across a



country which offered no obstacles to the movement of artillery. Passed Busteegaon at 4m., Ganga Poorwah at 1m. 7½f., an insignificant nullah with a few inches of water at 2m. 7f. The ground there rose gradually for about half a mile. Buktom is passed on the right of the road on the high ground, Golal Poorwah at 4m. 2½f., Hutmuhra at 6m., Bechoo Poorwah at 6m. 7½f. The last three miles of the country is low, and near Nunparah, swampy. Nunparah lies almost due south from Musjidiah.

Lieutenant-Colonel Christie's column which had been moving parallel with us was ordered to continue its advance northward on Durmapore and Pudnaha and to clear the country of rebels up to the Gurwa river. He reached Pudnaha on 31st December.

Lieutenant-Colonel Pratt's column which had marched up the Mullapoor Doab from Byramghat crossed the river Surjoo at Khyseeghat near Mullapoor and was ordered to move on Nunparah.

A portion \* of Brigadier Troup's column under Colonel Dennis had  
 \* Two guns Bengal Horse Artillery. been thrown across the Chouka and  
 Detachment Irregular Cavalry.  
 Her Majesty's 60th Rifles. Dour rivers with orders to sweep the  
 country up to the Khyseegurh jungles.

On the 29th the Commander-in-Chief halted. A squadron, 1st Punjab Cavalry, proceeded from camp to join Colonel Gordon's column at Binga.

During the afternoon of the 30th intelligence was brought in by  
 † Four troops, Royal Horse Artillery. our scouts that the rebels had collected  
 7th Hussars. in force near Bunkee. The troops †  
 One squadron, Carabineers. were ordered to parade without bugle  
 6th Madras Cavalry. sound at 8 P.M., leaving their camp  
 (This squadron lost its way at starting standing. A wing of Her Majesty's  
 and did not join us till the following 20th Regiment and the heavy field  
 day.) battery were left to hold Nunparah.  
 1st Punjab Cavalry (two squadrons.)  
 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.  
 Three companies, Her Majesty's 20th  
 Wing, Baluch Battalion.

As many elephants as could be collected were taken to carry the infantry.

The night was pitch dark. A lantern fastened to a howdah on the back of an elephant moved at the head of the column, and served to guide the troops. Passed Bhoolaia at 4m. 2f., Burgediah at 8m., Jumaniah at 8m. 6f., Doobda at 9m. 7f., Boopaidiah at 12m. 3f., Tung Pusree at 13m. 4½f., Jyspoor at 13m. 6f., Gosaigaon at 15m. ½f. At about 3 A.M., when within two or three miles of the enemy's supposed position a halt was ordered until daybreak. Soon after dawn the column moved on, and after going about two-and-a-half miles the enemy's videttes appeared in sight, and beyond them the rebels in force. They were posted within about three-fourths of a mile of a belt of jungle

which runs almost parallel with and about three miles distant from the river Raptée. Their position was well chosen, inasmuch as their close proximity to the forest enabled them to retire from the field without the chance of their being closely pressed by our guns and cavalry. As we afterwards ascertained, there were two roads through the forest, about a mile apart, leading towards the Raptée and the Pass into the Soonar valley in Nepal. The enemy's right rested on one road and their left on the other.

Our cavalry and horse artillery were formed up rapidly to the front. One squadron of the Carabineers and one squadron, 1st Punjab Cavalry, on the right; on the left the 7th Hussars and one squadron, 1st Punjab Cavalry; a troop of Royal Horse Artillery in the centre.

The rebels were about two miles distant, but in about seven or eight minutes the steady pace with which our advance was made over rough ground brought us within range. After a few shots the rebels turned and fled. Two guns with the 7th Hussars and one squadron, 1st Punjab Cavalry, followed those who retired by the road leading into the jungle in rear of their right. Four guns, one squadron of Carabineers, and one squadron, 1st Punjab Cavalry, pursued those who fled by the road in rear of their left. The enemy gained the jungle leaving two guns behind them in the open plain. On reaching the jungle they brought a gun into action, around which some of their sharpshooters rallied. This gun, concealed amidst the trees, was well handled, and it was deemed advisable to retire our guns and cavalry out of grape range until the infantry came up.

The two guns and cavalry on our left joined the rest of the cavalry on the right. Three companies of Rifles were thrown into skirmishing order and entered the wood. The gun was abandoned and fell into our hands. The rest of the Rifles, with a wing of the Baluch Battalion, pressed on in pursuit through the forest followed by a troop, Horse Artillery, 7th Hussars, one squadron, Carabineers, and two squadrons, 1st Punjab Cavalry. On emerging from the jungle (which was a mile in breadth) the rebels held some rising ground about 800 yards ahead of us, on the opposite side of a deeply-embedded nullah, as well as the wood on the right of the rising ground. The Rifles were at once formed on the left with skirmishers throughout and advanced briskly towards the wood. The horse artillery and cavalry crossed the nuddee by a difficult ford a few hundred yards lower down. Two only of the guns were able to cross. As the cavalry crossed, they were formed up in squadrons. On ascending the rising ground the enemy's cavalry and infantry were



seen slowly retiring along the edge of the forest towards the Raptee. A squadron, 1st Punjab Cavalry, supported by three squadrons of Hussars, charged straight down towards the Raptee in the direction of a lower ford for which some of the rebels were making. The last squadron of Hussars which came up was directed on the main body of the enemy on the edge of the wood, and orders were sent at once for the other three squadrons of the regiment to change their direction and support the single squadrons. As the three supporting squadrons swept along the banks of the Raptee, six guns opened fire on them from the jungle on the opposite side and ploughed up the ground between the squadrons for 400 or 500 yards. The pace was good, and they ran the gauntlet without sustaining loss. The leading squadron was 600 yards in advance, and drove 400 or 500 of the enemy's cavalry headlong across the Raptee. Several were sabred before they reached the river, and a number were drowned and killed in the Raptee. One officer and two men of the Hussars were drowned. Four guns were taken during the day, and two others were found abandoned in the forest on the following day.

The camp and baggage came up from Nunparah to Bunkee on the following day. Our troops retired to camp in the evening after a long and fatiguing march.

Halted on 1st and 2nd. On the latter day the bodies of Major Horne, of the 7th Hussars, and of two other men were recovered from the Raptee, and buried in camp.

On the 3rd we changed ground by moving forward half a mile.

\* Fifty men 1st Punjab Cavalry.  
Wing, Baluch Battalion.

The detachment \* left to destroy the fort of Musjidiah returned to camp.

Fourth January at 2 A.M., the detachment Her Majesty's 20th and Heavy Field Battery arrived in camp from Nunparah, Lieutenant-† Squadron, 1st Sikh Cavalry. Colonel Pratt's column † having Two guns, Light Field Battery. occupied that place. Lieutenant-Colonel Christie's column having made a round by Pudnaha joined camp during the day.

Information had reached us that the rebels were encamped in the Sonar valley between the first and second ranges of hills. A reference, it is understood, has been made to Government for permission to enter Nepal.

On the morning of the 5th marched to the right bank of the Raptee (5m, 6f.) where the camp was pitched near Sidhimia Ghat (the site of the

action of the 31st). The position was more favourable for watching the pass into Nepal. The trees for several yards on each side of the road leading through the belt of the forest were cut down, and the banks of the deeply-embedded naddee which we crossed during the day of the action were made easier of access. Our camp was in a most picturesque spot facing the hills, the slopes of whose lower range were clothed with splendid forest trees.

There are two fords across the Raptee near Sidhinia Ghat: one near the village, and the other above one-and-a-quarter miles higher up the river beyond the bend. The higher one is called Buksur Ghat. Both are good for guns, the depth of neither exceeding 2f. 9in., with a sound bottom of pebbles. The water is clear, running in alternate streams and pools.

Our left flank was thrown back facing a dense forest, our front faced the hills, and our right was also thrown back facing the open ground down the Raptee. The road by the gorge of the Raptee into Nepal is said to be one of the most accessible roads into that country.

On the 7th the Nawab of Furrakhabad and Mehudee Hussein gave themselves up as prisoners to the civil officer in camp. The former was sent off towards Lucknow on the same afternoon with a wing of Her Majesty's 80th Foot.

As before stated Major-General Sir Hope Grant joined Brigadier Rowcroft at Toolseepoor. The rebels under Bala Rao had endeavoured to get round his right flank\* into the Gorukhpore District. Brigadier Taylor was left at Toolseepoor, and Sir H. Grant with his cavalry and with Brigadier Rowcroft's force made forced marches towards the east by Simree for the purpose of preventing the rebels from getting to the eastward. He then moved towards Kumda Kote close to the hills, where he attacked the enemy on 4th January and captured fifteen guns.

\* One squadron, Carabineers.  
 " " Madras Cavalry.  
 " " Hodson's Horse.  
 Troop Royal Horse Artillery.  
 Heavy Battery.  
 One company, Royal Engineers.  
 " " Madras Sappers.  
 20th Regiment.  
 Wing Baluch Battalion.

† Four guns, Bengal Horse Artillery.  
 7th Hussars.  
 Two squadrons, 1st Punjab Cavalry.  
 3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.  
 5th Punjab Infantry.  
 Wing Baluch Battalion.

The rebels had now been driven from the province of Oudh, and the presence of the Commander-in-Chief on the frontier being no longer required, he commenced his march\* on the 8th towards Lucknow. Brigadier Horsford was left in command of the troops† to watch the pass into Nepal.



Jumnuha, 9m. 2f., on 8th January, Rajapore between Nunparah and Intaha, 17m. 2f., on 9th January. Good encamping ground; well water rather scarce. Tyburjoth, two miles short of Buraech, 18m. 1½f., on 10th January, Chundel passed at 1m. 4f., Deodutpore at 6m. 7½f., Intaha almost opposite it, Shunkerpore 9m. 1f., Tipraha 13m. 6½f., Raepoora 15m. 4f., Goolouherea 16m. 3f. Camp on excellent ground with water close at hand. Major-General Sir Hope Grant had ridden over from Bhinga to have an interview with Commander-in-Chief.

11th, a halt.

12th, Pukerpoor, 14m. 2f. Forded Gondour nuddee close to the town of Buraech at 2m. The town of Buraech [was] passed on our left. At 4m. forded the Chota Surjoo near the old cantonment. Ford sounded, but nearly three feet deep. A small nullah at 5m. 1f., another at 9m. ½f., camp on south of the village. No villages are passed near the road, but here and there hamlets are seen. Road good. As you approach Pukerpoor country becomes well wooded. Pukerpoor is a very large village.

Company, Royal Engineers.  
Heavy Field Battery.  
20th Foot.

The force as per margin left us at  
Buraech, and marched towards Gonda.

13th, Hissampore 12m. 4f., passed Beeheepore at 2m. 4f., Sirdparah at 3m., Tensah at 7m., Musjid at 9m. 3f., Pooramie at 10m. 3f., crossed Joongree Nuddee at 12m. 2f. Ford 2f. 9-inches in depth, with a sound bottom. Approaches require repair. The abovenamed nuddee has run on the right of the road for about four miles. Road passes on west of Hissampore. Excellent encamping ground on banks of nuddee. Hissampore is a small old straggling town, apparently half in ruins. Byramghat 13m. 1f., 14th January. Road good and country very fertile. Passed Hazeepore at 2m. 4f., Burhoulee at 4m. 5f., Kurrai Nuddee (dry) at 6m. 2f., Oopudhee at 7m. 1f., Nawabgunje (a large village) at 11m. 5f. From village to bridge-of-boats there is a mile of sand; good encamping ground on river's right bank; a dry nuddee half mile on this side of river. Mussowlee 13m. 2f., 15th. Surthurra 14m., 16th. Passed Nawabgunje at 8m. 4f., Lucknow (Delaram) 12m. 3f., 17th. Chinbut passed at 5m. 6f.

Halted at Lucknow until 1st March, from thence the camp marched by Cawnpore, Mynporee, Agra, Aligarh, Delhi, Umballa to Kalka, where it arrived on 25th April 1859 [*en route to Simla*].

(Signed) G. ALLGOOD,

*Offg. Qrmr.-Genl. of the Army.*





## APPENDIX F.

REPORTS ON THE ENGINEERING OPERATIONS AT THE SIEGE OF LUCKNOW,  
IN MARCH 1858, BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR R. NAPIER, K.C.B., COLONEL  
HARNESS, C.B., AND LIEUTENANT-COLONEL LENNOX, ROYAL ENGINEERS.

*Report from the Chief Engineer, now Major-General Sir R. Napier,  
K.C.B., to the Chief of the Staff.*

*La Martinière, 31st March 1858.*

Sir,

I have the honour to submit a report of the Engineer operations at the siege of Lucknow, accompanied by a map, and also a report by Colonel Harness, commanding the Royal Engineers, of the operations in detail which were conducted under his immediate directions by officers of the corps under his command.

The City of Lucknow stretches in an irregular form on the right bank of the Goomtee, for a length from east to west of nearly five miles, and an extreme width at the west side of one-and-a-half miles; the east side diminishes in width to less than one mile.

2. Two bridges, one of iron and the other of masonry, span the Goomtee, leading the traffic of the country from the north of the Goomtee into the heart of the city.

A canal of deep and rugged section, enclosing the city on the east and south sides, bears away to the south-west, leaving the approach to the west side of the city open, but intersected with ravines; towards the north-east, where the canal joins the Goomtee, its banks are naturally shelving and passable.

The city is too extensive to be commanded by any single point, and has no such predominant feature as would imperatively direct the attack.

The important positions are:—

1. The Kaiser Bagh (A) or Royal Palace, about 400 yards square, containing several tombs and ranges of buildings; not originally fortified, but strengthened since the last occupation of the Residency by British troops.

2. The Ferhad Bux (*B*), and adjoining palaces, occupied by the British troops under Outram and Havelock.

3. The Residency (*C*).

4. The ruins of the ancient fort, called the Muchee Bowun (*E*), commanding the masonry bridge, and situated on the south side of it.

5. A series of strong buildings; the Jaminia Bagh (*F*), the Shesh Mahal\* (*G*) and Ali Nukki Khan's House (*H*), extending to the west along the right bank of the river, and more or less surrounded by streets and houses.

6. The Imambarah and a range of palaces (*I*), stretching from the Kaiser Bagh eastwards towards the canal.

7. A mile-and-a-half west of Ali Nukki Khan's House lies the Moosah Bagh (*K*), a walled enclosure and country house.

8. On the east side of the city beyond the canal stands the Martiniere (*L*), a fine range of buildings.

9. On the brow of a table land overlooking the Martiniere and the eastern suburbs is the Dilkoosha House.

In recommending the east side for attack, I was guided by the following reasons :—

The west side presents a great breadth of dense and almost impenetrable city, resting on the strong buildings on the river bank. After overcoming these obstacles, there would have remained the Kaiser Bagh, with the enemy's principal defences still to be reduced.

The east side offered—1st, the smallest front, and was therefore the more easily enveloped by our attack; 2ndly, ground for planting our artillery, which was wanting on the west side; and 3rdly, it gave also the shortest approach to the Kaiser Bagh (the Royal Garden), a place to which the rebels attached the greatest importance; more than all, we knew the east side and were little acquainted with the west.

The enemy, profiting by experience, had strengthened their defences by works exhibiting prodigious labour. Sir Colin Campbell's former route across the canal, where its banks shelved, was intercepted by a new line of canal of very formidable section, flanked by strong bastions. This line of defence was continued up the canal beyond the Char Bagh Bridge † (*M*), more or less complete, and the banks of the canal, as before noted, were scarped and impassable.

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\* These buildings are to the west of the Muchee Bowun and are shown in the plan opposite to page 38, Volume IX, of the Professional Papers of the Corps of Royal Engineers. New Series.

† The Char Bagh Bridge is about 3,000 yards to the west of the Dilkoosha Bridge.



A strong battery for three guns, resting against a mass of buildings (*N*), called the Huzrut Gunj, supported the outer line, at the junction of three main roads.

A second line of bastioned rampart and parapet rested with its right on the Imambarah (*O*), a strong and lofty building; thence embracing the Mess House (*P*), it joined the river bank near the Motee Mahal (*R*).

A third line covered the front of the Kaiser Bagh (*S*).

The enemy were represented to have about 100 guns, a report which was doubted, but has proved quite true.

The bastions on the outer line of defence were not fully armed; the enemy seemed waiting to ascertain our real point of attack, before bringing forward their guns.

All the main streets were also commanded by bastions and barricades, and every building of importance, besides being loopholed, had an outer work protecting its entrance.

It was ascertained, as one part of the city after another fell into our hands, that it had been the intention of the enemy to offer a very determined resistance, even after their outer lines should be taken. Houses far in the depths of the commercial parts of the city were found carefully defended with mud walls and parapets, several mounting guns; and in addition to vast quantities of gunpowder found lying in large buildings, almost every house had its own small supply.

MEANS FOR THE ATTACK.—Ordnance.

Naval Brigade.

Guns	...	...	...	8-in.	...	6
Ditto	...	...	...	24 pdrs.	...	8
Howitzers	...	...	...	8-in.	...	2

Artillery.

Guns	...	...	...	24-pdrs.	...	8
Ditto	...	...	...	18 "	...	8
Howitzers	...	...	...	10-in.	...	4
Ditto	...	...	...	8 "	...	1
Mortars	...	...	...	...	...	43

A complete Engineer Park, with materials for two cask bridges, calculated to bear the heaviest ordnance.

Having in my possession a very accurate survey of part of the city and its environs, by the late Lieutenant Moorsom, of Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, and being aided by the excellent information received from the Intelligence Department, attached to Major-General Sir James

Ontram, G.C.B., I was enabled at a very early period of the operations to determine which side of the city offered the greatest facility to our attack.

Formidable as the defences thrown up by the enemy on the eastern side of the city were described to be, it still appeared most evident that they were in reality obstacles less difficult to be overcome than the heavy and dense portions of the city to the west; and I would add here that though I hardly gave full credit to the native statements as regards the sections and extent of the enemy's works, yet it has proved on inspection that the intelligence given me was remarkably good and clear.

The side of attack being fixed, the two next steps of primary importance were, after taking up a position in the Dilkoosha Park, to bring a direct fire on those points in the enemy's fortifications in rear of the canal, the fire from which would affect the line by which we should cross them, and to enfilade those fortifications from the left bank of the Goomtee.

These two operations being completed, and the first line of fortifications in our possession, the next step was to establish ourselves at Banks's House and the *D* Bungalows (*DD*) and from that position to reduce the Begum's Palace (*T*).

A glance at the map will show that this palace is the extreme point of a line of strong buildings, which extend to the walls of the Kaiser Bagh, and secured us a covered way for our safe but irresistible progress into the heart of the enemy's position, turning successfully their second and third lines of fortifications, and avoiding entirely the fire of their artillery.

The elevated gateways and roofs of these buildings, commanding the ground on either flank, would give us the choice of positions for establishing our batteries to bombard the Kaiser Bagh and other parts of the town.

Should the fall of the Kaiser Bagh not entail the abandonment of the city by the enemy, the successive reduction of their strong positions on the banks of the river would be necessary.

Much importance was attached to vertical fire, for which the ample provision of 43 mortars was made in the siege train.

The interval which elapsed between the arrival of the Engineer Establishment at Alum Bagh and the commencement of the attack was most valuable, and was profitably employed in preparing a large supply



of gabions and fascines, and proving and perfecting the cask bridges ; also in practising the department in the rapid construction of batteries, field powder magazines, &c., &c.

Six guns forming Battery No. 1 *L* had been placed in front of the Dilkoosha, to protect the camp, to keep down the fire of the enemy's batteries in their first line of fortification, and check two or three guns that the enemy had advanced to the northern angle of the Martiniere.

The first operation of the siege was the construction of two bridges of casks over the Goomtee, below the Dilkoosha House, on the night of the 4th and morning of the 5th March. The officers of Engineers employed were :—Major Nicholson and Lieutenants Wynne, Pritchard, and Swetenham, Royal Engineers, and Lieutenant Smyth, Bengal Engineers.

On the 6th, General Outram's Division crossed to the left bank of the Goomtee, and encamped on the Fyzabad Road.

On the 7th, it was supplied with the following ordnance for the siege operations on the left bank : four 24-pounders, four 18-pounders, four 8-inch howitzers, ten 8-inch mortars, to which were added five 10-inch mortars by order of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

On the 8th, the enemy's fortifications were reconnoitred from the left bank of the Goomtee by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, accompanied by the Chief Engineer Captain Taylor, and Major Nicholson, R.E. During the night a battery for ten guns, *en barbette*, No. 1 *R* was constructed at the Kokral Bridge, to command the

Major Nicholson, R.E.  
Lieutenant Watson, R.E.  
Lieutenant Swetenham, R.E.  
Lieutenant Nuthall, Punjab Pioneers.

enemy's position near the Race Stand, and opened fire at daybreak on the 9th. On the same day General Outram, after defeating the enemy,

occupied the whole of the left bank as far as the Badshah Bagh, and established Battery No. 2 *R* of twelve guns to enfilade the enemy's first line of fortifications. No cover was required. The enemy made no reply, and abandoned their defences.

During the night of the 8th, Batteries 2 *L* and 3 *L*, the former of four guns, to batter the Martiniere, and the latter of four guns, to silence the enemy's right batteries, were prepared and opened fire early on the 9th.

Two guns of the Naval Brigade were placed under natural cover, to fire on the Martiniere in flank and reverse. After a sever

Captain Lennox, R.E.  
 Lieutenant Pritchard, R.E.  
 Lieutenant Malcolm, R.E.  
 Lieutenant Lang, B.E.  
 Lieutenant Forbes, R.E.  
 Lieutenant Thackeray, B.E.

Late in the afternoon the first line of fortifications having been abandoned by the enemy, was seized by the 42nd Highlanders and Wyld's Sikhs, forming the advance of General Lugard's Division. Our troops penetrated as far as the bridge on the Martiniere Road, and secured themselves in a strong position for the night.

Early on the morning of the 10th, Battery No. 4 *L* for four guns, one howitzer, and three 8-inch mortars, was established, with little labour, under natural cover, to breach and shell Banks's House, which was taken the same morning.

In the right attack, Battery No. 3 *R* for four 24-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, and five 8-inch mortars was constructed near the Badshah Bagh to fire upon the Kaiser Bagh.

Thus, on the morning of the 10th, the enemy's first and most formidable line of fortifications had been completely taken possession of. In the left attack, Battery No. 5 *L* for four guns and eight mortars was constructed near Banks's House to breach and bombard the Begum's Palace. In addition to this, two guns (one 8-inch gun and one 8-inch howitzer) of the Naval Brigade, and six 5½-inch mortars, were placed in position in the *D* Bungalows, their fire being also directed against the Begum's Palace and the bastion in front of Huzrut Gunj.

These batteries were erected and the guns brought up with such energy that they opened fire very soon after Banks's House was in our possession.

Communications were made between the *D* Bungalows and Banks's House.

On the right attack, roadways for guns were made through the Badshah Bagh; and the Dilaram House (*U*) was seized, and fortified under a heavy fire from the Chutter Munzil.

Lieutenant Beaumont, R.E.  
 Hon'ble A. Fraser, B.N.L., attached to  
 Engineer Brigade.  
 Lieutenant Lang, B.E.  
 Lieutenant Forbes, B.E.

Captain Taylor, B.E.  
 Lieutenant Greathed, B.E.  
 Lieutenant Brownlow, B.E.

Lieutenant Greathed, B.E.  
 Lieutenant Brownlow, B.E.

Lieutenant Gulliver, B.E.

Major Nicholson, R.E.  
 Lieutenant Wynne, R.E.



During the night, a Battery, No. 4 *R* of four 24-pounders and two 8-inch howitzers, and five mortars, was erected in front of the garden of the Badshah Bagh, and opened fire at daybreak on Kaiser Bagh.

The fire from our batteries, which had been continued all night, having made two practicable breaches in the compound wall of the Begum's Palace, and severely shelled the interior, it was taken by assault at 3-30 P.M.

The European Barracks and Kuddum Russool were also occupied on the morning of this day.

A breast-work was thrown up during the night for two guns to fire at the enemy's bastion in their second line of fortifications, which commanded the road leading past the Begum's Palace from Banks's House.

A serai on the right of this road had been taken at the same time as the Begum's Palace.

A Battery, No. 5 *R* for two 24-pounders, was thrown up on the north side of the iron bridge, to subdue the enemy's fire from the opposite side of the bridge, and command the stone bridge.

On the morning of the 12th, the attacking force on the left then held a strong position in the Begum's Palace, the European Barracks, the Kuddum Russool, the Secundur Bagh, and the Shah Nujef, whilst the right attack was in position from the iron bridge to the Badshah Bagh.

Openings were made during the night into Jaffir Ali's compound, (V), and a serai on the right of the road was occupied in advance of the one taken the preceding evening, together with a mosque overlooking it.

Four 8-inch mortars were moved into this serai, (W), and two 8-inch mortars placed in position in its rear, also five 10-inch mortars placed in the serai taken on the 11th instant, the fire from all being directed on the Imambarah and buildings between us and the Kaiser Bagh.

In the right attack a Battery, No. 6 *R*, for four 8-inch guns, was erected in front of the Badshah Bagh to fire on the Residency, and on the buildings extending to the Kaiser Bagh.

Another Battery, No. 7 *R*, for two 24-pounders, was erected on the left of the iron bridge to subdue the fire from the opposite side of the river.

At daybreak of the 13th, the house and compound called Jerar-o-Dowlah's, in advance of Jaffir Ali's, was taken possession of, an entrance having been cut through solid masonry during the night.

A Battery, No. 13, *L*, was formed within 70 yards of the Imambarah, and in Jerar-o-Dowlah's compound, for two guns (one 8-inch, one 24-pounder) to breach the outer wall of the Imambarah. The guns were placed in position in the afternoon, and by evening had effectually breached the outer wall and partly breached the inner.

In the right attack, four 8-inch mortars were added to the armament on the right front of the Badshah Bagh this day, of—

10—8-inch mortars.

4—10 do. do.

4—24-pounders.

2—10-inch howitzers.

And on the city from the iron bridge batteries—

3—24-pounders.

1—8-inch howitzer.

On the left we had—

5—10-inch mortars.

9—8 do. do.

4—5½ do. do.

directed on the Imambarah and the Kaiser Bagh with the intermediate buildings.

On the 14th March, a heavy fire having been kept up all night on the breaches until 9 A.M. of this day, the breaches into the Imambarah were deemed practicable, and accordingly the building was assaulted and taken at 10 A.M. without much opposition from the enemy.

The troops following up this assault by an advance along the road towards the Kaiser Bagh, obtained possession of an outer courtyard of the palace itself, and the Engineer officers and men were busily employed for the remainder of this day in securing this portion of the Kaiser Bagh, and the Mess House, Motee Mahal, and Tara Kotee, all of which buildings were found deserted by the enemy.

Colonel Harness, R.E.

Captain Lennox, R.E.

Lieutenant Greathed, B.E.

Lieutenant Beaumont, R.E.

Lieutenant Lang, B.E.

Lieutenant Brownlow, B.E.

Lieutenant Medley, B.E.

Ensign Ogilvy, Madras Native Infantry,  
attached to Madras Sappers.



On the right attack we held the same position as yesterday, our batteries principally directing their fire on the Residency and other buildings in advance of the Chutter Munzil.

The 15th found us in possession of all the principal buildings up to the Chutter Munzil between the city and the Goomtee, and of a secure lodgment in the Kaiser Bagh.

Engineering operations were immediately directed to assist the troops through the remainder of the various courtyards of the palace, to complete our communications with the rear, and to clear away such parts of the enemy's works as impeded free and practicable communications between the different posts.

On the morning of the 16th, General Sir James Outram, G.C.B.,  
 Lieutenant Hutchinson, B.E. crossed the Goomtee by the bridge  
 Lieutenant Scratchley, R.E. of casks and drove the enemy from  
 Lieutenant Brownlow, B.E. the Residency and iron bridge, and  
 Lieutenant Champain, B.E. later in the day seized the Muchee  
 Lieutenant Smyth, B.E. Bowun, stone bridge and Imambarah.  
 Lieutenant Nuthall, Punjab Pioneers.  
 Lieutenant Knowles, Punjab Pioneers.  
 Mr. May, C.E.

Six 8-inch mortars were immediately placed in position in the Imambarah, and maintained a steady bombardment on the enemy's position in the city throughout the night; two naval guns and five 10-inch mortars were also posted at the Residency, and kept up a steady fire upon the city during the night of the 16th and morning of the 17th.

From this time all siege operations ceased, though parties of the enemy still clung to the streets of the city and suburbs, and were not dislodged till several days afterwards.

I have no precise information concerning the proceedings of the force of His Highness Jung Bahadoor, which acted on the opposite border of the city at too great a distance for its effects to be visible from our line of attack.

On the 17th of March, by desire of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the Goorka picquets were extended from the Char Bagh Bridge down the Cawnpore Road, to connect with those of the British regiments in the Kaiser Bagh which had advanced half-way between the two points.

The Char Bagh Bridge was repaired by order of General McGregor, material being furnished for the purpose by the Engineer Park, and communication along the Cawnpore Road was completely opened.

It is now my gratifying duty to recommend to the notice of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief the gallantry and exertions of my brother officers and soldiers of the Royal and the Hon'ble East India Company's Engineers.

To Colonel Harness, Commanding the Royal Engineers, I am very greatly indebted for his arrangements for reducing the Imambarah, for his energetic exertions and gallantry in securing the Kaiser Bagh, after it had been carried by a small advanced party of our troops, and for his very cordial co-operation and assistance on all occasions.

Major Nicholson, R.E., conducted most satisfactorily, and with great energy and judgment, all siege operations on the left bank of the Goomtee with the division under Sir James Outram.

To Major A. Taylor, Commanding Bengal Engineers, I am deeply obliged for his invaluable services and energy in the preparation of the Engineer Park, in which nothing we required was wanting, for his great energy in the arrangements for attacking Banks's House and the Begum's Palace, in which latter operation he was unfortunately wounded, and for his most valuable assistance in all the duties of the siege.

Captain W. O. Lennox, R.E., conducted the columns in the attack on the Martiniere, and was actively employed in securing the Begum's Palace, and in all the subsequent operations, which led to the capture of the Kaiser Bagh, and is especially and honourably mentioned by Colonel Harness, R. E.

Lieutenant Greathed, B.E., was Directing Engineer in the attack on Banks's House, and subsequent operations, including the Kaiser Bagh: and was Field Engineer with General Outram's column at the attack of the Moosah Bagh, and is also especially and most honourably mentioned by Colonel Harness, R.E.

The following officers particularly distinguished themselves in the several attacks on the enemy, and have materially aided by their gallantry and intelligence in the reduction of the defences:—Lieutenant Beaumont, R.E., who is also most honourably mentioned by Colonel Harness, R.E.; Ensign Ogilvy, Madras Native Infantry, attached to the Madras Sappers, who was severely wounded at the capture of the Kaiser Bagh; Lieutenants Medley, Hovenden, Lang, Champain, Carnegie, of the Bengal Engineers; Lieutenant Wynne of the Royal Engineers; also Lieutenant Maunsell, B.E., Commanding Bengal Sappers and Miners; Lieutenant Gulliver, B.E., Commanding



Punjab Pioneers; Lieutenant Scott, Commanding Madras Engineers, and Lieutenant Horsford, Commanding Delhi Pioneers, who have taken their share in all active duties in addition to the command of their respective corps.

To Captain Cox, R.E., Adjutant to the Royal Engineers, to Lieutenant Humphrey, B.E., Adjutant to the Bengal Engineers; and to Lieutenant Pamberton, B.E., Director of the Engineer Park, my cordial acknowledgments are due for the very efficient manner in which they performed their important duties.

Lieutenant Hutchinson, B.E., my Major of Brigade, has been most indefatigable and zealous in the discharge of his duties, and distinguished himself particularly in the capture of the iron and stone bridges, the Muchee Bowun, and the great Imambarah.

My thanks are also due to Lieutenant Scratchley, R. E., Lieutenant Hon'ble A. Fraser, and Lieutenant Tulloch, Bengal Native Infantry, Assistant Field Engineer, my Orderly Officers, who have attended me in every operation, for their constant valuable services.

I beg to bring to the notice of the Commander-in-Chief Lieutenants Vaughan and Young, of the Royal Navy, for the courtesy and promptitude with which all my requisitions were attended to. Their guns were always to be found in the front the moment they were required. Their fire was directed with an accuracy which nothing could withstand.

To Brigadier Barker, R.A., Commanding Siege Artillery, and to Colonel Maberly, R.A., and to Major Carlton, B.A., I am deeply indebted for their cordial assistance.

I have deeply to lament the loss of Captain Clerke, a valuable officer, and of fourteen men of the Royal Engineers, who were destroyed by an accidental explosion of gunpowder, which they were removing; also of Lieutenant Brownlow, B.E., whose gallantry and indefatigable exertions from the commencement of the siege have been most conspicuous, and gave every promise of a distinguished career.

As it is impossible, within the limits of a despatch, to mention individually every officer deserving of notice, I must commend to His Excellency's favourable consideration the valuable services of the officers whose names are not particularly mentioned, and men of the Royal and Hon'ble East India Company's Engineers.

It would be a great injustice were I to omit my obligation to Captain Orr and Captain Weston, in charge of the Intelligence

Department of General Outram's Force, for their very accurate information about the enemy's works, and also to Canoge Lal and Pooran, through whom the information was procured.

During the operations in the city, Pooran has attended me constantly as a guide, and from his intimate acquaintance with it has been extremely useful.

I subjoin a list of the officers and men of the Engineer Brigade present at the siege, together with a return of casualties.

I cannot conclude this report without remarking that in nine days' operations the enemy have been completely driven from a series of strongly defended positions extending over seven miles of city and suburbs; and though they had prepared for the most desperate resistance, their opposition was crushed by the irresistible power of artillery directed against them from all quarters, for which they were not prepared.

(Signed) R. NAPIER, *Brigadier,*  
*Commanding Engineer Brigade.*

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*Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel H. D. HARNES, Commanding Royal Engineers, to Brigadier R. NAPIER, Bengal Engineers, Commanding Engineer Brigade,—Dated Kaiser Bagh, Lucknow, 19th March 1858.*

In compliance with your request I have to report that the siege operations in which the Royal Engineers under my command have been engaged may be considered to have commenced on the night of the 4th-5th instant, when the 4th Company and a detachment of twenty men from the 23rd Company of Royal Engineers were employed under the direction of Major Nicholson, R.E., in making two cask bridges, close together, across the Goomtee. Each was intended to be 102 feet in length, and the remainder of the width of the river was to be traversed by an embankment formed from the left bank by native labourers attached to the force. One of these bridges was completed by the morning of the 5th, but the number of casks and extent of superstructure being insufficient to span the space between the right bank and as much of the embankment as could be completed during the night, only one communication could be effected, which was done by making the barrel portion about 135 feet in length. During the day of the 5th, embankments of sufficient length were formed, and



two bridges completed in accordance with the original design, by the native Sappers and Miners under their proper officers. Cover for men and guns to protect the bridge was formed on the left bank, by a working party of the line under the direction of Captain Lennox, R.E.

On the 6th instant, the 4th Company, Royal Engineers, was detached from the Engineer Brigade to join Sir James Outram, who crossed the Goomtee the same day with the 1st Division. Major Nicholson's report of the works performed by his company, while so detached, is forwarded herewith, and I must request your particular attention to the praise he bestows on Lieutenant Wynne, R.E., for his conduct on the 14th instant.

On the evening of the 6th instant, in consequence of an order given to me by His Excellency, and reported to you by me, I ordered Lieutenant Harrison, R.E., to inspect and report upon the road between the camp of the Commander-in-Chief, near the Dilkoosha, and that formed by Sir James Outram. His report was forwarded to you by me on the morning of the 7th instant.

On the 7th, Captain Lennox, with the men of the Royal Engineers available for work, was employed in moving the lower of the two bridges established on the 6th instant, about a mile lower down the river, which work he completed during the afternoon, and the portion of siege train attached to Sir James Outram passed over it.

On the 8th instant, the upper bridge of casks was removed by Captain Lennox from its first position to within a short distance of the new position of the lower bridge.

On the afternoon of the 9th instant, Captain Lennox, R.E., with Lieutenants Malcolm and Pritchard, all three having been present with the former advance of the Commander-in-Chief on Lucknow, and therefore acquainted with the Martiniere, were ordered to accompany the column appointed to assault that building; and in the evening, after that building had been carried, and it was observed from it that the enemy had abandoned a large portion of the entrenchment in its rear, Lieutenant Beaumont was directed to attend the officer ordered to occupy the abandoned portion during the night; and Captain Lennox remained in the Martiniere with General Lugard, by whose division that building, and the entrenchment referred to, had been carried.

During the night of the 9th and 10th, Captain Clerke and Lieutenant Harrison, R.E., were employed with the 23rd Company and

a large party of natives, in moving the upper bridge of casks from the place down the stream to which it had been moved on the 8th instant, to that part of the river on which the enemy had closed the left of the entrenchment taken by us the preceding evening.

On the 11th instant, Major Nicholson having reported that Lieutenant Swetenham had been wounded, and that he much needed another officer, Lieutenant Malcolm was detached to his assistance.

The same day, being ordered to repair the bridge across the canal near Banks's House, Captain Clerke, R.E., was directed to execute that service, assisted by Lieutenant Pritchard, R.E. The space to be spanned was 36 feet in width, and twenty-one hours were occupied in repairing it by about fifty men of the 23rd Company. In the afternoon of this day the garden wall of the Begum's Palace, the entrenchment in front of it, and the serai on the opposite side of the road, having been breached by guns in battery near Banks's House, and the intention to assault by three columns having been communicated to me, I requested you to permit me to detail an officer for one of the columns of assault, which being assented to, I named Captain Cox, R.E., and it was arranged, in order that he might not supersede the subaltern officers already appointed to the columns, that he should accompany the column to which Major Taylor, who was to be the Directing Engineer of the assault, intended to attach himself.

This was done, but Major Taylor being unfortunately wounded during the operation, Captain Cox became the senior officer with the party within the captured premises, and was, as such, placed by me in communication with the Brigadier Commanding the troops by which the assault was effected.

During the evening I received an order from you to remain in the captured buildings, and since that period I retained, by your desire, the principal direction of the operations which terminated in the capture of the Kaiser Bagh on the 15th instant. During the night of the 11th-12th, the obstacles to a free communication within the premises of the Begum's Palace and with the public roads were removed and an epaulment thrown up to protect a communication across the road, between the palace and the serai, and to serve also as a parapet to two guns to oppose the enemy's works which enfiladed the road. And during the day of the 12th, two openings were effected through the wall separating the Begum's property from Jaffir Ali's, whose house was then occupied without resistance; and a small serai, in advance of that captured on



the preceding evening, was also occupied without resistance, together with a mosque contiguous to and overlooking it. Some 8-inch mortars were moved into the small advanced serai, and some placed in rear of it, also some 10-inch mortars in the larger but more retired serai, with directions to shell that part of the city immediately in our front, extending to and including the Kaiser Bagh.

In the night of the 12th-13th, an opening was made through the wall between Jaffir Ali's and Jerar-o-Dowlah's premises; and in the morning the latter were occupied without resistance. But as it was found at daylight that the musquetry of the Imambarah could bear on the opening that had been made in the front wall of Jaffir Ali's property, a new opening was made through it into a row of sheds at right angles to it, by the destruction of the cross walls of which a perfectly covered route for the guns was obtained: they were placed in battery that afternoon within about 70 yards of the wall of the outer court of the Imambarah, and had completely breached the outer walls and partially breached the inner wall before dark, one 8-inch gun and one 24-pounder being employed for the purpose.

During the night of the 13th-14th, the outer breach was examined and found to be very easy of ascent; it was also intended to have examined a trench which it was observed the enemy had formed across the road on our left, to flank the outer wall of the Imambarah, but the enemy discovered the attempt and wounded the Sikh soldier, who, together with one of the Sikh officers, was accompanying the Engineer officer. Fire was maintained upon the breach during the night, every two discharges of round shot being followed by a shell and a round of grape; and at daylight the breaches were considered so far advanced that arrangements were made for the assault.

A party of 100 Sikhs were to form the storming party, and to be followed by the native Sappers with powder bags under Lieutenant Brownlow, of the Bengal Engineers, and 32 men of the 23rd Company under Captain Clerke, R.E., with scaling ladders and crowbars, axes, &c., these to be followed by 200 Infantry, after whom were to advance 50 native Sappers with ladders and tools, under Lieutenants Medley and Lang, and a native working party under Lieutenants Scott, Fraser, and Burton, with tools and materials for any cover or entrenchment that might be found necessary; and the whole of Brigadier Russell's Brigade was to be retained in readiness to support the assault.

It had been observed that between the trench, which the enemy had made across the road, and the breach, there was a door in the outer wall of the Imambarah, and it was reported that there was a corresponding door opposite to it which would lead into the principal building. Arrangements were therefore made for a party of 25 men to advance against the trench, followed by the officer, with powder bags to blow in this outer door, at the same time that the storming party moved forward; and Lieutenant Brownlow was directed, on passing the first breach, to turn to his left, and blow in the opposite door, if he found one.

Lieutenant Beaumont, R.E., was ordered by me to be prepared to blow in the outer door, and his attention being thus directed to that part of the enemy's works, he found reason to believe that the trench on our left was in connection with a house on our side of the road between our front and the Imambarah, and that if manned when we proceeded to the assault, it would be from that house. He therefore asked permission to be allowed to work his way through the few earthen walls between us and the house referred to, and with the aid of Major Brasyer and a few of his men, to blow in the wall of the house and expel the enemy. This permission was given to him by me with the approval of Brigadier Russell, on the understanding that he would return and report the result, or if his proceedings were not complete before the breach was, that I should recall him to carry out the original plan of blowing in the door. He succeeded in driving the enemy from the house, and then proceeded to blow in the outer wall of the Imambarah, which being successfully executed, the Sikhs with him rushed in at the moment that the storming party had been ordered to their arms.

The unexpected entry of the Sikhs through the opening made by Lieutenant Beaumont checked resistance, and the assaulting columns passed the breaches without difficulty, and were able to seize, as rapidly as openings could be made for them, the enclosure of the King's coachman's, and King's brother's houses. The roofs of the latter, looking down on the Kaiser Bagh, offered a good position for our new front, and having succeeded in collecting about 100 men in each of the two buildings which compose the King's brother's residence, I recommended Brigadier Russell to stop the further advance, and obtain firm possession of the ground we had passed over. The Sikh Regiment, however, persisted in pressing forward, and made their way into the



courts of the Kaiser Bagh, followed by many of the troops who had taken part in the advance. As soon as practicable, therefore, an opening was formed from the Chena Bazar into the court where the two large tombs are situated (the place recommended by Mr. Kavanagh, whose local knowledge at this moment was valuable), and small detachments of men who had not lost their order were placed in commanding buildings, *viz.*, in the larger tomb, one of the detached buildings in the principal court, and the gateway in the centre of the north-west side of that court. Soon after a party of about sixty men of the 10th Regiment was marched round the great square in order, halting occasionally as they passed the south-east and south-west sides, from which some fire was maintained by the enemy, and sending a section in to search the buildings. At two or more points large numbers were seen by the parties thus sent in, endeavouring to escape; and in these instances more were sent in and ordered to fire from the roofs. No doubt many of the enemy were thus killed.

During the afternoon and evening, as troops came up, they were quartered in the buildings, and the return of the enemy in force was prevented by their presence, though casualties continued to occur until late.

Much gunpowder was found by the men who searched the buildings, and Lieutenant Beaumont, who accompanied the party, was employed in destroying such portions as appeared most in danger from the fires then burning in three parts of the square.

On the 15th instant, the whole day, and all the available working men were employed in merely checking fires, and in destroying gunpowder.

I have thus related, to the best of my recollection, the events which took place under my notice from the 4th to the 15th instant, and have only to report to you that every officer under my command, whose name I have mentioned in this report, conducted himself with zeal and intelligence, and that all deserve your approbation.

But I must particularly record the very high opinion which these operations have enabled me to form of Captain Lennox, R.E., and Lieutenant Greathed, B.E.

I must also praise most highly the intelligence and zeal of Lieutenant Beaumont, R.E., though I do not approve of his having blown in the outer wall of the Imambarah before he had reported progress and obtained instructions.

I annex the report addressed to me by Lieutenant Greathed of the proceedings adopted for the occupation of the Tara Kotee on the 14th instant.

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*MEMORANDA relating to the siege of Lucknow in March, 1858, more especially with reference to the distribution of the Royal Engineers during the operations. Compiled in 1860, from notes of different officers, by Lieutenant-Colonel LENNOX, R. E.*

2nd March.—The siege of Lucknow may be considered to have commenced on the 2nd March 1858, when the Commander-in-Chief advanced from Buntara and marching through the camp at the Alumbagh, gained possession, with trifling loss, of the buildings of the Dilkoosha, and encamped on the east side of the city in the Dilkoosha Park, which touches the right bank of the River Goomtee.

3rd March.—On the morning of the 3rd March the Engineer Brigade and some more of the force joined the Commander-in-Chief from the Alumbagh, where, however, some troops were still left. The Engineer Brigade and Park were established in the gardens at Bibiapore, where the Commander-in-Chief subsequently fixed his head-quarters.

During the day some native Sappers threw up a breast-work for two guns in front of the Dilkoosha House: Lieutenant Pritchard, R.E., and 30 men of the 23rd Company, Royal Engineers, during the night extended this work into a battery (No. 1, *L*) for four guns to keep down the fire of the enemy's batteries in their first line of works, and to check that of two or three guns which they had advanced to the northern angle of the Martiniere. Strong picquets were posted in the garden of the Dilkoosha and in the Mahomed Bagh.\*

A ford across the Goomtee was staked out; and some Delhi Pioneers were employed in preparing the banks of the river for the formation of bridges of casks: these parties were protected by a covering party of the 4th Company, Royal Engineers.

4th March.—On the 4th March a force under Major-General Franks joined: this force, which consisted of Her Majesty's 10th, 20th, and 97th Regiments, five battalions of Goorkhas, and some artillery, had marched towards Lucknow from the south-east.

At sunset two barrel-pier bridges were commenced under the direction of Major Nicholson, R.E., the party employed consisted of Lieutenants Wynne and Swetenham, four sergeants and 106

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\* At enclosure 1,400 yards to the south of Banks's House.



men, Royal Engineers; and Lieutenants Tennant and Smyth, B.E., with 120 Native Sappers. Each bridge was intended to be 102 feet in length, and the remainder of the width of the river was to be traversed by embankments extending from the left bank. One communication was effected during the night, by using 135 feet of barrel piers for its bridge. Captain Lennox, R.E., was Directing Engineer at the Dilkoosha House; Lieutenant Pritchard, 1 sergeant, and 33 men of the 23rd Company, Royal Engineers, were employed in improving the battery (No. 1, *L*) in front of the Dilkoosha House during the first portion of the night, and subsequently they were sent to reinforce the party making the bridges.

5th March.—Early in the morning of the 5th March the enemy brought out a horse battery to annoy the working party at the bridges, but it was soon driven off by the two guns with the covering party.

During the day the causeways were continued from the left bank, and both the bridges were completed in accordance with the original design: a party of one sergeant and ten men, Royal Engineers, remained on duty at them to keep them in order.

A *tête-de-pont*, a battery for four guns on some mounds to the north-west of the bridge, and an infantry trench, to connect the battery with the *tête-de-pont*, were thrown up on the left bank of the Goomtee, under the direction of Captain Lennox, R.E., by a working party of 200 men of Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment; Lieutenant Keith and eleven men of the 4th Company, Royal Engineers (relieved at 10 P.M. by a similar party of the 23rd Company under Lieutenant Malcolm, R.E.), were employed on these works, which were finished during the night.

Lieutenant Harrison, R.E., 1 corporal and 8 Sappers of the 23rd Company, Royal Engineers, constructed a shot-proof parapet on the advanced tower of the Mahomed Bagh this evening.

6th March.—At 2 A.M., on the 6th March, a force of about 7,000 of all arms, under Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., commenced crossing the Goomtee by the two barrel bridges: it consisted of the 3rd Infantry Division, 14 Squadrons, 3 Troops of Horse Artillery, 2 Field Batteries, the 4th Company of Royal Engineers, with Lieutenants Wynne, Swetenham, and Keith, R.E., Lieutenant Watson, B.E., and 200 of the 15th Punjaub Native Infantry (Pioneers) under Lieutenant Hovenden, B.E., and Ensign Nuthall: the Engineer force was under the command of Major-Nicholson, R.E., who conducted all the siege operations on the left bank of the Goomtee.

Sir James Outram, after crossing the river, inclined slightly to the eastward, and clearing the country and villages as he proceeded, he established his camp on the great road from Fyzabad to Lucknow : strong picquets were posted to keep up the communication between the two camps. Lieutenant Harrison, R.E., was sent to inspect and report on the road with a view to the movement of the heavy artillery.

Captain Lennox, R.E., with 2 sergeants and 53 men of the 23rd Company, Royal Engineers, dismantled the lower bridge during the night, preparatory to removing it lower down the river to a spot where it could not be seen by the enemy occupying the Martiniere.

7th March.—The enemy made an attack upon Sir James Outram's position this morning, but was repulsed.

The lower bridge was moved down stream to a point near Bibiapore, where the bridge was again formed by a party under Captain Lennox, R.E.

Lieutenant Swetenham, R.E., with 20 men of 4th Company, Royal Engineers, and 60 Muzbee Sappers, prepared the road for the heavy artillery between the two camps, as pointed out by Lieutenant Harrison, R.E. The siege train for the operations on the left bank crossed the river this evening by the lower bridge and joined Major-General Outram's camp.

8th March.—On the 8th a party of 1 sergeant and 32 men, Royal Engineers, under Captain Lennox, R.E., moved the upper barrel bridge lower down the river.

A party of native Sappers under Lieutenant D. Ward, B.E., made a battery (No. 2, *L*), near the Dilkoosha Park for six guns, to bear on the Martiniere.

A battery (No. 3, *L*), for four guns, was also thrown up on the right front of the Mohamed Bagh, to fire on the Martiniere, by Lieutenant Fulford, B.E., and a party of Muzbee Sappers.

On the right attack during the night a battery for 10 guns *en barbette* (No. 1, *R*) was constructed at the Kokral Bridge to command the enemy's position near the Race Stand.

9th March.—A heavy fire was kept up from all the batteries including those made last night.

Sir James Outram stormed the Race Stand, and carrying all before him, occupied the whole of the left bank of the river as far as the



Badshah Bagh and the Hazari Bagh. He immediately established a battery (No. 2, *R*) of 12 guns, no artificial cover being required, to enfilade the enemy's first line of works.

A battery for 4 guns was thrown up to the east of the Race Stand at *Y*, to fire on the Shah Nujjef and the Motee Mahal.

Lieutenant Beaumont, R.E., was Directing Engineer at the Dilkoosha Park this morning. Two guns of the Naval Brigade were placed under natural cover in advance of the Dilkoosha at (*Z*), to fire on the Martiniere in flank and reverse.

About 2 P.M., after a heavy cannonade, the Martiniere was taken with little resistance by Hope's Brigade. Captain Lennox, R.E., was the Directing Engineer in this attack, and remained on duty with Major-General Lugard's Division that night; the following parties were with the columns: Lieutenants Malcolm and Pritchard, R.E., 2 corporals, and 6 men of the 23rd Company, Royal Engineers; Lieutenants Lang, Forbes, and Thackeray, B.E., with 200 Muzbee Sappers. Communications were immediately made across the numerous trenches that had been dug by the rebels around the Martiniere: the outer wall of the Martiniere Garden was loopholed; the village to the north-west of the Martiniere was occupied and prepared for defence, as also was the village of Jea Mhow, on the other side of the canal, the banks of which at that spot are sloping. Late in the evening the 42nd Highlanders and Wyld's Sikhs advanced and occupied a part of the enemy's first line, which had been evacuated on account of the enfilade fire from the guns on the right attack. Lieutenant Beaumont, R.E., was directed to remain with the force occupying the left, and Lieutenant Thackeray, B.E., with that occupying the right of the abandoned line: these officers loopholed buildings where necessary, and otherwise secured the advanced position, which extended from the river nearly up to the bridge on the Martiniere road. Lieutenant Lang, B.E., with 200 Muzbee Sappers, was employed in making a road through the first line of works: he was relieved at 11 P.M., by Lieutenant Judge, B.E., and Ensign Nuthall with 100 Muzbee Sappers and 200 Delhi Pioneers.

The upper bridge of casks was moved up entire to a point above the enemy's first line of works by Captain A. J. Clerke, R.E., Lieutenant R. Harrison, R.E., Lieutenant Champain, B.E., and Ensign

E. C. Garstin, 29th Native Infantry, and a strong body of Royal Engineers, Native Sappers and Pioneers. This operation occupied 17 hours, and was completed by 7 A.M. on the 10th March.

10th March.—At daylight two horse artillery guns joined the left advanced party, moving in by the road made during the night.

Early this day a battery (No. 4, *L*) for four guns, one howitzer, three 8-inch mortars, and some rockets, was established at the end of the Martiniere Park: advantage was taken of some natural cover, and the guns were soon playing upon Banks's House, the garden wall of which was breached early, when it was taken by the 42nd and Wyld's Sikhs, who also gained possession of the houses on the other side of the road as far as No. 3, *D* Bungalow. Lieutenant Greathed, B.E., was the Directing Engineer in this attack; Lieutenants Beaumont, R.E., and Brownlow, B.E., accompanied the storming parties. The Karabola was also occupied about the same time. Thus on the morning of the 10th March the enemy's first and most formidable line of works had been completely taken.

Natural cover on the right of Banks's House was converted into a battery (No. 5, *L*) for four guns and eight mortars to shell and breach the Begum's Palace. Places were also prepared among the *D* Bungalows for two 8-inch naval guns (Battery No. 7, *L*) to batter the bastion in front of the Huzrut Gunj and for six 5½-inch mortars (Battery No. 8, *L*).

Communications were at the same time made between Banks's House and the *D* Bungalows, and also to the rear.

These batteries (under Lieutenants Greathed and E. Brownlow, B.E.) and communications (under Lieutenant Gulliver, B.E.) were very expeditiously made under the superintendence of Captain A. Taylor, B.E., and the guns were brought across the ditch and opened fire soon after Banks's House was in our possession.

On the right attack the following works were made under the superintendence of Major Nicholson, R.E.

A battery (No. 3, *R*) for four 24-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, and five 8-inch mortars, was formed on the left of the Badshah Bagh to counterbatter the batteries between it and the Kaiser Bagh, and to fire on the palace itself: this battery opened fire during the day.

Roadways were made through the Badshah Bagh.

The Dilaram House was seized, and fortified under a heavy fire from the Chutter Munzil, by a party under Lieutenant Wynne, R.E.



During the night a battery (No. 4, *R*) for four 24-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, and five mortars, was thrown up in front of the Badshah Bagh to fire on the Kaiser Bagh: this battery opened fire on the morning of the 11th.

11th March.—Captain Clerke, R.E., with Lieutenant Pritchard, 3 sergeants, and 48 men of the 23rd Company, Royal Engineers, was employed in repairing the bridge across the canal near Banks's House.

The European Barracks, the Secundra Bagh, the Kuddum Russool, and the Shah Najjef were taken possession of this morning by parties conducted by Lieutenants Medley, Lang, and Carnegie, B.E. The enemy were just about to occupy the Secundra Bagh when our troops moved up.

Two 8-inch naval guns were put in position (at No. 9, *L*) in rear of the garden wall of No. 3, *D* Bungalow: these guns were intended to breach the wall of the loopholed serai on the opposite side of the road to the Begum's Kotee, which they succeeded in doing through two kutchra garden walls which intervened.

The fire from the batteries had been kept up all night, and had made two practicable breaches in the compound wall of the Begum's Palace, and in the entrenchment and palisade defences in front of it. The assault was given at 3½ p.m. by three columns, two against the Begum's Palace, and one against the loopholed serai opposite to it. Captain Taylor, B.E., who had the general arrangement of the attack, accompanied the left column, to which Captain Cox, R.E., Lieutenant Scratchley, R.E., and Lieutenant Smyth, B.E., were attached, and Lieutenants Maunsell, B.E., and Scott, M.E., led the two other columns. Parties of Royal Engineers and native Sappers with powder bags and ladders, &c., were attached to them: the assaulting columns were furnished by Hope's Brigade of Lugard's Division, and Brigadier Napier, attended by Colonel Harness, Commanding Royal Engineer, and Captain Lennox, R.E., accompanied the column: the assault was successful; in it 4 officers, and 60 or 70 men were killed and wounded, many of them by men who barricaded themselves in the dark rooms around the courts, where they could not be got at except by making holes in the roofs or blowing in the doors. Captain Taylor, B.E., having been unfortunately wounded, the securing of the position devolved on Captain Cox, R.E. Later in the evening Colonel Harness, Commanding Royal Engineer, received orders to remain

in the captured premises, and to take the principal direction of further operations. The works carried on during that night were—removing the obstacles to a free communication within the premises of the Begum's Palace and with the public road; and throwing up an epaulement to protect the communication across the road, and also to serve as a parapet for two guns (No. 10, *L*), to fire at the enemy's bastion in the second line, which enfiladed the road.

This afternoon, Maharajah Jung Bahadoor arrived with a large force of Goorkhas, and was sent round to the south side of the city: Lieutenant Sankey, Madras Engineers, was the engineer officer with His Highness's force.

Lieutenant Malcolm, R.E., was transferred to the right attack to replace Lieutenant Swetenham, R.E., who had been wounded.

Lieutenant Harrison, R.E., was sent this day to visit the right attack, and to ascertain the movements going on there. General Outram, having shifted his camp to a position close to the Race Bungalow, advanced with two columns against the northern suburbs: the first column made a great detour, surprised and cut up a large body of the enemy's cavalry, took two guns and reached the stone bridge; but the General, finding the extent of ground too great for his force, fired that part of the suburbs, and contented himself with holding the position round the iron bridge, which had been taken by the second column. His loss was about 8 officers and 40 men killed and wounded.

A battery (No. 5, *R*) for two 24-pounders was immediately commenced on the north side of the iron bridge: it was completed during the night by a party under Lieutenant Malcolm, R.E.; its object was to subdue the enemy's fire from the opposite side of the bridge and to command the stone bridge.

12th March.—On the right attack during daylight on the 12th March two batteries were thrown up under Major Nicholson's orders.

Battery (No. 6, *R*) for four 8-inch guns, to fire on the Residency and also on the buildings extending from thence to the Kaiser Bagh, was constructed on the right front of the Badshah Bagh.

Battery (No. 7, *R*) for two 24-pounder guns, was on the left of the iron bridge, and intended to subdue the fire from the opposite bank of the river.

On the left attack Captain Clerke, R.E., completed the repair of the bridge across the canal, which was commenced yesterday, with the assistance of Lieutenants Pritchard and Harrison, 3 sergeants,



and 48 men, Royal Engineers: this service occupied 21 hours, the space to be spanned being 36 feet.

Under the direction of Colonel Harness, Commanding Royal Engineer, the advance was carried steadily on: two openings were effected through the wall separating the Begum's property from an adjacent mosque and Jaffer Ali's house, which were both occupied without resistance. A small serai on the other side of the Huzrut Gunj Road, in advance of the loopholed one captured on the previous evening, was also occupied without resistance, together with a mosque contiguous to and overlooking it. Four 8-inch mortars were moved into the advanced serai, and two 8-inch mortars were placed in position in its rear; also five 10-inch mortars were moved into the loopholed serai taken on the 11th. The fire from all was directed on the Imambarah and the buildings between it and the Kaiser Bagh. The communications with the rear were also improved.

When a hole had been made through the wall between Jaffer Ali's and Jerar-o-Dowlah's gardens, the enemy opened a smart musketry fire on it, a gun was therefore brought up, and replied with grape, but the gun was withdrawn after some casualties had occurred, as it prevented the Sappers continuing to enlarge the opening, which was through solid masonry. Lieutenant Harrison, R.E., was with the working party of that corps that day.

The usual mode of pushing forward the advance, after the capture by assault of the Begum's Kotee, was as follows:—A heavy fire of shells was kept up on the buildings to be attacked, while the Engineers were employed in forming openings through the walls: holes were at first made by blasts in the walls, or by charges under them; these charges were small for fear of bringing down the upper parts of the walls, the removal of the rubbish from which would have caused additional labour and loss of time. When once holes were made through the walls, they were enlarged into practicable openings by means of crowbars, pickaxes, &c. Small parties were then moved through and secured the newly gained ground. The windows of the prominent adjacent buildings were provided with sand-bags, and the parapets and other walls loopholed; and from these positions our riflemen kept down the fire of the enemy.

13th March.—At daybreak on the 13th, possession was taken of Jerar-o-Dowlah's house and compound and a battery (No. 13, *L*) was

formed behind its advanced wall: this battery was intended to breach the little Imambarah, the outer wall of which was within 70 yards of it. Lieutenant Gulliver, B.E., was engaged in the construction of this battery.

As a great portion of Jerar-o-Dowlah's compound, and also the opening made into it last night from Jaffir Ali's compound, could be seen from the little Imambarah, a new opening was made on the right, under cover of Jerar-o-Dowlah's house, and also one on the left into a row of sheds running towards the Imambarah, by the destruction of the cross walls of which a perfectly covered route for the guns was obtained. One 8-inch gun and one 24-pounder were brought up and placed in the battery by noon, and they had breached the outer wall completely, and the inner wall partially, before dark.

Colonel Harness, Commanding Royal Engineer, examined the outer breach and found it to be easy of ascent: he also proceeded, accompanied by Lieutenant DaCosta and one of his Sikhs, to examine a trench which the enemy had formed across the road on our left, to flank the outer wall of the Imambarah, but was discovered by the enemy, who wounded the Sikh soldier in attendance.

Openings were made through the front wall of Jerar-o-Dowlah's compound to the right and left of the battery (No. 13, *L*), and the buildings were taken possession of as far as the road next to the Imambarah. A battery (No. 14, *L*) was also made this night for two guns to breach a white serai on the right of the Hazrut Gunj road and for five mortars to shell the city in our front.

During this night Lieutenant Harrison, 3 sergeants, and 42 men, Royal Engineers, were employed at the upper bridge of casks.

On the right attack four 8-inch mortars were added to the amount on the right front of the Badshah Bagh. These batteries and the mortars on the left attack kept up during the night a heavy fire of shells on the little Imambarah, the Kaiser Bagh, and all the buildings between them. Fire was also maintained on the breach in the Imambarah, every two discharges of round shot being followed by a shell and a round of grape.

14th March.—At daylight on the 14th the breaches were considered so far advanced that the following arrangements were made for the assault: the storming party to consist of 100 Sikhs, to be followed by native Sappers with powder bags, under Lieutenant



Brownlow, B.E., and 32 men under Captain Clerke, R.E., with scaling ladders, crowbars, axes, &c.: these to be followed by 200 Infantry, after whom 50 native Sappers were to advance with ladders and tools, under Lieutenants Medley and Lang, B.E., and a working party of natives under Lieutenants Scott, Fraser, and Burton, M.E., with tools and materials for any cover or entrenchment that might be found necessary. The whole of Brigadier Russell's Brigade of General Franks's Division was to support the assault.

While these parties were being formed up, Lieutenant Beaumont, R.E., worked from the left of the advanced post through a few earthen walls to a house on our side of the road between our front and the Imambarah: he was accompanied by Major Brasyer and some of his Sikhs, and succeeded in blowing in the wall and driving the enemy out of the house, which proved to be in connection with the trench intended to flank the outer wall of the Imambarah. He next blew in the outer wall of the Imambarah, and the Sikhs who were with him rushed in: this unexpected entry checked resistance, and the assaulting column passed the breaches without difficulty at 9 A.M., and were able to seize, as rapidly as openings could be made for them, the enclosures of the King's coachman's and the King's brother's houses, which overlooked the Kaiser Bagh.

Here it was considered advisable to stop and obtain secure possession of the ground that had been passed over, but Brasyer's Sikhs persisted in pressing forward, and made their way into the court of the Kaiser Bagh on the left followed by many of the troops who had taken part in the advance: as soon as practicable therefore an opening was made from the Chena Bazaar into the court in which Saadut Ali's tomb stands. Small detachments of troops were placed in the commanding buildings, *viz.*, the tomb, the building at the north corner of the Kaiser Bagh, the gateway on the north-western side, and a detached building in the centre of the grand court.

Colonel Harness, R.E., shortly afterwards marched a party of 60 men of the 10th Regiment round the grand square, who systematically cleared the buildings: much gunpowder was found, and Lieutenant Beaumont, R.E., who accompanied the Colonel, destroyed such portions of it as were most in danger from the fires then burning in three parts of the square.

The Engineer officers employed in these operations were Colonel Harness, Commanding Royal Engineer, Captains Cox, Clerke, and

Lennox, R.E., Lieutenant Greathed, B.E., Lieutenant Beaumont, R.E., Lieutenant Lang, B.E., Lieutenant Brownlow, B.E., Lieutenant Medley, B.E., Ensign Ogilvy, attached to Madras Sappers (severely wounded); 3 men of the 23rd Company, Royal Engineers, were also wounded.

In the meantime the Mess House and the Motee Mahal were occupied by troops moved up from the European Barracks and the Secundra Bagh, and more troops coming up prevented the return of the enemy to the Kaiser Bagh in force, though casualties continued to occur.

Lieutenant Pritchard, R.E., was employed at the Secundra Bagh, and Lieutenant Harrison, R.E., in breaking up the upper bridge of casks and moving it up stream.

On the right attack a breast-work was thrown up by Lieutenant Wynne and a party of the 4th Company, Royal Engineers, on the iron bridge. Previously to the assault on the Imambarah the batteries directed their fire on the buildings between it and the Kaiser Bagh, but afterwards this fire was turned on the Residency and other buildings in advance of the Chutter Munzil.

15th March.—On the 15th, the whole of the Kaiser Bagh was secured, and also all the principal buildings up to the Chutter Munzil.

Battery No. 15, *L*, for six 5½-inch mortars, was established in the north-west court of the Kaiser Bagh to play on the city.

Large parties were employed in improving the communications between the different posts and with the rear, in checking fires, and in destroying the enormous quantities of gunpowder which were found in all directions. The 23rd Company, Royal Engineers, took up its quarters in the Zenana at the Kaiser Bagh.

Lieutenants Beaumont, Pritchard, and Keith, with 100 Royal Engineers, constructed a barrel-pier-bridge near the Secundra Bagh.

Lieutenant Wynne, 1 sergeant, and 9 men of the 4th Company, Royal Engineers, removed the breast-work from the iron bridge: this was a service of much danger, and the conduct of the party was highly praised by Major Nicholson, R.E.

16th March.—Douglas's Brigade was moved across from the left bank by the bridge of casks at the Secundra Bagh, and attacked and drove the enemy from the Painted House, the Residency, and the iron bridge: and later in the day seized the Muchee Bowun, the stone bridge, and the great Imambarah. These operations were directed by Brigadier Napier, B.E. the Engineer officers employed being Lieu-



tenant Hutchinson, B.E., Lieutenant Scratchley, R.E., Lieutenant Brownlow, B.E., Lieutenant Champain, B.E., Lieutenant Smyth, B.E., Ensigns Nuthall and Knowles and Mr. May, C.E. Major-General Hope Grant, with the Cavalry Division on the north, and Brigadier Campbell, with the Cavalry from the Alum Bagh, pressed out to intercept the fugitives, and the Goorkhas attacked the native city on the south.

Five 8-inch mortars were immediately placed in position in the great Imambarah: two naval guns and five 10-inch mortars were also posted in the Residency, and the whole kept up a steady fire upon the city during the night.

Colonel Harness, Commanding Royal Engineer, advanced from the Kaiser Bagh with a portion of the 97th Regiment and took possession of Philips's House and Mumtaj-o-Dowlah's. Large parties were employed on the communications, destroying powder, and putting out fires.

17th March.—On the morning of the 17th, Colonel Harness, Commanding Royal Engineer, accompanied by Captains Cox and Lennox, proceeded with the 97th Regiment, 30 men of the 23rd Company, Royal Engineers, under Lieutenant Harrison, R.E., and 50 Pioneers, under Lieutenant Scott, M.E., to open up the Cawnpore road, from the Kaiser Bagh, while three regiments of Goorkhas, accompanied by Lieutenant Sankey, M.E., and Lieutenant Murray, B.E., advanced from Alum Bagh by the same road: these columns did not meet with any resistance. The principal houses were occupied, the Char Bagh Bridge was repaired by Lieutenant Sankey, M.E., and the obstructions on the road were removed by the Engineers.

In the meantime Brigadier Napier, B.E., had conducted a portion of the 3rd Infantry Division, accompanied by Captain Clerke, Lieutenant Pritchard, and 30 men of the 23rd Company, Royal Engineers, and Lieutenants Brownlow and Lang, B.E., from the great Imambarah to clear the city in that direction. In one of the streets the enemy had left some carts containing about three tons of gunpowder: the Engineers were engaged in removing this powder and throwing it down a well when from some unexplained cause it exploded. Captain Clerke, R.E., Lieutenant Brownlow, B.E., and 14 men of the 23rd Company, Royal Engineers, died from the effects of this explosion, as also about 50 men belonging to other corps.

Lieutenant Harrison, R.E., commenced a sketch of the enemy's lines.

The 4th Company, Royal Engineers, under Major Nicholson, came in and encamped at the King's brother's house, Kaiser Bagh.

18th March.—On the 18th March a mine was discovered under the stone bridge: it was untamped: the gallery was 60 feet long and the charge consisted of 1,400 lbs. of powder which was removed and destroyed.

The officers and men of the Engineers who were blown up yesterday were buried at 2 P.M. in the garden (X) near the small mosque of the Kaiser Bagh.

The communications were improved and more of the city was occupied during the day.

19th March.—On the 19th, Lieutenant Keith and 50 men of the 4th Company, Royal Engineers, dismantled the lower bridge of casks and returned it to the park.

Major-General Outram attacked and took the Moosa Bagh; he pursued and cut up between 400 and 500 of the enemy and took 12 guns. Major Nicholson, R.E., Lieutenant Greathed, B.E., and some of the 4th Company, Royal Engineers, accompanied his force. Brigadier Campbell had been ordered to intercept fugitives with the cavalry from the south of the city.

20th March.—On the 20th the Moulvie returned with a body of men and took up a position in the city, from which he was however driven by a party of Highlanders on the 21st, from which day the whole city may be considered to have been in our possession.

21st March.—During this time large parties were employed under the Engineers in fortifying and preparing accommodation in the buildings about to be occupied as barracks, in levelling those portions of the town which interfered with their defence, in making roads through the heart of the city, and in constructing military posts at the two bridges as described in Paper V of the 9th volume of the Professional Papers.

W. O. L.



## APPENDIX G

*GENERAL ORDERS by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Fort William, 23rd December 1857.*

No. 1627 of 1857.—The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council is pleased to direct the publication of the following despatches received from Major-General Gowan, C.B., Commanding in the Upper Provinces, and Major-General Penny, C.B., Commanding at Delhi, detailing the proceedings of the columns detached from Delhi under the command of Brigadier Showers and Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed.

The Governor-General in Council has much pleasure in conveying his warm acknowledgments to Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed and the officers and men under his command for their gallant conduct and exertions on the occasions of the attacks on the insurgents at Boolundshuhur, at Malagurh, at Allyghur, and lastly at Agra, where, after a very long march, and joined by the garrison of Agra, consisting of No. 20 Light Field Battery and the 3rd European Regiment under the command of Colonel Cotton, Commandant of Agra, the column entirely routed a large force of insurgent sepoys, taking the whole of their guns, baggage, camp, &c.

The Governor-General in Council also desires to convey to Brigadier Showers, and to the officers and men under his command, the assurance of the great satisfaction with which he views their zeal and exertions in the several conflicts with the insurgents in the districts to the westward of the Jumna.

(Signed) R. J. H. BIRCH, Col.,  
Secy. to the Govt. of India,  
in the Mily. Dept.

ADJT. GENL'S OFFICE,  
CALCUTTA;  
The 29th December 1857.

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*From Major-General Sir G. E. GOWAN, Commanding in the Upper Provinces, to Major MAYHEW, Deputy Adjutant General of the Army, Calcutta,—(No. 306, dated Head-Quarters, Meerut, 6th October 1857).*

I do myself the honour of forwarding, for submission to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the Supreme Government, Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed's detailed report of his proceedings against the mutineers at Boolundshuhur on the 28th ultimo.

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*From Major-General A. WILSON, Commanding Field Force, to Major PRIOR, Assistant Adjutant-General, Lahore,—(No. 1557, dated Delhi Palace, 30th September 1857).*

In continuation of my letter No. 1550, of yesterday's date, I have the honour to forward, for submission to Major-General Gowan, C.B., Commanding in the Upper Provinces, Lieutenant-Colonel E. H. Greathed's detailed report of his proceedings against the mutineers at Boolundshuhur on the 28th instant.

I beg to bring to the favourable notice of the Major-General the several officers whose names have been particularly mentioned by Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed in his despatch.

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*From Lieutenant-Colonel E. H. GREATHED, Commanding Movable Column, to Captain STEWART, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Delhi,—(dated Boolundshuhur, 29th September 1857).*

In continuation of my report of yesterday's date, I have the honour to report to you, for the information of the Major-General Commanding, that on my arrival at Boolundshuhur with the main column yesterday morning, I received a report that the enemy occupied a strong position at the fork of two roads behind a breast-work, in which two guns were at first said to be posted. It appeared afterwards there were six, of which two were 9-pounders. I immediately sent Her Majesty's 8th and two guns as a reinforcement to those already in advance. I afterwards brought up Captain Bouchier's Light Field Battery, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, and the 2nd Punjaub Infantry, leaving Major Turner, H. A., in command of the reserve, consisting of one troop of Horse Artillery, 4th Punjaub Infantry, and the 2nd Punjaub Cavalry.

The action was maintained on the part of the enemy's guns with great spirit for a very considerable time, notwithstanding the admirable practice of Captain Bouchier's battery on the right and the cross-fire



from Captain Remington's guns on the left road. I had in the meantime pushed forward in the centre between the guns, which were supported by cavalry and infantry, and in advance of the position first occupied by Major Ouvry, as mentioned in that officer's report, and also on the right of Captain Bouchier's battery, in the centre Her Majesty's 75th, and on the right Her Majesty's 8th and the 2nd Punjaub Infantry, with directions to clear the strong positions held by the rebels. This duty was well performed by the 8th under Captain Hinde, the 75th under Major Gordon, and the 2nd Punjaub Infantry under Captain Green. Seeing that the flanks were protected, I ordered Captain Bouchier to advance, which he did at a gallop. At the same time Her Majesty's 75th cleared the enclosures in the centre, and advanced with a cheer, and the rebels deserted their entrenchments, leaving one 9-pounder in our hands.

The cavalry then advanced by the two roads at a gallop, and I have the honour to refer you, for the particulars of the conduct of both artillery and cavalry, to the reports of Major Turner and Major Ouvry. During the action the enemy's cavalry menaced both my flanks in considerable numbers, but was uniformly driven off with considerable loss. After I had cleared the town, I encamped on the other side of the bridge, over the Kalee Nuddee, on the Anoopshuhur road, with the intention of marching to Malagurh this morning. In the afternoon intelligence was brought to me that the fort had been completely evacuated and that Walee Dad had fled to Anoopshuhur.

I sent over 50 sowars immediately to take possession of his fort, which I visited this morning, and made arrangements for its immediate destruction : these will be completed to-morrow, and as soon as I have made arrangements for my wounded, I shall march towards Anoopshuhur.

I have the honour to request that you will draw the favourable consideration of the Major-General to the reports of Major Turner and Major Ouvry, and to the mention they have made of the officers and soldiers mentioned in them. When all did their duty entirely, it is difficult and invidious to draw distinctions ; but I must be permitted to express my best thanks to Major Turner for the uniform assistance and kind counsel he has afforded me on every occasion. The conduct of Captain Bouchier and his officers and men in the management of their battery was the subject of my admiration, as they were immediately under my own eye throughout.

The activity and judgment of Major Ouvry has been conspicuous throughout, and in the affair of yesterday he gave me the most zealous assistance in every point where he could be of service. I trust that the wound of Captain Drysdale, Commanding the 9th Lancers, whose horse was shot dead under him when most gallantly charging at the head of his regiment, will not deprive the Government of his services for any lengthened period. Every officer and man in the force appeared to forget fatigue in their determination to drive the rebels from the position they had taken in our front.

I received the most effective aid from those excellent officers, Captain Norman, Assistant Adjutant-General, and Captain Roberts, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General; also from my Brigade-Major, Captain Bannatyne, and my Orderly Officer, Lieutenant Ximenes, of the 8th Regiment.

Mr. Sapte, C.S., was kind enough to accompany me throughout and to give me much assistance.

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*From Major H. A. OUVRY, Her Majesty's 9th Lancers, Commanding Cavalry Brigade, to Lieutenant-Colonel GREATHED, Commanding Movable Column, Boolundshuhur, —(dated Camp Boolundshuhur, 28th September 1857).*

I have the honour to inform you that I preceded the column of march according to your order this morning. On my advanced guard of light cavalry arriving near the town of Boolundshuhur, it was observed to be occupied by the enemy in force, who had a breast-work across the road and guns in position.

I immediately ordered guns to the front, which advanced within five hundred yards of the breast-work. The enemy then opened with a round shot, which was replied to by our guns.

Having received most valuable information from Lieutenant Roberts, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, that there was a road on my right, by which I could take the enemy's breast-work in flank, I called a reinforcement of artillery to the front and posted them on this road, when they did excellent service.

The kutcherry, a pukka building, I also occupied with 100 infantry, who were sent to the front at my request.

At this period you having arrived on the spot with the infantry, I went to the left to take the command of the cavalry, with whom I had previously posted a division of Horse Artillery, which I ordered to open fire on the right flank of the enemy's position.

After a very hot and well-sustained fire of two hours, I observed



you advancing your infantry and guns on the enemy's left flank, driving them before you from their position.

As I also observed that they were flying on the road to Gurmucktesir Ghat, and towards Malagurh, I ordered Her Majesty's 9th Lancers to advance in pursuit, followed by the division of artillery.

The 9th Lancers charged through the city, which was shortly afterwards occupied by the infantry.

The road on the other side of the town was partially blocked up with wagons and carts, and the enemy dispersing into the khets in the open country, I ordered the cavalry to halt, and advanced two guns to the bridge over the east Kalee Nuddee.

The sepoys endeavoured to make a stand outside the city gate, but were immediately charged and dispersed by the head of the column of the 9th Lancers, who have killed a number of them, and I cannot speak too highly of the gallantry of that regiment in charging through the town under a most severe fire from the houses.

I wish to bring most particularly to your notice the services of the artillery engaged; the manner in which they brought their guns into close action, and the constancy of their fire merits special mention.

I regret to say that my loss has been very distressing, as I have been deprived of the services of four most valuable officers in the 9th Lancers, the return of which I have already had the honour to transmit to you.

The splendid conduct of the Irregular Cavalry merits the highest praise; they having killed 200 of the enemy's sowars during the action and towards its close.

I wish most particularly to bring to your notice the distinguished gallantry of Captain Drysdale, Commanding Her Majesty's 9th Royal Lancers, who sustained a fracture of the collar-bone from the fall of his horse, which was shot as he was charging the sepoys on the right of the town, after he had passed through it; also of Trumpeter and Lance-Corporal Kens and of Private Jordan, who saved him and brought him out of the *mêlée*.

The names of Lieutenant Sarel, 9th Lancers, who advanced with his squadron in pursuit by your direction, and of Lieutenant Blair, 2nd Dragoon Guards (attached to the 9th Lancers), the former severely wounded in the right hand (forefinger of right hand since amputated) and left arm, and the latter, who was most dangerously wounded in a personal conflict with one of the rebel sowars, also deserve special mention.

The names also of Captains Bouchier and Remington, of the Artillery, whose battery and troop were engaged during the whole action, as well as that of Lieutenant Cracklow, who had a division of guns employed, and whose loss must have been heavy, I desire to bring prominently to your notice.

In the Irregular Cavalry, Lieutenant Watson charged and defeated a superior force of the enemy's horse, who were advancing to attack him, driving them into the town and cutting up a great many. I regret to say that, on this occasion, Captain Best, of whose conduct Lieutenant Watson speaks very highly, received a severe sabre wound. Lieutenant Watson has also brought to my notice the services of Mr. Lyall, a civilian, who was with him during the whole action, and offered him the most valuable assistance.

The names of Lieutenants Younghusband and Gough, Commanding Irregular Corps, I also consider it my duty to bring to your notice, as having performed most gallant service during the day.

Lieutenant Probyn, with his horse, charged and defeated a body of cavalry and armed Goojers, who attacked the baggage while we were engaged with the enemy.

From Lieutenant Roberts, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, and from Lieutenant Norman, Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, I received the most valuable information and assistance, and I wish to bring them conspicuously to your notice.

To Mr. Sapte, the Collector of the district, I have to return my most sincere thanks for the assistance he afforded me through his local knowledge of the ground.

The assistance I received from my two Orderly Officers, Captain the Hon'ble A. Anson, Her Majesty's 84th Regiment, and Lieutenant Martin, of Her Majesty's 9th Lancers, during the long period of eleven hours that we were in the saddle, was most valuable and effective.

*From Major F TURNER, Commanding Artillery of Movable Column, to Captain BARNATTYNE, Major of Brigade, Movable Column,--(No. 84, dated Camp Boolundshuhur, 25th September 1857).*

I have the honour to forward the reports of the officers of artillery commanding batteries and detachments in action to-day against the rebels, also returns of casualties and ordnance expended.

Captain Remington, Commanding 1st Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery.  
 Captain Blunt, Commanding 2nd Troop, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery.  
 2nd-Lieutenant Cracklow, Commanding detachment, ditto, ditto.  
 Captain Bouchier, Commanding No. 17 Light Field Battery.

A more detailed statement of the ordnance and other ammunition captured shall be given hereafter.



Having been directed by the officer commanding the movable column to command the reserve

2nd Troop, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery.  
Her Majesty's 75th Regiment.  
4th Punjaub Infantry.  
4th Punjaub Cavalry.

(corps noted in the margin), I was not an eye-witness of the performances of the guns in action; but I

have great pleasure in pressing upon Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed's attention the very gallant conduct of Sergeant Diamond and Gunner FitzGerald of the 2nd Troop, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery, who, after the rest of their gun's crew were disabled, continued to serve it under a very heavy fire of musketry, and I trust that by Colonel Greathed, this gallant conduct, as also that of 2nd-Lieutenant Cracklow, may be brought to the notice of Major-General Wilson, Commanding Delhi Field Force, and Commandant of Artillery.

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*From Captain F. REMMINGTON, Commanding 1st Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery, to Lieutenant BUNNY, Artillery Detachment Staff, Movable Column, — (dated Camp Boolundshuhur, 28th September 1857).*

I have the honour to report, for the information of Major Turner, Commanding Artillery with the Movable Column, that after leaving the main body shortly after daybreak, with the right division of my troop under Lieutenant Murray, I proceeded up the road which was our line of march, till I came within view of a breast-work which the enemy had thrown across the road.

Two embrasures were distinctly visible, and I accordingly quickened my men till within what I considered 600 yards of the enemy. I afterwards found that it must have been about 900 yards, but I was deceived in the distance, owing to the early morning light and the avenue of trees bounding the road. The enemy opened a tolerably brisk fire from their guns, one of very small calibre; but the fire of my guns caused that of the enemy to slacken very soon, and on the arrival of my centre and left divisions under Lieutenants Manderson and Traill, the enemy's fire almost ceased. I was obliged to form these latter on the right of the road in ploughed land, and owing to the intervention of trees and gardens, it was difficult to form any correct estimate of the

effect of their fire. After expending the ammunition of the howitzer limber, and the same number of rounds from my left division, I advanced at a gallop about 400 yards nearer, and it was here I discovered how deceptive the distance had been. My new position was about 500 yards distant from the enemy's entrenchment, whence two guns still continued to fire occasional shots at us, notwithstanding I kept up a continued fire on it.

On an officer \* being sent to me to tell me to cease firing as the infantry were advancing, I lim-

\* Captain Norman.

bered up, crossed the road, and

proceeded to the left, where Captain Norman told me my presence was desirable, if possible. A vidette of Her Majesty's 9th Lancers guided me to a road, on which he told me a squadron of his regiment had proceeded with two guns. The ground was very heavy, and I could only proceed at a walk; but as soon as I got on a road, I ordered the trot and followed the line of the lancers and guns till I arrived at a place where they were halted. Shortly after a heavy fire of musketry was opened on them from a serai, at the entrance of which they were; and as they were obliged to withdraw a short distance, I formed battery to the front with my left division under Lieutenant Traill, which I placed on some high ground to the right of the road to meet contingencies.

I am happy to say the arrival of the Sikh infantry prevented the contingency I dreaded; but it was not in time to prevent serious loss to a division of Captain Blunt's troop under Lieutenant Cracklow.

The latter officer having informed me that his guns were temporarily disabled owing to casualties, I advanced through the serai, whence the enemy had by this time been dislodged, with my right division, and took up a position at the further end of the bridge on this side of the serai. As soon as the brigade made its appearance, I moved off in the direction of camp as requested by the Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General. Since my arrival in camp, two 9-pr. ammunition wagons and two carts have been brought into my park by villagers. They contain some 9lb. and 6lb. shot and a few cartridges. Accompanying are a list of casualties and a return of ammunition expended.



*From Captain C. H. BLUNT, Commanding in charge of 2nd Troop, 3rd Brigade, to Major F. TURNER, Commanding Artillery with Movable Column,—(dated Camp Boolundshukur, 28th September 1857).*

I have the honour to forward, for your information, the report I have received from Lieutenant Cracklow, who commanded two guns detached to-day from the troops under my command.

As they were the only guns actually engaged with the enemy, I need not add any further report of the proceedings of the remaining three guns of the troop.

I beg to call to your notice the high commendation which Lieutenant Cracklow has, in his report, bestowed on Sergeant Diamond and Gunner FitzGerald. This commendation has been confirmed and strengthened by several officers in Her Majesty's 9th Lancers, who were witnesses of their gallant conduct.

*From Lieutenant G. CRACKLOW, Commanding 2nd Troop, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery, to Captain C. H. BLUNT, Commanding in charge 2nd Troop, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery,—(dated Camp Boolundshukur, 27th September 1857).*

I have the honour to report, for your information, that in accordance with the orders I received, I proceeded with two guns to support the left cavalry picquet. On arriving at the picquet, the officer commanding ordered me to open a flanking fire on two guns of the enemy which were posted at the end of a road about 700 yards off. I did so, and continued firing until the guns were taken by our people.

I then accompanied the cavalry along the road, leading by the left of the city. As we were proceeding down the road, a man put his musket over a wall and shot a horse in the leading gun. Soon after this, two more horses were shot in the same team, and as no horses could be got to replace the casualties, the syces with the bad horses having disappeared as soon as the firing commenced, the gun was obliged to be left behind, and did not come into action at all. I proceeded to the front with the other guns. We advanced through the gate of a small serai, and I was ordered to take my gun through the opposite gate, and up to a bridge, which was about 200 yards in advance of the gate along the pukka road. I first advanced myself to see what was the state of affairs on the other side. I found that the enemy were advancing in considerable numbers along a wall to my right, and it was evident to me that if I advanced the gun I should

have had it disabled in a few minutes by the enemy's musketry fire in my rear, and that the gun would most probably have been taken, as there were no infantry to stand by it. I retired the gun about 40 yards to the first gate of the serai and opened fire on the enemy, who had by this time advanced to the gateway through which I had been ordered to advance the gun, and continued firing for about a quarter of an hour, after which the infantry having advanced, the enemy were driven back. As my gun was disabled, one man having been killed and four wounded, I retired, and Captain Remington's guns were ordered to relieve me.

I beg to bring to your notice the gallant conduct of Sergeant Diamond and Gunner FitzGerald. These two men, when the rest of the crew were disabled, served the gun under a heavy musketry fire; their coolness and daring elicited the admiration of all present.

I have the honour to enclose casualty rolls of the men and horses, and a return of ammunition expended.

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*From Captain G. BOUCHIER, Commanding No. 17 Battery, to Lieutenant BUNNY, Adjutant, Artillery Division,—(dated Camp Boolundshukur, 28th September 1857).*

I beg to report, for the information of Major Turner, that agreeably to his order, I proceeded to the support of the 1st Troop, 1st Brigade, formed up my battery to the right of their position, and immediately became engaged with the enemy's guns and infantry.

The fire from the enemy's battery was silenced; and supported by the infantry, I advanced along the road, took a gun (9-pr.) and as the infantry kept advancing with me, I took two of my guns at a gallop down the road to the gaol. A few rounds of grape cleared my advance, and the enemy, both cavalry and infantry, fled from the position they had occupied on my right. At the gaol our cavalry took up the pursuit, and I remained there until ordered to return to camp by the commanding officer of the force. I cannot speak too highly of the coolness and steadiness of my officers and men; and I should be doing an injustice were I not to bring to notice the assistance I obtained from Lieutenant Roberts, of the Artillery, who showed me my ground, and in rapid advance down the road first arrived at the guns we captured.

A roll of casualties and expenditure of ammunition is annexed.



*Statement of ordnance, ammunition, &c., captured from the enemy in  
action on the 28th September 1857.*

Description.	Number or quantity.	Remarks.
Ordnance, brass, 9-pr., with carriage ...	1	Serviceable; one of our own guns; no limber.
Do. iron, 11-pr., with carriage ...	1	Has been destroyed.
Carriage-ammunition, with limber, 9-pr. ...	1	Repairable.
Do. do. do. 6-pr. ...	1	Do.
Carts, artificers' ...	2	
Powder, ordnance, barrels (100 lb) ...	25	20 in barrels, about five barrels in boxes; made over to the Executive Engineer.
Cartridges, linen, fitted with 1½ lb. shot attached ...	96	Destroyed.
Shot, round, 9-pr. ...	224	96 served out to No. 17 Battery.
Do. 6-pr. ...	116	50 do. 2nd Troop, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery.
Shot, canister, 9-pr. ...	10	Served out to No. 17 Battery.
Do. 6-pr. ...	4	Do. 2nd Troop, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery.
Shells, spherical, case, 9-pr. ...	9	Served out to No. 17 Battery.
Do. do 6-pr. ...	6	Do. 2nd Troop, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery.
Caps, percussion, nine boxes ...	45,000	
Bullets, of sorts, three; small-arms; ammunition; boxes full cartridges for small-arms of sorts; four boxes full port-fires ...	100	
N. B.—In addition there was a quantity of light cartridges made over to Engineer for blasting purpose.		

(Signed) G. BOURCHIER, *Capt.,  
Comdg. No. 17 Batty.*

" F. TURNER, *Maj.,  
Comdg. Arty. Movable Column.*

BOOLUNDSHUHUR,  
The 28th September 1857.

*Nominal list of officers wounded.*

Numbers.	Rank and names.	Slightly, severely, or dangerously.	Remarks.
1	Captain W. Drysdale ...	Slightly ...	9th Lancers.
2	" H. W. Best ...	Severely ...	1st Punjab Cavalry
1	Lieutenant H. A. Farrel ...	Do. ...	9th Lancers.
2	" R. Blair ...	Dangerously ...	Ditto (2nd Dragoon Guards).
1	Cornet R. Thonger ...	Slightly ...	Ditto ditto.
1	Ensign W. Edgeworth ...	Severely ...	Her Majesty's 8th King's Regiment.

Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General Roberts' horse shot.

(Signed) E. H. G. GREATHED, *Lieut.-Col.,  
Comdg. Movable Column.*

*Return of killed and wounded of the movable column under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed in the affair of the 28th September 1857 at Camp Boolundshuhur.*

Description.	EUROPEANS.						NATIVES.						Remarks.				
	Field Officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Bergasants.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Total.	Subalterns.	Jemadars.	Headmen.	Drummers.		Cowars.	Rank and file.	Total.	Horses.
Artillery, Killed	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	
"    Wounded	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	4 Camp followers not included.
"    Missing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1 Camp follower missing.
H. M.'s 9th Lancers, Killed	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	
"    Wounded	...	...	1	3	...	...	8	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	
"    Missing *	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	
H. M.'s 75th, Killed	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
"    Wounded	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
"    Missing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
1st Punjab Cavalry, Killed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	
"    Wounded	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	2
"    Missing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	
2nd " " Killed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
"    Wounded	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
"    Missing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
5th " " Killed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	
"    Wounded	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	5	...	...	7	4	
"    Missing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	
Hodson's Horse Killed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	
"    Wounded	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2
"    Missing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
2nd Punjab Infantry, Killed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
"    Wounded	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
"    Missing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Staff, Killed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
* H. M.'s 6th Foot, Killed	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	
"    Wounded	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
"    Missing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Total of Killed	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	21	Total of officers wounded 6
"    Wounded	...	...	2	4	...	...	10	22	...	4	...	7	8	19	34		Total of European rank and file killed 6
"    Missing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	Total of European rank and file wounded 16
	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	22	...	4	...	7	8	19	68		Total of Native rank and file wounded 19

\* 21 Horses killed; 34 wounded; 2 missing.

Total 47

(Examined)  
(Signed) J. M. BANNATYNE, Capt.,  
Major of Brigade.

(Signed) E. H. GREATHED, Lieut.-Col.,  
Commanding Movable Column.



*From Major-General N. PENNY, Commanding Field Forces, to Major-General MANSFIELD, Chief of the Staff,—(No. 1610, dated Army Head-Quarters, Delhi, 20th October 1857).*

With reference to your memorandum, dated Government House, Calcutta, 22nd September 1857, transmitted to me by Colonel Wilson, Commanding at Cawnpore, I have the honour to submit the following statement of the recent proceedings of the force under my command.

As soon after the fall of Delhi as circumstances would admit, a movable column was detailed for the purpose of pursuing the main body of the rebels who had gone down the western bank of the Jumna; but before the necessary arrangements could be completed, it was ascertained that the mutineers were crossing the river, with the evident intention of making their escape through the Doab and proceeding to Rohilcund or Oude.

To cut off this portion of the rebels, and prevent them from executing either of the above projects, was considered by my predecessor,

1st Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery.  
2nd Troop, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery.  
No. 17 Light Field Battery.  
2nd Company, Sappers and Miners.  
Her Majesty's 9th Lancers.  
1st Punjaub Cavalry (detachment)  
2nd Punjaub Cavalry ditto  
5th Punjaub Cavalry ditto  
Hodson's Horse ditto  
Her Majesty's 8th Regiment.  
Her Majesty's 75th Regiment.  
2nd Punjaub Infantry.  
4th Punjaub Infantry.

General Wilson, to be of the first importance. Consequently the route of Colonel Greathed's column (strength as per margin) was changed and he was ordered to proceed towards Allygurh *via* Boolundshuhur.

It became necessary to go to Boolundshuhur for the purpose of destroying the Fort of Malagurh, the Nawab of which place gave much trouble during the outbreak. In the station and city of Boolundshuhur the column encountered the Jhansi mutineers and Malagurh insurgents, and after a sharp action signally defeated them.

The Nawab of Malagurh's fort—a place of some strength—about four miles distant from the station of Boolundshuhur—was then blown up by our engineers.

Colonel Greathed's report of this affair has, however, been forwarded through General Gowan, Commanding in the Upper Provinces, for the Commander-in-Chief's information.

Having made arrangements for conveying the wounded to Meerut, the column proceeded by the Trunk Road to Allygurh, which was found to be occupied by the two rebel Thakoors of Ackerabad. Colonel Greathed at once attacked and drove them from the city and suburbs, killing about 400 men, chiefly sowars and Mahomedan fanatics; but I need not trouble you with details, as the report of the officer in

command has already been forwarded to Army Head-Quarters.

The day after the occupation of Allygurh, the column followed the rebel leaders to Ackerabad, their place of residence, which was burnt and destroyed by the troops, who had previously slain the two Chiefs and about 100 of their followers.

At this juncture, the Chief Commissioner, North-Western Provinces, sent the most urgent requisition for aid to Colonel Greathed, who at once detached two troops of Horse Artillery and a body of cavalry by forced marches to Agra, which was threatened by the mutineers collected at Dholpore; the remainder of the column followed by forced marches likewise, and reached the Cantonment of Agra on the morning of the 10th instant.

Before their camp was pitched, the troops were surprised by the mutineers from Neemuch, Nusserabad, Mhow, and other places, who had previously combined for the express purpose of attacking Agra, which they supposed to be weakly defended.

Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed's first report of the engagement having been transmitted through General Gowan, the second is herewith attached.

The station of Agra being now freed from all chance of attack, it was determined that the movable column should at once push on towards Lucknow, where reinforcements were said to be much needed. Acting upon this resolution, Colonel Greathed reports that he will reach Mynpooree on the 20th current.

Little or no opposition is anticipated, as the Nawab of Fattygurh—the only person from whom resistance may be expected—is reported to have but a small band of retainers under his command.

I trust that by the time this reaches you, Colonel Greathed's column will have arrived at Cawnpore, and that he will be in direct communication with Army Head-Quarters.

I will now detail, in a few words, the operations conducted by Brigadier Showers on the western side of the Jumna.

A small column, consisting of the following troops:—

- 4 Horse Artillery guns,
- 200 Irregular Cavalry,
- 200 Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, Light Infantry,
- 200 Guides Infantry,
- 300 4th Sikh Infantry,

was despatched towards Furreednugger, for the purpose of restoring



order among the disaffected Goojur villages, as well as with the view of destroying any detachments of rebels that might be encountered. After executing this duty, Brigadier Showers returned to Delhi.

On the 2nd current another column, composed of the troops

No. 14 Light Field Battery.

2 18-pr. guns.

2 5½-pr. mortars.

2 Companies Sappers.

Her Majesty's 6th Dragoon Guards.

Guides Cavalry.

Hodson's Horse.

2nd European Bengal Fusiliers.

Kemson Battalion.

1st Punjaub Infantry.

mentioned in the margin, was despatched into the district under the same officer.

The object of the expedition was to occupy the ex-King's Pergunnah of Kote Kasim; to seize Toola Ram,

of Kewaree, together with the Nawabs of Jhujjur and Dadree, and other individuals of lesser note, who were known to be rebels.

Brigadier Showers has taken possession of Rewaree and its thirteen guns, without opposition,—Rao Toola Ram having fled with his followers, it is supposed, towards Bickaneer.

The Nawab of Dadree submitted to our authority, and the Nawab of Jhujjur has likewise given himself up and now awaits his trial.

Brigadier Showers' report of his later proceedings is herewith enclosed.

*PRESENT state of the field force under command of Major-General  
N. Penny, C.B.*

Detail.			Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons.	Veterinary Surgeons.	Soldiers.	Jemadars.	Non-commissioned officers.	Drummers, rank and file.	Horses.
Major T. Gaitskell, Com- manding. Lieutenant J. Angelo, Major of Brigade.	Artillery Force	European, fit for duty	1	11	4	1	5	7	31	218	31	
		" on duty	1	2	1	1	1	1	17	32		
		Native, fit for duty							11	91		
		" on duty							10	215		
Captain A. Taylor, Chief Engineer Commanding. Lieutenant P. Murray, Major of Brigade.	Engineer Brigade	Sappers and Miners, fit for duty.	1	6	1	5	5	13	37			
		Sappers and Miners, on duty.		1			1	13	41			
		Punjab Sappers, fit for duty		2		4	5	50	341			
		Punjab Sappers, on duty		1		2	1	30	103			
		Pioneers, fit for duty		1		5	5	51	814			
		" on duty				1	1	14	70			
Brigadier W. Jones, C.B., Commanding. Captain W. Burnside, Major of Brigade.	1st Infantry Bri- gade.	H. M.'s 61st Regiment, fit for duty.	3	1	6	1		15	152			
		H. M.'s 61st Regiment, on duty.			4			9	109			
		1st Punjab Infantry, fit for duty.		1	1	3	3	4	148			
		1st Punjab Infantry, on duty.			3		5	23	459			
		Detcht. H. M.'s 8th Regt., fit for duty.						3	2			
		Detcht. H. M.'s 76th Regt., fit for duty.	1		2			6	77			
		Detcht., and E. H. F., fit for duty.		1	2			7	82			
Brigadier J. Longfield, Commanding. Captain H. Nicoll, Major of Brigade.	2nd Infantry Bri- gade.	1st E. B. F., fit for duty		3	2			51	219			
		" on duty		3	1			12	53			
		4th Regt., Sikh Infy., fit for duty.		3	1		1	11	123			
		4th Regt., Sikh Infy., on duty.	1				2	3	34	200		
Brigadier Showers, Com- manding. Captain A. F. Simpson, Major of Brigade.	3rd Infantry Bri- gade.	H. M.'s 60th Rifles, fit for duty.	1	2	2			15	152			
		H. M.'s 60th Rifles, on duty.		1	2			9	101			
		Sirmoor Battalion, fit for duty.		3	1		3	2	6	60		
		Sirmoor Battalion, on duty.					2	2	13	100		
	Guides Infantry 4th Irregular Cavalry.	Present, fit for duty			2		1	4	17	61		
		" on duty			1		3	3	15	211		
		" fit for duty	1	1	1		2	2	4	78		



*PRESENT state of the field force under command of Major-General  
N. Penny, C.B.—(Contd.)*

Detail.		Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons.	Veterinary Surgeons.	Subadars.	Immudars.	Non-commissioned officers.	Drummers, tank and file.	Horses.
Brigadier Hope Grant, C.B., Commanding. Captain W. Hamilton, Major of Brigade.	Cavalry Brigade, with Col. Growthed's Column.	H. M.'s 9th Lancers, fit for duty.	4	7	1	1	...	38	290	413	
		1st Punjab Cavalry, fit for duty.	...	3	...	3	1	10	110	194	
		2nd Punjab Cavalry, fit for duty.	...	2	...	1	2	11	61	80	
		5th Punjab Cavalry, fit for duty.	...	1	...	...	2	10	60	101	
		Hodson's Horse, fit for duty.	...	2	...	2	2	11	142	177	
	With Brigadier Showers' Column.	H. M.'s 8th Dr. Gds., fit for duty.	1	1	4	1	1	...	0	07	07
		Guides Cavalry, fit for duty.	1	3	...	3	4	29	115	153	
	Hodson's Horse, fit for duty.	...	2	...	3	2	4	155	...		
Movable Column, Lieutenant-Colonel Great- head, Commanding. Captain J. M. Bannatyne, Major of Brigade.	Artillery	Fit for duty, Europeans	4	10	3	1	...	24	157	}	
		Natives	...	...	...	...	...	6	115		
	Engineers	Fit for duty	...	...	...	3	3	16	189	...	
		H. M.'s 8th Regt., fit for duty.	1	5	2	...	...	10	160	...	
		H. M.'s 75th Regt., fit for duty.	4	3	1	...	...	19	231	...	
		2nd Punjab Infy., fit for duty.	1	4	1	...	7	20	540	...	
Movable Column, Brigadier Showers, Com- manding. Captain H. L. Trench, Major of Brigade.	Artillery	European, fit for duty...	1	...	5	1	...	10	41	...	
		Native, fit for duty	...	...	...	2	3	8	94	...	
		Fit for duty	...	...	...	1	2	16	120	...	
		2nd E. B. F., fit for duty.	1	2	9	2	...	30	277	...	
	Engineers	Kernan Batt., fit for duty.	1	6	1	...	4	4	14	340	...
		1st Punjab Infy., fit for duty.	...	3	...	4	4	15	301	...	
Total		...	0 29	151	32	4 33	50	521	3,463	3,108	

(Signed) N. PENNY, Maj.-Genl.

Commanding Field Force.

(Signed) D. M. STEWART, Capt.,

Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.

DALHI,

The 19th October 1857.

*RETURN of sick and wounded in the field force under command of  
Major-General N. Penny, C.B.*

Detail.	SICK.								WOUNDED.									
	Field officers.	Capitains.	Subalterns.	Sergents.	Subsahars.	Jemadars.	Non-commissioned officers.	Privates, rank and file.	Horses.	Field officers.	Capitains.	Subalterns.	Sergents.	Subsahars.	Jemadars.	Non-commissioned officers.	Privates, rank and file.	Horses.
Artillery Force, Europeans	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	8	80	0	...	...	...	...	...	1	13	...
"    Natives	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	74	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17
Engineer Brigade, Sappers and Miners	...	...	...	...	...	2	10	31	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	38	...
"    Punjab ditto	...	...	1	...	...	2	12	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14
"    Pioneers	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	7	321	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	30	...
Cavalry Brigade, Her Majesty's 8th Dragoon Guards	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	26	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12
"    Her Majesty's 9th Lancers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	9	...
"    4th Irregular Cavalry	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
"    1st Punjab Cavalry	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	16	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
"    2nd Punjab Cavalry	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	16	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
"    8th Punjab Cavalry	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	17	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
"    Guides Cavalry	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	3	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	6	...
"    Hodson's Horse	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	29	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	...
1st Infantry Brigade, Her Majesty's 61st Regiment	...	...	3	1	...	...	...	19	161	-	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	21
"    1st Punjab Infantry	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	52	...	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	48	...
2nd Infantry Brigade, 1st European Bengal Fusiliers	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	23	117	...	1	2	...	...	...	9	49	...
"    4th Sikh Infantry	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	10	144	...	...	...	1	1	13	...	...	30
3rd Infantry Brigade, Her Majesty's 60th Rifles	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	4	66	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
"    Sirmoor Battalion	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	72	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
Colonel Gwatkin's Movable Column—	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Her Majesty's 8th Regiment	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	44	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	39	...
Her Majesty's 73th Regiment	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	9	106	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	43	...
2nd Punjab Infantry	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	2	66	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	41	...
4th Punjab Infantry	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	3	34	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	26	...
Brigadier Showers' Movable Column—	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2nd European Bengal Fusiliers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	122	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	83	...
Kumaon Battalion	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	10	163	...	1	...	...	...	3	3	27	...
Guides Infantry	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	6	134	...	1	...	...	...	9	7	32	...
Total	...	1,12	1	5,11	...	143	3064	59	1	3	9	...	2	6	78	618	...	...
Grand Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,368	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	617	...	...

(Signed) N. PENNY, *Maj.-Genl.,  
Commanding Field Force.*

(Signed) D. M. STEWART, *Capt.,  
Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.*

DELHI,

The 19th October 1857.



*ROLL of regiments serving in the Delhi Field Force.*

Regiments.	Rank and name of commanding officers.	Remarks.
Head-quarters, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery.	Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel M. Fawc	On temporary leave.
Head-quarters, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery.	Ditto Major F. Turner	With Lieut.-Col. Greathead's Column.
Reserve Artillery	Ditto ditto J. Brind	On temporary leave.
No. 14 Light Field Battery	Ditto ditto E. W. S. Scott	With Brigadier Showers.
No. 17 Ditto ditto	Captain G. Bourchier	With Lieut.-Col. Greathead.
Engineer Brigade	Ditto A. Taylor	Proceeding to join Lieut.-Col. Greathead.
H. M.'s 9th Lancers	Ditto W. Drysdale	With Lieut.-Col. Greathead.
H. M.'s 9th Dragoon Guards	Lieut.-Colonel W. N. Cusance	With Brigadier Showers.
4th Irregular Cavalry	Brevet Major A. Martin	On temporary leave (sick).
1st Punjab Cavalry	Lieutenant J. Watson	With Lieut.-Col. Greathead.
2nd Ditto	Ditto D. M. Probyn	Ditto.
8th Ditto	Ditto G. A. P. Younghusband	Ditto.
Guides Cavalry	Captain C. A. Sanford	
Hodson's Horse	Lieutenant W. R. S. Hodson	With Brigadier Showers.
H. M.'s 9th Regiment	Captain J. Hinde	With Lieut.-Col. Greathead.
H. M.'s 60th Rifles	Lieutenant-Colonel J. Jones	
H. M.'s 51st Regiment	Ditto ditto C. C. Deson	
H. M.'s 75th Regiment	Ditto ditto C. Herbert	At Delhi.
1st European Bengal Fusiliers	Brevet Lieut.-Col. H. F. Dunsford	50th Native Infantry.
2nd Ditto ditto	Major H. E. S. Abbott	With Brigadier Showers.
Kemson Battalion	Captain R. A. Ramsay	Ditto.
4th Sikh Infantry	Ditto O. E. Rotheby	Temporary leave (sick).
Guides Infantry	Ditto H. Daly	Ditto.
2nd Punjab Infantry	Ditto G. W. G. Green	With Lieut.-Col. Greathead.
4th Ditto	Lieutenant W. Paul	Ditto.
1st Ditto	Major J. Coke	
Birmoor Battalion	Ditto C. Reid	Temporary leave (sick).

(Signed) D. M. STEWART, Capt.,  
Deputy Assistant Adjutant General.

DELHI,  
The 19th October 1857.

From LIEUTENANT-COLONEL E. H. GREATHEAD, Commanding Movable Column, to  
CAPTAIN D. M. STEWART, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General,—(dated  
Camp Agra, 13th October 1857).

In recapitulation of my hasty letter of the 11th instant, I have  
the honour to acquaint you, for the information of the Major-General

Commanding the Delhi Field Force that after a march of forty-four miles, in twenty-eight hours, the movable column under my command encamped on the parade ground at this station at 8 A.M., on the 10th instant. At 10½ o'clock four guns were heard by us on our right flank, and the assembly was sounded. I galloped to the front, and found the artillery already in action and the 9th Lancers in their saddles formed up in squadrons. The enemy had attacked our front and right flank with his artillery, which raked our camp. On seeing this, I moved with Her Majesty's 8th (the King's) Regiment and the 4th Punjaub Infantry (taking with me on the way the three squadrons of 1st, 2nd and 5th Punjaub Cavalry) to the right, with the view of outflanking and capturing the guns on that flank. I must not omit to mention that, when I reached the front three minutes after this surprise, I found the whole of the troops without exception drawn up on their respective alarm posts, as if for parade.

I extended the infantry along the road leading from the parade ground to the infantry barracks in skirmishing order with supports, with directions to advance to their front and clear the compounds of the enemy's infantry. Taking with me the Punjaub Cavalry, I then proceeded to the European barracks, and pointed out to Lieutenant Watson the open ground upon which I conceived that he might work with effect. How admirably he did so will be seen in his own report.

By this time the Agra 9-pounder battery came up, and I advanced it in support of the right flank of the infantry, on the road leading from the artillery parade ground, and the enclosures were speedily cleared. In doing this the 4th Punjaub Infantry distinguished itself, as it did throughout the day.

The advance of the infantry and battery enabled Lieutenant Watson to make his charge and capture the guns and standards, and after that, the enemy did not make any stand, although they continued to fire round shot as they retreated. I continued the pursuit to a village three miles on the Gwalior road, and halted to enable the left to come up. Here we were joined by the 3rd European Regiment, who took their place in the line, detaching two companies to support the Punjaub Infantry engaged in driving out the enemy, who still hung on our flanks in the jungle and topes on our right. Colonel Cotton, Commanding the Agra Garrison, then assumed command, and the pursuit was continued to the Khara Nuddee, with artillery and cavalry,



the infantry finally halting at a village five miles on the Gwalior road, where the enemy's camp had been pitched. The rout was now complete, and the whole face of the country covered with fugitives. The enemy fled across the Khara Nuddee under the effective fire of grape and round shot from our artillery. The accompanying return from Major Turner will show that twelve guns were captured, and the enemy lost the whole of his tents, baggage and ammunition. I have reason to believe that scarcely a cart was taken across the river, and most certainly not one gun.

The conduct of the troops engaged during the whole affair was beyond any praise of mine; but it is my duty to bring to the special notice of the Major-General Commanding their admirable steadiness at the outset of the action when taken completely by surprise, and when a great part of the troops had scarcely arrived on the ground. The quickness with which the artillery came into action under a destructive fire, and its subsequent services, was worthy of their reputation. The cavalry showed throughout the day that they were led by officers who combined steadiness and an eye for ground with the greatest gallantry. The infantry drove the enemy flying from the enclosures, and pursued them for several miles with the most persevering resolution, and the conduct of the Punjaub infantry regiments, which had had no assistance from carriage during the march, deserves the most favourable notice. The Sappers and Miners were also most steady and forward in the pursuit. I refer you for details of the operations on the left to Major Ouvry, as I was not able to leave the right till the enemy was in full flight. The cavalry and artillery marched over at least sixty-four miles, and the infantry fifty-four miles, of road, in less than thirty-six hours, besides moving through fields during action. Captain Bouchier's 9-pounder battery had marched in during the night from Hattrass, thirty miles, without a halt. I beg to bring prominently to the favourable notice of the Major-General Commanding the gallantry and unwearied exertions of the whole of the troops engaged. The artillery, under Major Turner, were led in a manner which caused general admiration. Major Ouvry, as usual, did the most efficient service with his cavalry. The 9th Lancers distinguished themselves under Captain Anson during the whole day, and most particularly in a gallant charge on a large body of the enemy's sowars, in which they rescued a gun which had been temporarily disabled.

The conduct of Lieutenant Watson, seconded by Lieutenant

Her Majesty's 9th Lancers.  
1st Punjab Cavalry.  
2nd do. do.  
5th do. do.  
Hodson's Horse.  
1st Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery.  
2nd do. do. do.  
No. 17 Light Field Battery.  
Engineers.  
Her Majesty's 8th Foot.  
Her Majesty's 75th Regiment.  
2nd Punjab Infantry.  
4th Punjab Infantry.  
Lieutenant Pearson's 9-pounder battery  
from Agra.

Gough, Lieutenant Probyn, and Lieutenant Younghusband, is entitled to the warmest praise. These officers appear to have all the qualities which distinguish the cavalry officer. I am happy to say that Lieutenant Younghusband's injuries, though severe, will not detain him long from his duty. Captain Hinde particularly distinguished himself in command

of the 8th—the King's Regiment—in the capture of an 18-pounder at a village, and the dispersion of the mutineers who attempted to resist him. I have also to bring to the notice of the Major-General the services of Captain Gordon, Commanding Her Majesty's 75th Regiment; Captain Green, Commanding 2nd Punjab Infantry; and Lieutenant Paul, Commanding 4th Punjab Infantry.

My best thanks are due to the untiring exertions and able assistance of Captain Norman, Assistant Adjutant-General; Captain Roberts, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General; and Captain Bannatyne, my Brigade-Major, who rendered me most active aid throughout the day; Lieutenant Ximenes, my Orderly Officer, also did good service.

To the admirable arrangements of Captain Dickens, Deputy Assistant Commissary-General, it was owing that we were able to make the forced march from Hattrass, and arrive in time to intercept the advance of the mutineers on Agra.

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*From MAJOR H. A. OUVREY, Commanding Cavalry Brigade, to CAPTAIN BANNATYNE, Major of Brigade,—(dated Camp Agra, 11th October 1857).*

I have the honour to report, for the information of Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed, that on the 18th of October 1857, immediately after arriving at Agra, and pitching our tents on the encamping ground beyond the cantonments, the enemy, whose presence was utterly unknown, made a sudden attack on our camp with their heavy artillery.

The 9th Lancers immediately formed up on the left of the artillery facing the Gwalior road.



On arriving in the field, I perceived a large force of the enemy's cavalry advancing on our left; they had reached and sabred the gunners of one gun. I immediately ordered the Lancers to charge, which duty they did most effectually, killing and dispersing them entirely.

Two squadrons of the 9th Lancers, with Hodson's Horse, which then arrived, took up a position, supporting two guns, which kept a large cavalry force of the enemy at bay, and protecting the camp.

The three regiments of irregular cavalry formed up on the right of our camp under Captain Watson, whose report I have herewith the honour to enclose.

After an advancing cannon fire of some duration, which I supported with the cavalry, the enemy gave way, and were pursued ten miles to the banks of the Khara Nuddee by the artillery and cavalry. Great numbers were destroyed and all their guns, ammunition, and baggage fell into our hands.

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From LIEUTENANT J. WATSON, *Second-in-Command, 1st Punjaub Cavalry, to MAJOR OUVRY, Commanding Cavalry Brigade,—(dated Camp Agra, 11th September 1857).*

In accordance with your instructions, I do myself the honour of making the following report of the circumstances which occurred in the right of our line in yesterday's action with the mutineer's force, and of the part taken in it by the three squadrons of the Punjaub Cavalry which paraded under my command.

1	Squadron, 1st Punjaub Cavalry.
1	Ditto 2nd ditto.
1	Ditto 5th ditto.

Shortly after the enemy's fire opened upon our camp, the three squadrons, mustering about 210 sabres, moved off towards the European barracks; Colonel Greathed, who was present, informing me that beyond the barracks I should find open ground, from which I could operate with effect upon the enemy's left flank. Passing the barracks I came under fire of the enemy's guns and musketry. I therefore proceeded at a trot to some walls close to their left flank, and there drew up the three squadrons in open column. After waiting in this position for about five minutes, I perceived a favourable opportunity for charging, and advancing clear of the walls, wheeled into line, and swept down at a gallop on their flank.

The effect of this was the instantaneous flight of the mutineers; but they were too late to escape us, and a large number of their infantry and artillery men fell under our sabres, and we captured three heavy guns and five standards.

Shortly after this, the whole of our line advanced, and the three squadrons falling in on the left of the road, joined in the pursuit, and turning off at the river to a ford about half a mile to the left of the road, captured two 9-pounder guns and numerous ammunition carts, &c., &c. We turned the guns upon such of the enemy as were within range on the opposite bank, and served them for some time with considerable effect. We formed the rear-guard on the return to camp, which we reached about 9 P.M.

EUROPEAN OFFICERS ENGAGED.

*1st Punjaub Cavalry.*

Lieutenant Watson, Commanding.

Lieutenant Mackenzie, attached

Lieutenant Maclean, ditto.

*2nd Punjaub Cavalry.*

Lieutenant Probyn, Commanding.

Lieutenant Macdonell, attached.

*5th Punjaub Cavalry.*

Lieutenant Younghusband, Com-

manding.

Lieutenant Plowden, attached.

The three squadrons lost in this action 2 men killed and 15 wounded, and of the European officers engaged, Lieutenant Maclean was severely, and Lieutenants Probyn, Macdonell, and Plowden slightly wounded.

Lieutenant Younghusband, Commanding the squadron of the 5th Punjaub Cavalry, was, I regret to

say, very severely injured by falling down one of the numerous dry wells that were scattered about the Baziree fields, through which we charged upon the enemy.

I need not assure you that the whole of the European and Native officers and troopers engaged behaved throughout with the greatest gallantry, and I trust that you will be good enough to bring their services on this occasion to the favourable notice of the Government.

(True copy.)



*Description and measurement of brass ordnance captured from the enemy on the 10th instant.*

AGRA MAGAZINE OFFICE, 12th October 1857.

					Length of gun.	Diameter of breech at base ring.	Diameter at muzzle swell.	Diameter of bore.	REMARKS.
No. 1. Ordnance brass gun, Native manufacture					118-5	22-26	17-05	5-32	About 18-pounder.
"	2.	"	"	"	66-9	18-45	13-7	4-73	" 12 "
"	3.	"	"	"	92-7	16-55	13-54	4-4	" 10 "
"	4.	"	"	"	51-4	11-4	8-33	4-07	" 6 "
"	5.	"	"	"	50-7	11-8	8-6	3-86	" 7 "
"	6.	"	"	"	54-3	10-9	8-65	3-89	" 7 "
"	7.	"	"	"	63-4	12-25	9-63	4-07	" 8 "
"	8.	"	"	"	42-95	10-12	8-15	3-49	" 6 "
"	9.	"	"	"	37-9	8-75	7-18	3-34	" 6 "
"	10.	"	"	"	69-1	10-83	8-82	4-3	" 9 "
"	11.	"	"	"	69-1	11-52	8-39	4-3	" 9 "
"	12.	"	"	"	69-1	11-52	8-57	4-2	" 9 "
"	13.	"	"	"	69-1	11-52	8-85	4-2	" 9 " This gun was captured at Boonishahur.

(Signed) F. TURNER, *Brigade-Major,*  
Comdg. Artillery with Movable Column.

(Signed) L. MACHELL, *Lieut.,*  
Commissary of Ordnance.

From Lieutenant-Colonel E. H. GREATHED, *Commanding Movable Column,* to  
Captain D. M. STEWART, *Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General,*—(dated  
Camp Shekoubad, 17th October 1857).

I have the honour to enclose herewith, for the information of the  
Major-General Commanding Field Force in Delhi, a supplementary  
report of casualties of the movable column under my command,  
which occurred in action at Agra on the 16th instant, and which not

having appeared in the regimental returns were omitted in my original report.

*Supplementary casualty report of Movable Column in Action at Agra on the 10th October 1857.*

CAMP FERROZHABAD, 17th October 1857.

Rank and Name.	European Officer.	Horse.	Nature of casualty.
Lieutenant J. Plowden, 5th Punjab Cavalry.	1	...	Wounded slightly.
	...	1	One charger lost belonging to Lieutenant Murray, 1st Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery.

(Examined)

(Signed)

J. M. PANNATINE, *Capt.*,

*Major of Brigade.*

E. H. GREATHED, *Lieut.-Col.*,

*Commanding Movable Column.*

*From Brigadier S. D. SHOWERS, Commanding Movable Column, to Captain D. M. STEWART, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General,—(No. 9, dated Camp Dadree, 16th October 1857).*

I have the honour to report, for the information of the Major-General Commanding the Meerut Division, that I reached Dadree yesterday, where I found the following guns, of which I have taken possession :—

2 Brass guns.

2 Iron do.

2 Do. do.

The brass guns I purpose to take with me ; but the iron guns I have directed to be destroyed.

Sir Theophilus Metcalfe will have reported the arrangements that have been made with respect to the Nawab of Dadree ; but it



will be satisfactory to me to hear that the Nawab received the movable column, under my command, with the utmost respect, coming himself on the *istakbul*, and expressing his readiness to submit to any enquiry that the Government intended to institute into his conduct during the period of the late insurrection, and to afford his assistance in arresting any mutineers and insurgents who might take refuge within his jurisdiction.

I have further to report that the force of the Hurrianah and Cashmere Auxiliary Forces arrived this morning. I shall hereafter have the honour to forward the present state of that force. I purpose to move to-morrow morning to Chookookeous, a sporting residence of the Nawab of Jhujjur, about ten miles from that town, where, I have reason to believe, he will come out and meet me. The day following I propose to proceed to Jhujjur.

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*From Brigadier S. D. SHOWERS, Commanding Movable Column, to Captain D. M. STEWART, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General,—(No. 10, dated Camp Jhujjur, 18th October 1857).*

In continuation of my letter of the 16th instant, I have the honour to report, for the information of the Major-General Commanding the Delhi Field Force, that from Dadree I proceeded with my column yesterday morning to Chookookeous. On the road a deputation from the Nawab of Jhujjur came out to meet me, to intimate that the Nawab was at a short distance from Chookookeous, and that he awaited instructions to come into my camp. I communicated to him, on his arrival, the instructions of Government, and after the delivery of the Perwannah from the Commissioner, he was arrested, and has since been under the charge of Captain R. Lawrence.

The Nawab was frank in his communications regarding the state of his troops, and of the objections that he suspected his father-in-law, Ubdoor Sumund Khan, would make to giving himself up. Having, therefore, reason to apprehend that some opposition would be made to my taking possession of the fort and the arms and ammunition and horses of the troops, I moved forward my force, prepared to attack them if there should be any opposition. During the night, however, all the troops—both sowars and footmen—fled, and on my reaching the cantonments, I found the whole deserted; the only horses remaining in the cavalry stables were those which belonged

to the Nawab. A very few men remained, and those that did, gave up their arms without opposition.

I afterwards entered and took possession of the fort, with about 21 guns and a large quantity of powder and ammunition, a report of which I shall hereafter have the honour to forward.

I had intended to make a forced march from Dadree to Jhujjur, in the hope of surprising the Nawab and his relations. Difficulties, however, arising, I was obliged to give up the plan; but to prevent the Nawab from effecting his escape, I detached the Guides Cavalry and the Punjab Mounted Police to Nahur on the 17th, with orders that they should be on the look out for fugitives from Jhujjur. Captain Sandford, who commanded, reports having seen a number of armed men proceeding in the direction of Nahur, of whom he had cut up all whom he could overtake.

I have heard from other sources that the fugitive soldiers were making towards Kanoud. I have, therefore, detached to-day a force consisting of the 6th Dragoon Guards under the command of Colonel Custance and Hodson's Horse to Nahur for the purpose of overtaking them and of obtaining possession of the fort of Kanoud and of the treasure said to be deposited there before the place can be reinforced. This force will reach Kanoud to-morrow morning. I purpose myself to follow them with the remainder of my column this evening, and hope to reach it on the 20th instant.

After settling the place, I shall, if nothing occurs to render other measures necessary, return to Jhujjur in three marches, as I understand the Bahadoorgurh and Furrookhnuggur Nawabs are to be visited by my column.

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*From C. B. THORSHILL, Esq., Officiating Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces, to Colonel R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, Fort William, — (No. 235, dated Agra Fort, 19th October 1857).*

I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to forward, for submission to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, the accompanying reports and returns received from Lieutenant-Colonel Cotton, Commanding at Agra, and Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed, Commanding



the Movable Column detached from the force before Delhi, describing the action of the 10th instant, in which a large force of the mutineers was completely routed with loss of all their guns and camp and the plunder which they had previously accumulated.

2. These reports are so full and clear that little is left to be added on the part of the Chief Commissioner beyond a brief recapitulation of the events which preceded the attack upon the cantonments, and an acknowledgment of the services of those officers and troops to whom, under Providence, this success is to be attributed.

3. The daily communications which have been made from the Intelligence Department will have informed His Lordship of the movements of the Mhow mutineers, who remained apparently undecided as to their subsequent course at Dholepore, until they were reinforced by the Neemuch Brigade, when an attack upon Agra seems to have been finally determined upon.

4. For several days there was a report that an onward move would be made on the following day ; but no actual change of position took place until the 6th, when the force broke ground, and intimation of this was received and communicated to the military authorities the same day.

5. Colonel Greathed, with his column, had by this date arrived at Ackrabad, one march from Allygurh, on the Trunk Road, in the direction of Cawnpore, and an express was immediately despatched, requesting him to advance towards Agra, unless he had good grounds for believing that he could come up with the fugitive brigade of mutineers which was pressing towards the eastward.

6. The information of subsequent days proved the necessity for obtaining reinforcements for the protection of Agra, and Colonel Greathed was therefore directed on the 7th, and by a subsequent more urgent letter on the 8th, to hasten towards this place ; and in case of any delay in advancing the main column, to push forward at all events 500 cavalry and a troop of Horse Artillery.

7. On the morning of the 9th, a vidette of militia cavalry, which had been sent out to reconnoitre, was driven in by the enemy's horse and pursued to within two or three miles of cantonments. This occurrence proving the close proximity of the enemy was communicated to Colonel Greathed at once, and it was deemed of sufficient importance to

render it advisable to forward the letter by an officer. This service was performed by Captain Patton, of the 3rd European Regiment, Fort Adjutant of Agra; and the Chief Commissioner desires to acknowledge his obligation to this willing and energetic officer for the promptitude with which the despatch was conveyed to Colonel Greathed's camp.

8. The subsequent events and their results are detailed in the reports. The Chief Commissioner would only observe that to Colonel Cotton's high personal qualifications, both as a soldier and commander, we owe the completeness of this success. Led by him, the tired troops were inspirited to continue the pursuit of the flying enemy, until the capture of all his guns, camp, and plunder deprived him of the means of further aggression, and rendered the dissolution of his army inevitable.

9. Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed, Commanding the Movable Column, brought his men into action with a rapidity and precision that entitle him to the highest praise, and when it is remembered that the column had only just come off a long and harassing forced march, the steadiness of the men and coolness of the officers entitle all to the warmest commendation.

10. It gives the Chief Commissioner much pleasure to bring specially to the notice of His Lordship the services on this occasion of—

Major Ouvry, Commanding the Cavalry.

Major Turner, Commanding the Artillery.

Captains Remmington and Blunt of the Artillery.

Captain Bouchier, Commanding Light Field Battery.

Lieutenant Pearson, Commanding No. 21 Light Field Battery.

Captain Anson, Commanding Her Majesty's 9th Lancers.

Captain Watson, Commanding 1st Punjaub Cavalry.

Lieutenant Probyn, Commanding 2nd Punjaub Cavalry.

Captain Younghusband, Commanding 5th Punjaub Cavalry.

Captain Hinde, Commanding Her Majesty's 8th Regiment.

Captain Gordon, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment.

Captain Green, Commanding 2nd Punjaub Infantry.

Captain Paul, Commanding 1th Punjaub Infantry.

Lieutenant Gough, Commanding Hodson's Horse.

Lieutenant Lang, of the Engineers.

Colonel Riddell, of the 3rd European Regiment.



Lieutenant Vere, Commanding Agra Militia Cavalry.  
 Captain Norman, Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army.  
 Captain Wilson, Deputy Judge Advocate-General.  
 Captain Dickens, Deputy Assistant Commissary-General.  
 Captain Anson, } Orderly Officers to Colonel Greathed.  
 Lieutenant Ximenes, }  
 Captain Bannatyne, Brigade-Major, Movable Column.  
 Major Macleod, Engineers.  
 Major Montgomery, Brigade-Major.  
 Captain Watton, 3rd European Regiment, Fort Adjutant.  
 Captain Rawlins on the Personal Staff of Colonel Cotton, Com-  
 manding.  
 Major Eld.  
 Captain Roberts, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General,  
 Movable Column.

11. The trifling loss of our troops in killed would have been a subject of more sincere congratulation had not the list included the name of Captain French of the 9th Lancers. This valuable officer fell mortally wounded in a most spirited and decisive charge, in which his regiment, led by Captain Anson, broke and dispersed the enemy's cavalry.

12. Lieutenant Jones was at the same time severely wounded ; but it is trusted that he is now in a fair way to recovery.

13. Subsequent information shows the enemy's force, scattered and dispirited, are endeavouring, in small disorganised parties, to reach the vicinity of their homes, which are chiefly in the Oude Provinces.

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*From Lieutenant-Colonel H. COTTON, Commanding at Agra, to C. B. THORNHILL, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, (No. 126, dated Fort Agra, 13th October 1857).*

I have the honour to forward, for the information of the Chief Commissioner, and transmission to Government, the following account of the action which took place at the station on the 10th instant with the mutinous troops from Mhow, 23rd Native Infantry and 1st Light Cavalry, increased by part of the fugitive forces from Delhi and malcontents from Dholepore and the neighbourhood, and which resulted in the most complete rout of the enemy, with the loss of all their guns, camp equipage, baggage and plunder.

The Chief Commissioner is aware of the very imperfect information we have from time to time received of the movements of this body, and that it was not until about 10 o'clock on Saturday morning, when I was arranging with him for moving out the troops to the Kharee River, that intelligence was brought in, that a sudden attack had been made on the camp of the movable column under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed, which had arrived that morning.

I lost no time in repairing to the camp, when I took command and found that the enemy, who were now completely hidden by the high standing crops, had opened a heavy fire from a strong battery in the centre, supported by several guns on each flank, and were sweeping our position with a powerful cross-fire.

Our troops had been drawn up by Colonel Greathed in a most judicious manner. A flank attack made by a large body of cavalry, under cover of the Khelat-i-Ghilzie lines, had been effectually repulsed with great loss to them by a brilliant charge of the picquet of Her Majesty's 9th Lancers led by Captain French and Lieutenant Jones.

Their attack was then soon overpowered and turned into a complete rout, notwithstanding several ineffectual attempts to make a stand, our guns following them up steadily, and the cavalry cutting up all within their reach on both sides of the road. The pursuit was continued during the rest of the day for a distance of eleven miles, until the enemy had been driven across the Kharee, and thoroughly dispersed with the loss of all their guns, 12 in number, camp equipage, baggage and plunder.

Considering that the attack was made before the camp was pitched, and after the troops (with the exception of the 3rd European Regiment and Lieutenant Pearson's battery) had performed a long and harassing forced march, and been under arms for fully twenty-six hours, too much praise cannot be bestowed on the troops engaged in this brilliant affair; but especially is praise due to the detachment of Her Majesty's 9th Lancers, whose charge I have noticed above, and who, in addition to several of their men disabled, and to Lieutenant Jones, who was very severely wounded, had the misfortune to lose their Commanding Officer, Captain French, whose untimely death is a great loss to the service.

In connection with this action, it is my desire to bring prominently to the notice of the Government and the Chief Commissioner,



Major Ouvry, Commanding the Cavalry ; Major Turner, Commanding the Artillery ; and Captains Remington and Blunt, of that branch ; also Captain Bouchier, Commanding Light Field Battery, and Lieutenant Pearson, Commanding No. 21 Light Field Battery ; Captain Anson, Commanding Her Majesty's 9th Lancers ; Captain Watson, 1st Punjaub Cavalry ; Lieutenant Probyn, 2nd Punjaub Cavalry ; Captain Younghusband, 5th Punjaub Cavalry ; Captain Green, 2nd Punjaub Infantry ; Captain Paul, 4th Infantry ; Lieutenant Gough, Commanding Hodson's Horse ; and Lieutenant Lang, of the Engineers ; Colonel Riddell, of the 3rd European Regiment ; Lieutenant Vere, and under their command. To Captain Norman, Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army ; Captain Wilson, Deputy Judge Advocate-General ; Captain Anson, Orderly Officer to Colonel Greathed ; Captain Bannatyne, Brigade-Major of the Movable Column ; Majors McLeod and Montgomery, Brigade-Major ; Captains Patton and Rawlins, my Personal Staff ; Major Eld, and Captain Roberts, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, Movable Column—I feel indebted for their services in the field. To Colonel Greathed, Commanding the Movable Column, who apparently was not aware of my being on the field, until I had ordered the advance, my thanks are due for the assistance rendered in the pursuit.

I beg to append a return of killed and wounded, and a list of the ordnance taken, amongst which will be observed several pieces of large calibre.

*Casualty report of the Agra Force under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Cotton, Commanding at Agra, in action at Agra on the 10th October 1857.*

Corps.	EUROPEAN DETAIL.										NATIVE DETAIL.										Recapitulation.										
	Killed.					Wounded.					Missing.					Killed.						Wounded.					Miss- ing.				
	Non-Commissioned Officers.	Rank and File.	Total.	Horses.	Subalterns.	Non-Commissioned Officers.	Rank and File.	Total.	Horses.	Battalians.	Rank and File.	Total.	Horses.	Non-Commissioned Officers.	Rank and File.	Total.	Horses.	Non-Commissioned Officers.	Rank and File.	Total.		Horses.	Non-Commissioned Officers.	Rank and File.	Total.	Horses.					
Company's Artillery	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
Engineers	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
H. M.'s 9th Lancers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
8th, the King's Regiment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
75th	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
1st Punjab Cavalry	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
2nd ditto	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
3rd ditto	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
Hodson's Horse	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
3rd Punjab Infantry	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
4th ditto	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
5th ditto	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
6th European Regiment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
Total	1	2	4	1	4	4	30	34	1	0	0	32	0	0	3	6	9	1	15	16	21	—	—	—	—	—					

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(Examined)

(Signed) B. PATTON, Capt.,

Fort Adjutant, Agra.

(Signed)

H. COTTON, Lieut.-Col.,

Commanding at Agra.



*Description and Measurement of brass ordnance captured from the enemy  
on the 10th instant.*

Description.				Length of gun.	Diameter of breech at base ring.	Diameter at muzzle swell.	Diameter of bore.	Remarks.
No. 1, Ordnance brass gun, Native manufacture				118'5	22'56	17'05	5'32	Between 18 and 24-pounder.
" 2	Ditto	ditto	...	66'9	15'65	13'7	4'73	Over 12-pounder.
" 3.	Ditto	ditto	...	93'7	16'55	13'55	4'4	Under 12-pounder.
" 4.	Ditto	ditto	...	51'4	11'4	8'33	4'07	" 9 ditto.
" 5.	Ditto	ditto	...	50'7	11'8	8'68	3'80	7-pounder.
" 6.	Ditto	ditto	...	54'2	10'9	8'65	3'59	7 ditto.
" 7.	Ditto	ditto	...	63'4	12'25	8'65	4'07	8 ditto.
" 8.	Ditto	ditto	...	42'05	10'12	8'15	3'46	Under 6-pounder.
" 9. 9-pounder gun, Government manufacture				66'1	10'53	8'02	4'3	
" 10. 9 "	Ditto	ditto	...	60'1	11'52	8'00	4'3	
" 11. 9 "	Ditto	ditto	...	60'1	11'53	8'87	4'3	
" 12. 9 "	Ditto	ditto	...	60'1	11'52	8'55	4'2	

(Examined) B. PATTON, Capt.,  
(Signed) Fort Adj't., Agra.

(Signed) H. COTTON, Lieut.-Col.,  
Comdg. at Agra.





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**Brasyer, Capt., Unattached, Comdg.**  
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 1858—p. 531.

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**Brown, Surgn. J. C., M.D., Bl. Horse Arty.—(Concld.)**

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**Brown, Dr., Depy. Comsr. of Jalowan.**

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**Brown, Pte. J., H. M.'s 42nd Highlanders.**

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**Brown, Pte. J., H. M.'s 79th Highlanders.**

Wounded slightly at Lucknow, 18 Mar. 1858—p. 538.

**Brown, Pte. J., H. M.'s 97th Regt.**

Wounded slightly at Lucknow, 13 Mar. 1858—p. 531.

**Brown, Pte. W., 3rd Battn., Rifle Bde.**

Wounded slightly near Lucknow, 9 Mar. 1858—p. 514.

**Brown, Pte. M., H. M.'s 42nd Highlanders.**

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**Browne, Capt. T., 2nd Punjab Cavy.**

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**Browne, Lieut., H. M.'s 32nd Regt. (Concld.)**

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**Brownlow, Lieut. E. P., Bl. Engrs. (doing duty with R. E.)**

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**Bruce, Capt. H., 5th Punjab Cavy.,  
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**Bruce, Capt. J. F., Bde.-Maj.**

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**Brummage, Pte. H., Royal Marines  
H. M. S. "Shannon" (Naval Bde.)**

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**Brunsdon, Pte. J., H. M.'s 90th  
L. I.**

Wounded slightly at Alambagh—p. 449.

**Bryce, 2nd-Lieut. J. H., Arty.**

Died of cholera—p. 70.

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**Bryce, Pte. G., H. M.'s 93rd High-landers.**

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**Brydges, Lieut., 53rd N. I.**

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**Brydon, Surgn. W., 71st N. I.**

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**Buck, Pte. W., H. M.'s 5th Fus.**

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Regt.**

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**Buckley, Pte. C., H. M.'s 20th Regt.**

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Wounded severely at Lucknow, 14 Mar. 1858—p. 526.

**Bunks, Sergt., Military Train.**

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**Bunnee.**

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Arty. (Depy. Asst. Qrmr.-  
Genl. to Brigr.-Genl. Grant's  
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